National Park Service
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National Capital Area

“They Have Erected a Neat Little Church”



The Rural African American Experience, 1865–1900, in the National Capital Area

A Special History Study

Edith B. Wallace, MA

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A Special History Study of
The Rural African American Experience, 1865–1900, in the National Capital Area

By Edith B. Wallace, MA

Presented to Interior Region 1—National Capital Area

Prepared under a cooperative agreement between
The Organization of American Historians and The National Park Service
October 2021

(Quote from Jonathon M. Mentzer, US Population census taker, *Boonsboro Oddfellow,* August 12, 1870)

Cover: Tolson’s Chapel and School, Sharpsburg, Maryland. Courtesy NPS and Evelyn Causey.

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During this unusual (many would say unprecedented) year of the COVID-19 pandemic, I was unable to physically visit the sites and facilities that house the documents and other research material needed to build the community histories included in this report. I wish, however, to acknowledge the work of staff and volunteers around the region, who have shared their collections and research online, or made it available to me upon request. Among those are included the Prince William County Library's Ruth E. Lloyd Information Center (RELIC) Digital Archives, the Western Maryland Room at Washington County Free Library, the Maryland Room at C. Burr Artz Public Library (Frederick County), the Maryland State Archives, the Library of Virginia, the West Virginia University Archives, the National Archives and Records Administration, the Library of Congress, and the various National Parks of the National Capital Area. I would also like to acknowledge the work of the volunteers who have compiled their church histories, making them available on their church websites. I am indebted also to the local historical societies and museums that are helping preserve history at the community level.

Finally, I want to thank Dr. Paul Zwirecki, Director of Public History Programs, Organization of American Historians (OAH), for his patience, his steady guiding hand, and his (and OAH's) support of the work of independent historians.

Abbreviations

AHR	Architectural and History Survey (West Virginia)
AME	African Methodist Episcopal
B&O	Baltimore & Ohio Railroad
C&O	Chesapeake & Ohio Canal
DB	Deed Book
DC	District of Columbia
EJI	Equal Justice Initiative
FR	Frederick County (Maryland)
FX	Fairfax County (Virginia)
GAR	Grand Army of the Republic
GFUOTR	Grand Fountain United Order of True Reformers
GUOOF	Grand United Order of Odd Fellows
JC	Jefferson County (West Virginia)
JHU	Johns Hopkins University
LOC	Library of Congress
MD	Maryland
ME	Methodist Episcopal
MIHP	Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties
MHT	Maryland Historical Trust
MPDF	Multiple Property Documentation Form (National Register)
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NARA	National Archives Records Administration
NCA	National Capital Area
NHL	National Historic Landmark
NMAAHC	National Museum of African American History and Culture
NPS	National Park Service
NR	National Register of Historic Places
OAH	Organization of American Historians
PG	Prince George's County (Maryland)

PWC	Prince William County (Virginia)
SHS	Special History Study
SI	Smithsonian Institution
USCT	US Colored Troops
USGS	US Geological Survey
VA	Virginia
VDHR	Virginia Department of Historic Resources
VLR	Virginia Landmarks Register
WC	Washington County (Maryland)
WCFL	Washington County Free Library
WV	West Virginia

Executive Summary

Purpose of the Study

In October 2018, the Organization of American Historians (OAH) contracted on behalf of the National Park Service (NPS), Region 1—National Capital Area (NCA), with Edith B. Wallace (the author) to prepare a "Special History Study (SHS) of Rural African Americans in the National Capital Region [Area]." The Project Description outlined the purpose of this study: "The study will provide an overview of the experiences of rural African Americans in the region from 1865 to [1900] and use as case studies the experiences of African Americans on and near lands that became Manassas National Battlefield Park (VA), Prince William Forest Park (VA), and Antietam National Battlefield (MD)."[1] Most previous work has focused on the urban African American experience, while the rural African American experience is "understudied." This SHS provides a summary historical context for the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction decades up to 1900, particularly as it unfolded in the rural sections of the study area (NCA), and examines how rural African Americans living in the region structured their lives and community institutions.

The four case studies presented in this report represent communities in or adjoining the three National Parks specified in the Project Description. The purpose of each case study is to identify resources "both within the park and nearby that can help tell the story, particularly of the civil rights struggles and unique experiences of rural African Americans, to the general public."[2] While some resources may be physical objects, sites, or buildings still extant, many more are intangible personal experiences—stories told by documentary, written, or oral records. All will enrich the interpretive potential for African American history in National Parks.

Research Methods

The bulk of this report was completed during the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic, which unfortunately prevented on-site research for the historic context and case studies at public libraries, archives, and museums, as well as private repositories such as churches and local

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[1] "Project Description, P17AC00665.20180725. Special History Study of Rural African Americans in the National Capital Region, National Park Service and the Organization of American Historians." The project was originally expected to cover the years 1865–1940 but was altered to end at 1900.

[2] "Project Description, P17AC00665.20180725. Special History Study of Rural African Americans in the National Capital Region, National Park Service and the Organization of American Historians."

historical societies. It is remarkable, however, how much historical information is now available online, not just through the Library of Congress (LOC) or the National Archives (NARA), but also state and local governments, county libraries, private individuals, and nonprofits. Of particular importance was the ongoing digitization of the Freedmen's Bureau records by NARA, in cooperation with *FamilySearch,* made available online through the National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC), a branch of the Smithsonian Institution (SI).[3] The Freedmen's Bureau records proved to be an invaluable primary source not only for the case study development but also for the material pertaining to Reconstruction policy and how that played out in the lives of rural African Americans.

A wide selection of secondary sources was used to summarize the national and regional context of the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction decades. An annotated bibliography, compiled by researchers in the NCA Chief Historian's office, served as a starting point in narrowing down relevant secondary sources. As will be seen in this SHS bibliography, the overarching story of Reconstruction and the decades that followed was gleaned primarily from the very thorough studies by Eric Foner *(Reconstruction),* Edward Ayers *(The Promise of the New South),* Henry Louis Gates Jr. *(Stony the Road),* Loren Schweninger *(Black Property Owners in the South),* and W.E.B. Du Bois *(Black Reconstruction in America).* Regional context was found in the important works of Barbara Jeanne Fields *(Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground),* Richard Paul Fuke *(Imperfect Equality),* and Jane Daily *(Before Jim Crow),* and the newer studies by Max Grivno *(Gleanings of Freedom)* and Kate Masur *(An Example for All the Land).* Whenever possible, or where primary source corroboration appeared necessary, historic documents were reviewed to support the context history.

Because on-site evaluation of existing resources for National Register (NR) or National Historic Landmark (NHL) eligibility was not possible due to COVID-19 restrictions, no formal evaluation was completed for this study. However, Appendix A includes lists of historic communities within the study's subject counties. These may be used to identify potential future case studies, as well as sites for NR or NHL evaluation.

Text Development with Chapter Descriptions

This study focuses on the experiences of rural African Americans in the counties surrounding the District of Columbia—parts of Maryland, northern Virginia, and eastern West Virginia within the boundaries of the NPS NCA—during the tumultuous decades following the Civil War through the year 1900. The study begins, in the Introduction, with a brief background of the enslaved and free African American populations within the region

[3] The Smithsonian Institution is currently sponsoring a crowdsourced transcription project of the Freedmen's Bureau records.

before and during the Civil War through emancipation, and the impact of the federal city of Washington at the region's center. Chapters One and Two move the reader through the period of Reconstruction (Chapter One) and the post-Reconstruction decades that followed (Chapter Two). Both chapters outline the political and social upheavals of these two periods in American history as they unfolded nationally, and more specifically, in the former Confederate state of Virginia and in the Union states of Maryland and West Virginia. A brief discussion of the District of Columbia is also included for national and regional context. Chapter Three details the structure of African American communities that developed in the region, and identifies the cultural institutions and lifeways that provided support, common purpose, advancement, and entertainment through the residents' daily lives. The chapter includes descriptive examples of community types and institutional buildings (churches, schools, lodges) from sites throughout the study area. Examples are given for the kinds of lifeways that can be documented from various sources, including dwelling types, kinship and family structures, occupations, civil engagement, and justice issues. Detailed case studies of rural African American communities are provided in Chapters Four (Virginia) and Five (Maryland). Chapter Four covers the Batestown/Hickory Ridge and Manassas-area communities in Prince William County, Virginia. Chapter Five includes the Maryland communities of Sharpsburg and Red Hill in Washington County. The study concludes with a brief look at the impacts of twentieth-century events on rural African Americans in the region and provides recommendations for further research.

Geography of the National Capital Area

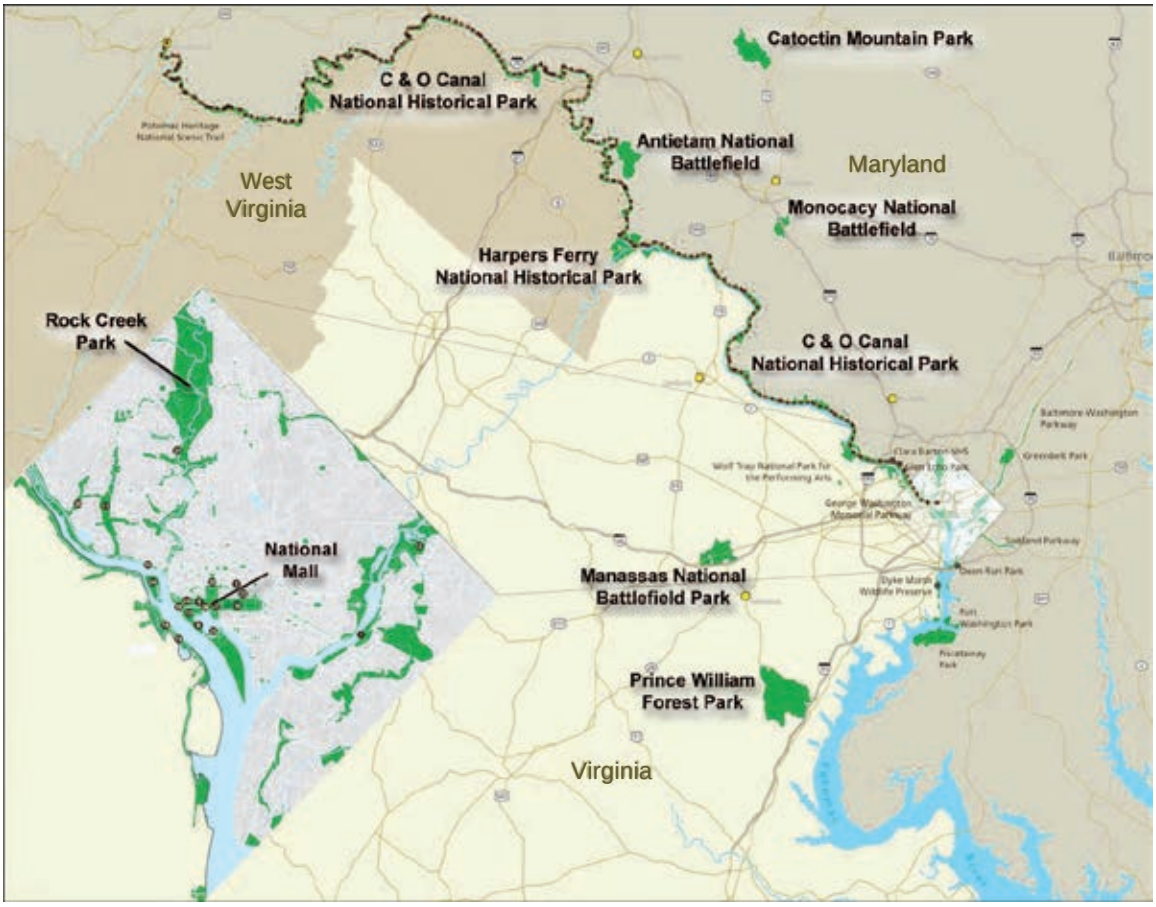


Figure 1: Map of the National Capital Area

The National Capital Area (formerly the National Capital Region) exists within Unified Interior Region 1: North Atlantic-Appalachian. The NCA boundary, referred to as the "Potomac region" for the purposes of this study, is inclusive of ten counties adjoining the Potomac River in the states of Virginia, Maryland, and West Virginia, and the District of Columbia (DC). The area stretches from the Potomac River's upper tidal area along Virginia's Prince William, Fairfax, and Arlington Counties (and the City of Alexandria), Maryland's Prince George's County, and DC, to the counties above the Great Falls, including Virginia's Loudoun County, Jefferson County in West Virginia, and the Maryland counties of Montgomery, Frederick, Washington, and Allegany (along the C&O Canal). It is, in many ways, a geographic microcosm of the nation, stretching from the tidewater to the mountains along the river that formed the boundary between North and South during the American Civil War.

Though divided during the Civil War, the Potomac region was tied together not just by geography but by shared culture. The region's southeastern counties shared the English tidewater development of tobacco plantations dependent upon enslaved Black labor, while the northwestern counties shared the German small-farm grain culture of the piedmont, where the enslaved people worked alongside paid laborers. Both Maryland and Virginia (historically inclusive of the District of Columbia and West Virginia) were located below the Mason-Dixon Line, but would soon be divided in war. This antebellum period in the Potomac region serves as an introduction to the ensuing story of the region's rural African American experience from 1865 to 1900.

Concluding Remarks about the Study

As previously noted, the stated purpose of this study is to provide an overview of the rural African American experience in the region and to detail some of those experiences through community case studies that will help expand interpretation at National Parks within the NCA. While the general public will benefit from more diverse and inclusive interpretive offerings at the wide variety of National Parks in the region, it is hoped that this report also provides a blueprint for further investigation of African American history and culture at state and local parks, museums, and private venues.

The narrative case studies included in this report reveal the sheer volume of detailed information that is currently available to build community histories. Although only four detailed case studies have been initially included, the historic communities, churches, schools, and lodges described in Chapter Three, as well as the lists of communities, Freedmen's Bureau schools, and Odd Fellows lodges found in Appendices A, B, and C, demonstrate the depth of the historic resources in the region. Whether those resources are extant or not, the human stories they reveal are a significant resource in the NPS, state, and local efforts to interpret a more inclusive American history.

The preparation of this study highlights the importance of remaining objective in the gathering and presentation of difficult history, while at the same time giving an authentic voice to the people involved. The experience of rural African Americans along the border between North and South during Reconstruction and the decades that followed is perhaps more nuanced than that of the African American experience in the Deep South. Where white supremacy, violence, and the oppressive statutes of the Deep South were clear and present, in Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia, they perhaps appeared to linger in the shadows. But there is danger in that nuance. James W.C. Pennington, who escaped his bondage on a Maryland farm in 1828, wrote in his 1846 memoir of his irritation at the perception of the "mildest form of slavery" in Maryland, saying, "[W]e need something

more than mere kindness. We ask for justice, truth, and honor as other men do."[4] So too, then, do we owe the African American people of the region that same honor through a true and just history of their lives amid the nation's post-emancipation milieu. It is hoped that the extension of this historic context into the rural counties of the Potomac region, documenting the struggles and triumphs of the individuals and communities that persevered through the roadblocks and inequities, is a step toward that goal.

[4] James W.C. Pennington, *The Fugitive Blacksmith* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1850), iv, *HathiTrust Digital Library,* https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000408477.

Introduction

There is no reason in the world why the Negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Abraham Lincoln, 1858[1]

Abraham Lincoln declared his belief in the "natural rights" of African Americans in 1858 during a debate with Stephen Douglas, three years before the start of the American Civil War and seven years before the constitutional abolition of slavery in the United States. What those rights would prove to include and how the African American "pursuit of happiness" played out during the postwar years of Reconstruction and the decades that followed, varied over time and by geographic region. In the South, the term "redemption" was used to describe southern state governments' return to white supremacy and Black oppression.[2] It provides a clear picture of how difficult the road would be for African Americans, particularly in the Deep South, but evident also in the Upper South or border states of Virginia, Maryland, and West Virginia. In the southern, former slaveholding states of the failed Confederacy, federal Reconstruction reforms gave way to sharecropping, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, lynching, and eventually Jim Crow laws that reinforced white supremacy and held African Americans in a state of social and political bondage. For the much smaller, mostly urban population of African Americans in the northern states, where most had lived free for several generations before the war, public support for Reconstruction-era constitutional reforms ensured better opportunities for work, education, and advancement, though still limited by racial prejudice.[3] These two regions have come to represent the two sides in the Civil War, as well as the ensuing political and social upheavals that grew out of Reconstruction and the decades that followed.

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[1] As cited in Kate Masur, *An Example for All the Land* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 21, Kindle edition.

[2] See Henry Louis Gates Jr., *Stony the Road: Reconstruction, White Supremacy, and the Rise of Jim Crow* (New York: Penguin Press, 2019), xv, Kindle edition: "I define the Redemption era as starting in 1877, when the last of the former Confederate states were reclaimed by Southern Democrats, and reaching its zenith in horror—the highest point of the lowest low—with the screening by President Woodrow Wilson at the White House in 1915 of D. W. Griffith's The Birth of a Nation."

[3] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper Perennial, rev. ed., 2014), 471–72.

Maryland and northwestern Virginia, on the border of North and South, were a complicated mix of the two larger regions. Bisected by the Potomac River, which marked the boundary between the Union (North) and the Confederacy (South) during the Civil War, and with the federal capital city of Washington at the center, political loyalties in many of the Maryland and Virginia border counties were divided. The divisions (often within families, among neighbors, and splitting whole towns) impacted the interpretation of Reconstruction reforms but also, perhaps, slowed the pace of later restrictive legislation. Significantly, enslaved and free African Americans were nearly equally represented in the prewar populations in the border counties, and already-established free communities served as a foundation of postwar independence for many Blacks in the region.

Background: Enslaved and Free African Americans in the Border Region to 1860

Sectional differences within the United States had been hardening since before the American Revolution that formed the Union. While the agricultural economy in the South grew to be largely dependent upon the forced labor of enslaved Africans and their African American descendants, mercantile trade and early industry came to dominate the economies of the states in the North. By the turn of the nineteenth century, many of the northern states had abolished or were in the process of abolishing slavery, even as the cotton boom in the southern states and territories accelerated the importation of enslaved African Americans, many coming from Maryland and Virginia.[4] Located below the Mason-Dixon Line, both Virginia and Maryland had developed tobacco and slave economies in the colonial era. After the Revolution, the lower and upper piedmont regions in both states shifted increasingly to less-labor-intensive wheat production, their surplus bondsmen and women "sold south" as demand there increased.

The Virginia colony is remembered as the first of the British colonies to import African slaves when, in 1619, nineteen enslaved Africans were traded to the Jamestown authorities by a Dutch slave ship in exchange for needed supplies.[5] However, enslaved African labor did not take hold on Chesapeake-region farms and plantations until later in the seventeenth century. Most primarily depended on the indentured (time-limited) enslavement of English immigrants and even a few Africans. By midcentury, a shortage of white laborers—due in part to the Great Plague, among other factors—prompted colonial

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[4] Edward Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told* (New York: Basic Books, 2016), 3, Kindle edition.

[5] Martha W. McCartney, "A Study of the Africans and African Americans on Jamestown Island and at Green Spring, 1619–1803" (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial National Historical Park, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 2003), 27, https://www.nps.gov/jame/learn/historyculture/upload/African%20Americans%20on%20Jamestown%20Island.pdf.

planters to look elsewhere for cheap labor. Initially, they hoped to hire or enslave Native Americans, but failed to entice enough to fill their needs. Instead, Chesapeake planters reportedly followed the example of other New World colonies, embracing African enslaved labor, who, like the Native Americans, were "an alien people whom they could conveniently enslave and hold in hereditary bondage on the basis of their non-Christian status and perceived barbarity."[6] In 1674, the Royal African Company facilitated the change to enslaved African labor, bringing slave ships directly to North American ports. Importation of African men, women, and children for sale in the Chesapeake region accelerated from the 1670s through the turn of the eighteenth century. According to one source, "twice as many African slaves were imported into the Chesapeake in the first decade of the 1700s as during the whole previous century."[7] The shift toward "racialized slavery"—that is, lifetime enslavement of Black Africans—was solidified through laws enacted in both Maryland and Virginia, establishing the slave-for-life, chattel status of Africans and their children.[8]

The Maryland and Virginia colonies prospered through the first half of the eighteenth century under the cultivation of tobacco, a lucrative cash crop. Tobacco fueled much of both colonies' westward settlement above the fall line onto the rich soils of the piedmont, while its labor-intensive culture drove the market for enslaved labor throughout the region. By the time of the first US Population Census of 1790, Virginia had the highest number of enslaved African Americans, with nearly 300,000 (39 percent of the state's total population), while Maryland was third, behind South Carolina's rice plantations, with just over 103,000 (32 percent of the total Maryland population).[9]

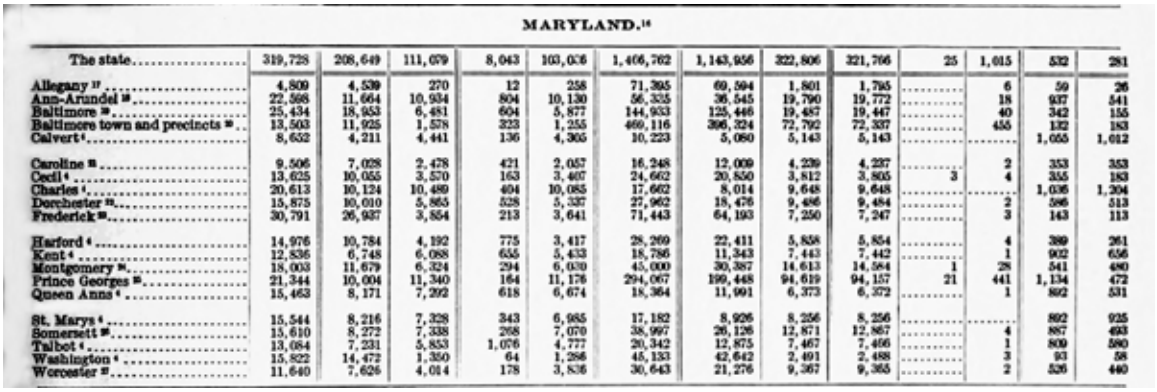
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6 Lorena S. Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, & Profit* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 19.

7 John B. Boles, *Black Southerners, 1619–1869* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1984), 16; see also Walsh, *Motives of Honor,* 21. Walsh notes that the monopoly status held by the Royal African Company was ended by the English Parliament in 1698, allowing increased importation by others. The importation of enslaved Africans into Maryland ended in the mid-eighteenth century, largely replaced by American-born children of enslaved women ("A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland," Maryland State Archives, 2007, accessed January 3, 2020, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/intromsa/pdf/slavery_pamphlet.pdf).

8 Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told,* 3; Boles, *Black Southerners,* 20.

9 US Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth from the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth, 1790–1900* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1909), 203–4; percentages given from "Slave, Free Black, and White Population, 1780–1830," accessed December 30, 2019, https://userpages.umbc.edu/~bouton/History407/SlaveStats.htm.



MARYLAND.[14]

The state	319,728	208,649	111,079	8,043	103,036	1,406,762	1,143,956	322,806	321,766	25	1,015	532	281
Allegany [17]	4,809	4,539	270	12	258	71,395	69,594	1,801	1,795		6	59	26
Ann-Arundel [18]	22,568	11,664	10,934	804	10,130	56,335	36,545	19,790	19,772		18	937	541
Baltimore [19]	25,434	18,953	6,481	604	5,877	144,933	125,446	19,487	19,447		40	342	155
Baltimore town and precincts [20]	13,503	11,925	1,578	323	1,255	469,116	396,324	72,792	72,337		455	132	183
Calvert [1]	8,652	4,211	4,441	136	4,305	10,223	5,080	5,143	5,143			1,055	1,012
Caroline [2]	9,506	7,028	2,478	421	2,057	16,248	12,009	4,239	4,237		2	353	353
Cecil [4]	13,625	10,055	3,570	163	3,407	24,662	20,850	3,812	3,805	3	4	355	183
Charles [4]	20,613	10,124	10,489	404	10,085	17,662	8,014	9,648	9,648			1,036	1,204
Dorchester [21]	15,875	10,010	5,865	528	5,337	27,962	18,476	9,486	9,484		2	596	513
Frederick [22]	30,791	26,937	3,854	213	3,641	71,443	64,193	7,250	7,247		3	143	113
Harford [4]	14,976	10,784	4,192	775	3,417	28,269	22,411	5,858	5,854		4	389	261
Kent [4]	12,836	6,748	6,088	655	5,433	18,786	11,343	7,443	7,442		1	902	656
Montgomery [23]	18,003	11,679	6,324	294	6,030	45,000	30,387	14,613	14,584	1	28	541	480
Prince Georges [24]	21,344	10,004	11,340	164	11,176	294,067	199,448	94,619	94,157	21	441	1,134	472
Queen Anns [4]	15,463	8,171	7,292	618	6,674	18,364	11,991	6,373	6,372		1	892	531
St. Marys [4]	15,344	8,216	7,328	343	6,985	17,182	8,926	8,256	8,256			892	925
Somerset [25]	13,610	8,272	7,338	268	7,070	38,997	26,126	12,871	12,867		4	887	493
Talbot [4]	13,084	7,231	5,853	1,076	4,777	20,342	12,875	7,467	7,466		1	809	580
Washington [4]	15,822	14,472	1,350	64	1,286	46,133	42,642	2,491	2,488		3	93	58
Worcester [2]	11,640	7,626	4,014	178	3,836	30,643	21,276	9,367	9,365		2	526	440

Figure 2: 1790 census table showing enslaved and free Black populations in Maryland
HathiTrust Digital Library

By 1790, Maryland and Virginia also led the country in the number of free African Americans within their total populations.[10] More than 1,800 free Blacks lived in Maryland as early as 1755, according to historian John B. Boles, and Virginia reached that number by 1782. Some were descendants of indentured Africans (prior to chattel slavery), who were free following their term of service, and others were freed (manumitted) by their enslavers from lifetime bondage for various reasons, including as "reward for a particularly meritorious act."[11] The American Revolution precipitated a significant increase of free African Americans in the region, in part because some slaveholders who fought for their own freedom from tyranny felt a moral imperative to free the people they themselves enslaved. The Virginia legislature legalized manumission "by will or any other instrument in writing" in 1782, where previously it could only be authorized by a "special legislative act" or a judgment by the governor.[12] In Maryland, manumission was allowed by deed recorded in

[10] *A Century of Population Growth,* 203–4. This statistic was in sheer numbers, not percentages. Virginia's more than 12,000 free Blacks represented just under 2 percent of the population, while Maryland's 8,000 free Blacks represented 2.5 percent of the state's total population. Both Delaware and Rhode Island had higher percentages but fewer total numbers of free Blacks ("Slave, Free Black, and White Population, 1780–1830," accessed December 30, 2019, https://userpages.umbc.edu/~bouton/History407/SlaveStats.htm).

[11] Boles, *Black Southerners,* 132. In 1796, St. George Tucker, in his published lecture entitled A Dissertation on Slavery, estimated 1,800 free blacks in Virginia in 1782 (St. George Tucker, *A Dissertation on Slavery: With a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of It in the State of Virginia* (Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1796), 72, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000621844.

[12] June Purcell Guild, *Black Laws of Virginia: A Summary of the Legislative Acts of Virginia Concerning Negroes from Earliest Times to the Present* (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1936), 61, 94, HathiTrust Digital Library, accessed January 3, 2020, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000340605/Home.

the county land records (an "instrument in writing"), but it had been illegal to enact by will since 1752. The law forbidding manumission by will was rescinded by the Maryland Assembly in 1790.[13]

Economics appears to have played a larger role in shifting the region's labor population as the war with England curtailed the tobacco trade. Virginia and Maryland tobacco production was already suffering from lower prices and depleted soils when British ports closed to American tobacco shipments during and after the war. Planters in the northern and western counties in Virginia and Maryland adopted wheat cultivation as the new money crop, altering the labor equation. The seasonal labor needs associated with grain production did not justify the expense of holding large numbers of enslaved laborers throughout the year. While enslaved men, women, and children still labored in the fields of the region, free Black and immigrant laborers played an increasingly larger role in the agricultural workforce. Surplus bondsmen were in some cases freed, but more often were leased locally or sold to planters in the Deep South (Figure 3).[14] Between 1790 and 1860, Maryland's enslaved population continuously declined in numbers, while the free Black population increased tenfold to more than 80,000. In Virginia, while the enslaved population continued to grow, the number of free Blacks also increased from just over 12,000 in 1790 to more than 55,000 in 1860.[15]



Slaves for Sale.

HOPE H. SLATTER, who has retired from the trade, has sold to me his establishment in Baltimore and leased for a number of years his old stand at the corner of Esplanade and Moreau streets, at which place I shall keep up a large and general assortment of SLAVES for sale, imported direct from Maryland and Virginia.

WALTER L. CAMPBELL,
Successor to Hope H. Slatter.

n6—1y¶

Figure 3: New Orleans advertisement for sale of Maryland and Virginia slaves, *Times-Picayune,* January 11, 1849
Newspapers.com

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[13] *Laws of Maryland, 1785–1791,* Vol. 204, "An ACT to continue the acts of assembly therein mentioned," 173, and "An ACT to repeal certain parts of an act, entitled, An act to prevent disabled and superannuated slaves being set free, or the manumission of slaves by any last will and testament, and of a supplementary act thereto, and for certain other purposes," 458, Archives of Maryland Online, accessed January 7, 2020, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000204/html/index.html.

[14] Max Grivno, *Gleanings of Freedom Free and Slave Labor along the Mason-Dixon Line, 1790–1860* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 64, 91, Kindle edition; Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told,* 2, table 1.1 illustrates the growing number of enslaved people sold South ("Forced Migration") between 1790 and 1840; Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 17. Fields estimates that 18,500 enslaved people from Maryland were either sold South or were forced to migrate with their enslavers between 1830 and 1860.

[15] Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, "Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States," Population Division, Working Paper No. 56, US Census Bureau, Washington, DC, Table 35 (Maryland) and Table 61 (Virginia), https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/working-papers/2002/demo/POP-twps0056.pdf.

The Accotink District of Fairfax County, Virginia, experienced a relatively radical change from enslaved to free labor through the 1840s and 1850s as the large plantations, including George Washington's Mount Vernon estate, were broken up and sold. Many of the northern purchasers were members of the Society of Friends (Quakers) from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, who sought to show Virginians that agriculture could thrive without enslaved labor. Members of a community of free Blacks known as Free Town, which grew from Washington's manumission of his slaves by will in 1799, worked as farm laborers for the new landowners or worked their own land.[16] The "free labor settlement" created by the northern Quakers in Fairfax County was unusual, but was made possible by the rising number of free African Americans in the region.

As their populations grew, free African Americans in both Maryland and Virginia faced increasingly restrictive laws through the first half of the nineteenth century. Though free Blacks in both states retained the right to buy, sell, and inherit property (real or personal), the accompanying right to vote was curtailed in Virginia in 1723 and Maryland in 1782.[17] A sample of Virginia's restrictive laws includes a section of the 1782 manumission law stating that "liberated slaves neglecting to pay levies and taxes [will] be hired out to raise them," along with a 1793 requirement for free Blacks to register in their municipality and carry a certificate attesting to their free status.[18] A ban against gatherings to educate free Blacks and religious meetings with African American preachers was enacted in Virginia in 1831, a direct response to the Virginia slave rebellion led by Black preacher Nat Turner.[19]

In Maryland, the General Assembly added economic restrictions on free Blacks in 1805 with an act preventing "free negroes from selling any corn, wheat or tobacco, without having a license for that purpose from a justice of the peace."[20] The law was expanded in 1831 to include the sale of oats, rye, beef, and pork, and required three neighbors to attest "that such free negro or mulatto came honestly and bona fide into possession of any such article so offered for sale." In the same 1831 statute, the ban on "tumultuous meetings" of

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[16] Susan Hellman and Maddy McCoy, "Soil Tilled by Free Men: The Formation of a Free Black Community in Fairfax County, Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (Vol. 125, No. 1, 2017), 39–67, JSTOR, accessed September 17, 2019, https://www.jstor.org/stable/i26322274.

[17] A 1723 law cited in St. George Tucker, *A Dissertation on Slavery,* 19, f.n. (f); *Hanson's Laws of Maryland 1763–1784,* Volume 203, page 350, Archives of Maryland Online, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000203/html/am203--350.html.

[18] Guild, *Black Laws of Virginia,* 94–95.

[19] "An Act to Amend the Act Concerning Slaves, Free Negroes and Mulattoes (April 7, 1831)," *Encyclopedia Virginia, Virginia Humanities,* accessed December 21, 2020, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/An_Act_to_amend_the_act_concerning_slaves_free_negroes_and_mulattoes_April_7_1831. William Waller Hening's Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia…, Volumes 1–13, are available on the HathiTrust Digital Library, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008587550.

[20] *Session Laws, 1805, Volume 607,* page 60, *Archives of Maryland Online,* http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000607/html/am607--60.html.

Maryland Blacks (enslaved or free), which were outlawed in 1806, was extended to "any religious meeting which was not conducted either by a licensed white preacher, or by some respectable white person of the neighborhood."[21] Like Virginia, Maryland lawmakers were responding to the fear of slave uprisings after Nat Turner's 1831 revolt. Maryland went further in 1842, banning African American membership in "secret societies," again intended to prevent gatherings of free Blacks that might lead to an insurrection from the enslaved population.[22]

In both states, children of free African Americans could be apprenticed by the county court "to learn a useful trade," if the child was an orphan or the family was deemed indigent. Adults could be sold to a term of service to fulfill fines and prison sentences or to pay debts.[23] Clearly, free African Americans in both Maryland and Virginia were viewed with growing apprehension and suspicion through the first half of the nineteenth century.

Much of that suspicion grew from the continuous loss of slaveholder's "property" to the Underground Railroad. Free African Americans played a significant role in aiding enslaved people seeking freedom above the Mason-Dixon Line. The growing movement in the northern states toward abolishing slavery, or at least preventing its spread into the expanding US territories, aggravated the sectional tension between North and South spawned during the American Revolution. The so-called "Compromise of 1850" was structured to abate some of that tension. While Congress admitted California to the Union as a "free state" to appease the North, it gave the southern states the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, which forced citizens in northern free states to aid in the recovery and return of "fugitive" slaves.[24] Instead of relieving the tension, however, the compromise instead further hardened the divide between North and South.

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[21] *Session Laws, 1831,* Volume 213, page 448–49, *Archives of Maryland Online,* http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000213/html/am213--448.html. See also Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 35.

[22] *Session Laws, 1842,* Volume 594, page 238, *Archives of Maryland Online,* http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000594/html/am594--238.html.

[23] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 35; John Henderson Russell, *The Free Negro in Virginia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1913), 40–41, 113.

[24] Cheryl Janifer LaRoche, "'The Balance Principle': Slavery, Freedom, and the Formation of the Nation," in Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg, eds., *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 252. LaRoche notes that the 1850 compromise had five parts: "a national fugitive slave law as compensation for the upset in the 'balance principle' between slave state and free [caused by the admission of California]; settled the boundary dispute between Texas and New Mexico; allowed free whites to decide for or against the introduction of slavery in the organization of New Mexico and Utah; and curtailed slave auctions and markets in Washington, DC, while permitting the continuation of slavery in the nation's capital."

Prologue: Civil War and the Road to Emancipation on the Border, 1861–1865

Figure 4: Map showing the distribution of the enslaved population of the southern states
Library of Congress

https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3861e.cw0013200/

In 1859, the simmering disagreement between the states over slavery came to a boil at the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers in Virginia. John Brown, known for his violent anti-slavery activities in Kansas, believed he could free the slaves by arming an "army of liberation." Brown chose Harpers Ferry, Virginia, to begin his war, where he planned to seize the weapons stored at the US Arsenal there. In what one Frederick resident referred to as the "Great excitement," on Sunday evening, October 16, 1859, John Brown and his men entered Harpers Ferry.[25] Within hours, they were met by a small

[25] David H. Wallace, transcriber, *Frederick Maryland in Peace and War 1856–1864, The Diary of Catherine Susannah Thomas Markell* [*Markell Diary*] (Frederick, MD: The Historical Society of Frederick County Inc., 2006), 68.

contingent of US Marines led by Col. Robert E. Lee. Brown was captured, and several of his men were killed when the Marines stormed the guard house where they had barricaded themselves with their hostages. By midday on Monday, the incursion was ended.[26]

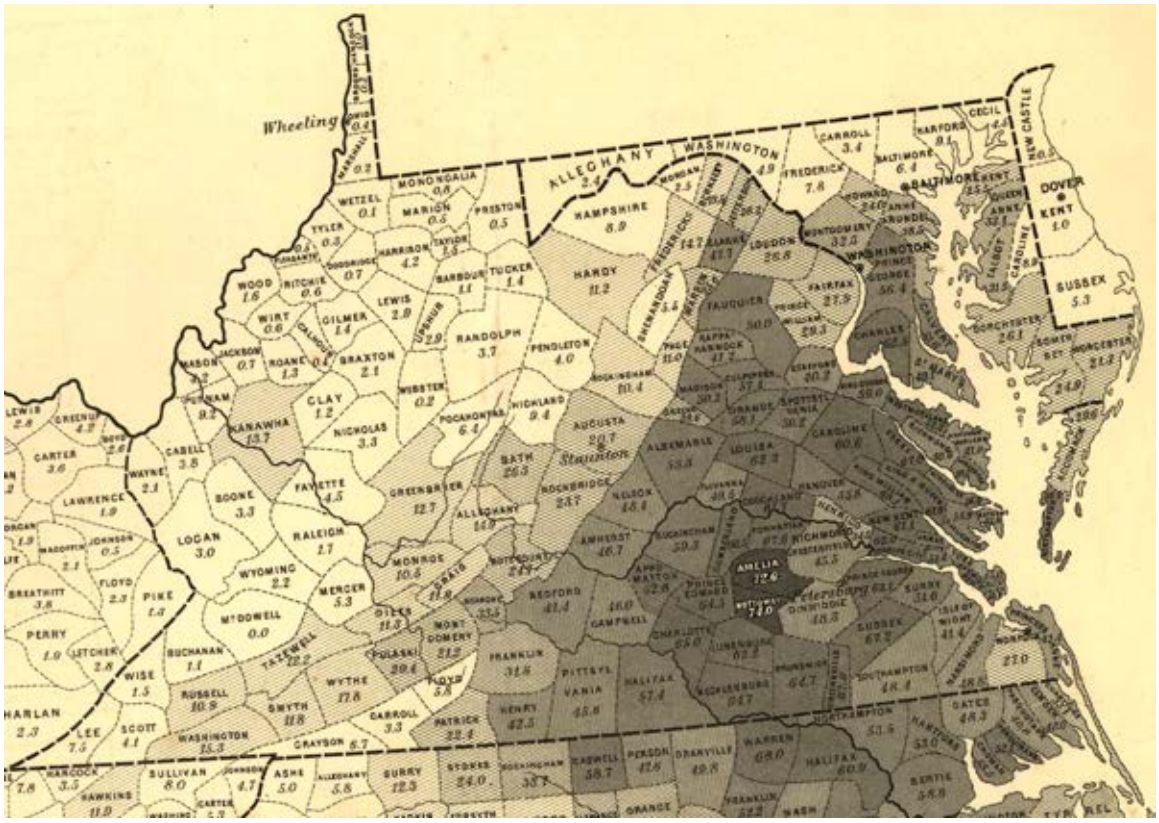
John Brown was hanged in Charles Town, Virginia (later West Virginia), for his attack on a federal installation. His final words foreshadowed the coming sectional conflict known as the American Civil War: "I. . .am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood."[27] A year later, the November 1860 election of Abraham Lincoln as president of the United States further hastened the division that would lead to war. On December 20, 1860, the South Carolina state legislature voted to secede from the United States. They were soon joined by the states of North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas.

The 1860 maps shown in Figures 4 and 5 illustrate the percentage of enslaved African Americans relative to the total population in each county of the southern and border states. The map provides an important graphic representation of the extent of enslaved labor in the United States just prior to the Civil War. At the center of the Potomac region was the District of Columbia, encompassing the federal city of Washington, Georgetown, and the rural Washington County district around them, in which more than 20 percent of the population was enslaved.

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[26] "Report. The Select Committee of the Senate appointed to inquire into the late invasion and seizure of the public property at Harpers Ferry," June 15, 1860 (Government Printing Office), Ruth Scarborough Library, Shepherd University, Shepherdstown, WV. This paragraph was originally written by Edie Wallace (the author) for the Monocacy National Battlefield National Historic Landmark update and boundary expansion in 2014 (this NHL update never went to review).

[27] As cited in Gary W. Gallagher et al., *The American Civil War: This Mighty Scourge of War* (Oxford: Osprey, 2003), 26.


Wheeling
ALLEGHANY
WASHINGTON
HAMPSHIRE
HARDY
RANDOLPH
TUCKER
PENDLETON
GREENBRIER
POCAHONTAS
NICHOLAS
CLAY
KANAWHA
FAYETTE
RALEIGH
WYOMING
LOGAN
BOONE
MERCER
MONROE
ALLEGHANY
BATH
AUGUSTA
ROCKBRIDGE
AMHERST
BEDFORD
CAMPBELL
FRANKLIN
PITTSYLVANIA
HENRY
PATRICK
CARROLL
GRAYSON
WASHINGTON
SMYTH
WYTHE
RUSSELL
TAZEWELL
BUCHANAN
DICKENSON
WISE
LEE
SCOTT
HARLAN
PERRY
PIKE
FLOYD
LAWRENCE
CARTER
GREENUP
LEWIS
WAYNE
CABELL
MASON
JACKSON
ROANE
CALHOUN
WIRT
WOOD
RITCHIE
GILMER
BRAXTON
LEWIS
HARRISON
TAYLOR
BARBOUR
UPSHUR
WEBSTER
MONONGALIA
MARION
PRESTON
TYLER
WETZEL
MARSHALL
OHIO
BROOKE
HANCOCK
MORGAN
BERKELEY
JEFFERSON
FREDERICK
CLARKE
LOUDOUN
FAIRFAX
PRINCE WILLIAM
FAUQUIER
RAPPAHANNOCK
CULPEPER
MADISON
ORANGE
SPOTSYLVANIA
STAFFORD
KING GEORGE
ALBEMARLE
LOUISA
GREENE
ORANGE
CAROLINE
HANOVER
KING WILLIAM
KING & QUEEN
ESSEX
GLOUCESTER
MATHEWS
MIDDLESEX
NEW KENT
CHARLES CITY
JAMES CITY
YORK
WARWICK
NELSON
BUCKINGHAM
CUMBERLAND
AMELIA
POWHATAN
CHESTERFIELD
PRINCE EDWARD
APPOMATTOX
CHARLOTTE
LUNENBURG
MECKLENBURG
HALIFAX
PITTSYLVANIA
HENRY
PATRICK
FLOYD
MONTGOMERY
PULASKI
GILES
MERCER
MCDOWELL
WYOMING
RALEIGH
LOGAN
BOONE
KANAWHA
CLAY
NICHOLAS
GREENBRIER
POCAHONTAS
WEBSTER
RANDOLPH
TUCKER
HARDY
HAMPSHIRE
ALLEGHANY
WASHINGTON
CARROLL
FREDERICK
BALTIMORE
HARFORD
CECIL
NEW CASTLE
KENT
DOVER
SUSSEX
WORCESTER
SOMERSET
ACCOMACK
NORTHAMPTON
SOUTHAMPTON
ISLE OF WIGHT
SURRY
PRINCE GEORGE
DINWIDDIE
SUSSEX
GREENSVILLE
BRUNSWICK
LUNENBURG
NOTTOWAY
PRINCE EDWARD
CUMBERLAND
POWHATAN
AMELIA
CHESTERFIELD
HENRICO
RICHMOND
PETERSBURG
PRINCE GEORGE
SURRY
SUSSEX
ISLE OF WIGHT
SOUTHAMPTON
GATES
HERTFORD
PERQUIMANS
PASQUOTANK
CAMDEN
CURRITUCK
NORFOLK
PORTSMOUTH
CHESAPEAKE
VIRGINIA BEACH
NANSEMOND
SUFFOLK
ELIZABETH CITY
WARREN
FRANKLIN
GRANVILLE
PERSON
CASWELL
ROCKINGHAM
STOKES
SURRY
ASHE
ALLEGHANY
WILKES
SULLIVAN
JOHNSON
CARTER
HAWKINS
GREENE
WASHINGTON
GRAYSON
WYTHE
SMYTH

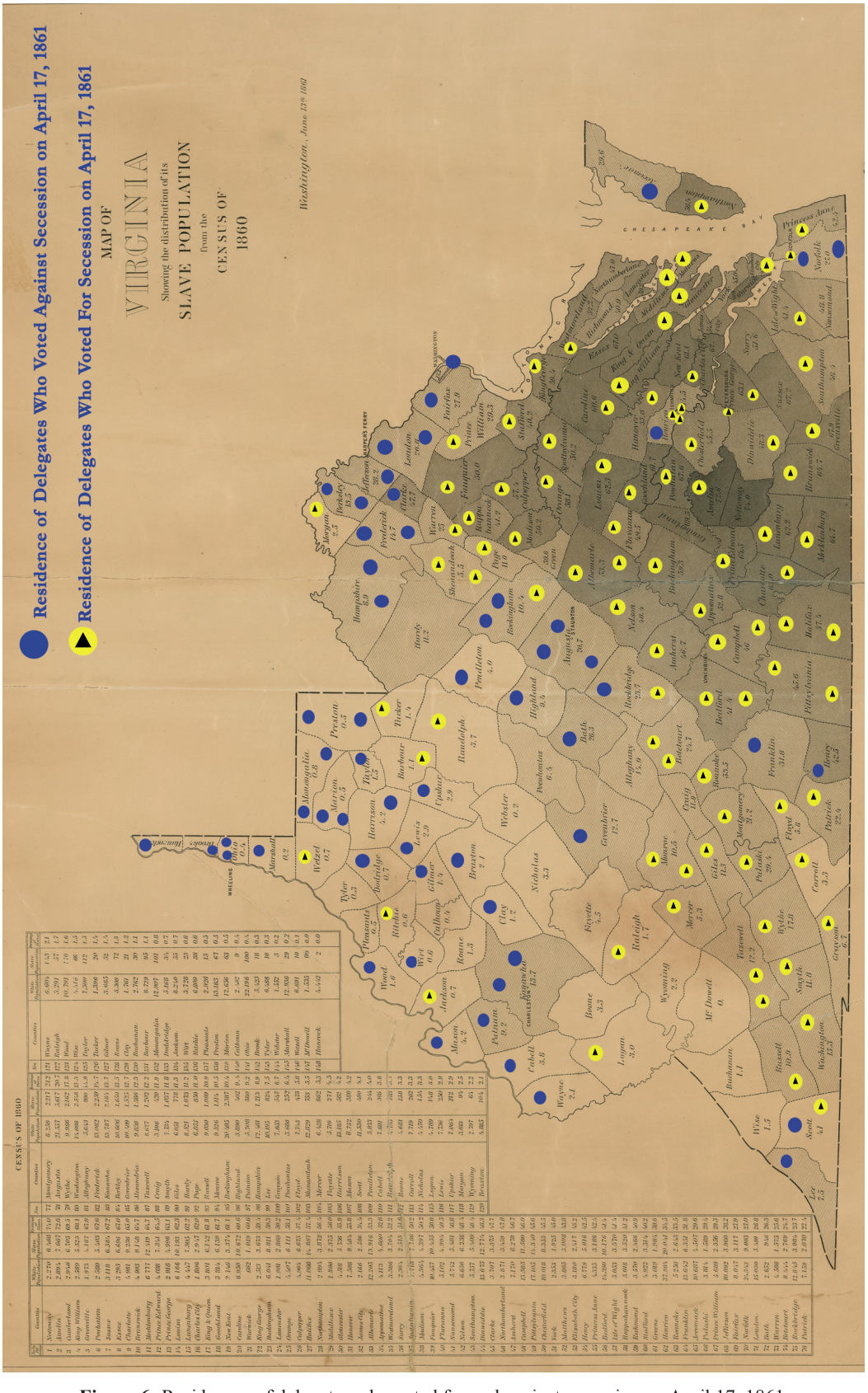


Figure 6: Residences of delegates who voted for and against secession on April 17, 1861
Library of Virginia

(including Berkeley and Jefferson counties) were split by one delegate who signed and another who did not sign. The block of Virginia's northwest counties, where enslaved people represented only a very small segment of the population, seceded from the state in 1863 to rejoin the Union as the state of West Virginia.[29]

The divide within Maryland was equally clear geographically (see Figure 5). The southern and eastern counties, where tobacco production remained the dominant cash crop, continued their dependence on enslaved labor. These included Prince George's and Montgomery counties, which bordered the federal city on the east, north, and west. Maryland's northern and western wheat-growing counties, including Frederick, Washington, and Allegany along the upper Potomac River, showed significantly lower percentages of enslaved people. Though the slaveholding counties had smaller white populations, they historically held the majority in the Maryland legislature. This was accomplished by including the enslaved population in the count to determine representation, despite their inability to vote. Thus, notes historian Barbara Jeanne Fields, northern Maryland's thirty-seven delegates actually represented "twice as many white citizens as the thirty-seven delegates from southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore."[30] This political dominance of the slaveholders in Maryland would end with the coming war.

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[29] "How Virginia Convention Delegates Voted on Secession, April 4 and April 17, 1861, and Whether They Signed a Copy of the Ordinance of Secession," *Education@Library of Virginia,* "Union or Secession, Virginians Decide," accessed January 9, 2020, http://www.virginiamemory.com/docs/votes_on_secession.pdf?_ga=2.20612024.1801777395.1578592816-93862292.1577732683. Both Berkeley and Jefferson Counties were not initially included in the new state of West Virginia, but were added—unwillingly by some accounts—to secure the B&O Railroad for the Union. See Millard Kessler Bushong, *A History of Jefferson County, West Virginia, 1719–1940* (Heritage Books, 2007), 194.

[30] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 21. Maryland's enslaved people were each counted as one person, rather than the three-fifths rule used by the federal government. Though fully counted for the "legislative apportionment," they could not vote in the elections. "The slaves' mute voice thus augmented the voice of their owners" (Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 21).

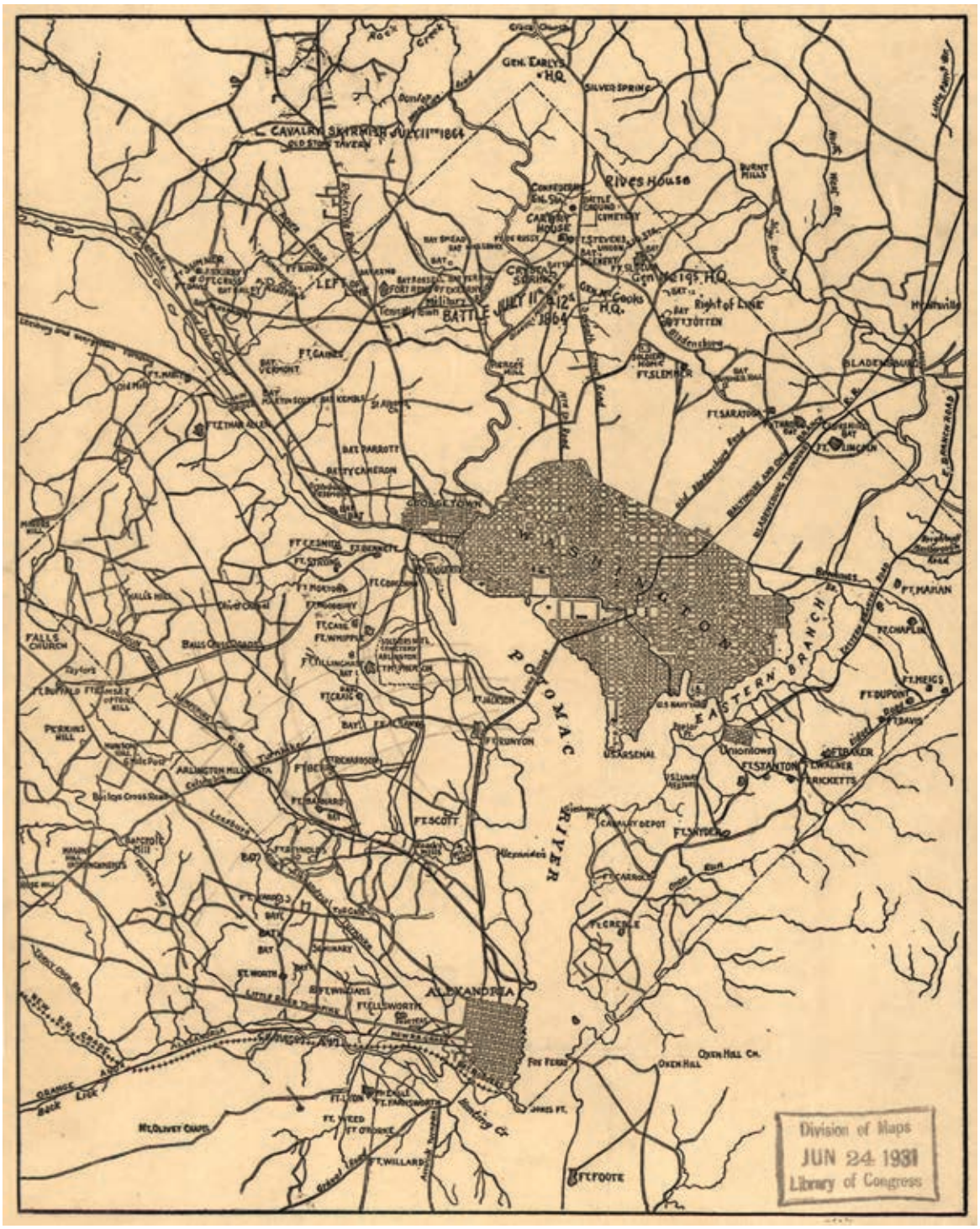


Figure 7: Map of Fortifications and Defenses of Washington
Library of Congress

The presence of the US capital at the center of the Potomac region shaped the physical and political landscape of the region during the Civil War. Following Virginia's vote to secede from the Union, the federal government moved to protect the capital city of

Washington along its southern Potomac border. A series of forts and defensive works were constructed from below Alexandria through Fairfax County, establishing a permanent Union presence within Confederate Virginia territory (Figure 7). At the same time, the government took steps to ensure that Maryland would remain within the Union by preventing secessionist representatives from voting in the crucial secession vote. The ring of Union forts and defenses encircled the federal city on the Maryland side of the river as well, primarily located within the District of Columbia boundaries, but a few installations extended into Maryland's Montgomery and Prince George's counties.

Two vital Union transportation routes also ran through Maryland and part of Virginia—the Baltimore & Ohio (B&O) Railroad and the Chesapeake & Ohio (C&O) Canal. The C&O Canal occupied the Maryland side of the Potomac River, running from Georgetown to Cumberland in Allegany County, Maryland. The B&O Railroad proceeded from Baltimore, past Frederick, to Weverton at the southern tip of Washington County, Maryland. There it crossed into Virginia at Harpers Ferry and continued to Martinsburg before crossing the river back into Maryland and continuing to Cumberland and beyond. The strategic value of the railroad and canal ensured a strong Union presence along the Potomac River, which formed the Maryland-Virginia border.

Though President Lincoln assured slaveholders that the federal government was not seeking to end slavery, the enslaved people of Maryland and Virginia knew that as soon as Union troops appeared, freedom was within their grasp. "As the first federal troops made their way through Maryland en route to Washington in April 1861," notes Fields, "slaves begged to be taken along."[31] In Virginia, three enslaved men sought freedom within the Union line at Fort Monroe, where General Benjamin F. Butler declared them "contraband of war" and refused to return them to their "owners." By July there were nearly one thousand "contraband" individuals in the camp at Fort Monroe.[32] By August 1861, Congress passed the Confiscation Act, which formalized the government's right to retain "any person claimed to be held to labor" if their labor was used "against the Government."[33] The Second Confiscation Act, which passed in July 1862, declared the "contraband of war" to be free.[34] The area inside Washington's ring of forts quickly became a haven for African American freedom seekers.

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[31] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 92.

[32] Paula Tarnapol Whitacre, *A Civil Life in an Uncivil Time: Julia Wilbur's Struggle for Purpose* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 72–73.

[33] "The First Confiscation Act," citing *Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations of the United States of America,* vol. 12 (Boston: n.p., 1863), 319, *Freedmen & Southern Society Project* (University of Maryland, History Department), accessed January 13, 2020, http://www.freedmen.umd.edu/conact1.htm.

[34] "The Second Confiscation Act," citing *Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations of the United States of America,* vol. 12 (Boston: n.p., 1863), 589, *Freedmen & Southern Society Project* (University of Maryland, History Department), accessed January 13, 2020, http://www.freedmen.umd.edu/conact2.htm.

In March 1862, Congress enacted an "Additional Act of War" that protected all African American freedom seekers who found their way to Union lines, forbidding their return to "any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due."[35] Union troops protecting the B&O Railroad in Harpers Ferry, Martinsburg, and Maryland became magnets for self-emancipating bondsmen. Congress followed in April with the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. From Sharpsburg in Washington County, Maryland, Savilla Miller wrote to her sister in Iowa in 1862: "Sunday night. . .old black Sam walked off.... [They go] to Martinsburg. . .[to] get on the cars and go to Washington City, then they are free."[36] By October 1862, Julia Wilbur, a relief worker for the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society, found hundreds of women and children in the contraband camp outside of Washington known as Camp Barker (675 refugees, according to a *Washington Star* report), along with five hundred to a thousand in Alexandria.[37]

By the summer of 1862, President Lincoln had decided to issue a proclamation freeing African Americans enslaved in the states in rebellion, including Virginia. The forty-eight northwestern Virginia counties that were in the process of creating the new state of West Virginia (still a year away) were exempt—with the exception of Jefferson and Berkeley Counties, which were not in the original statehood bill.[38] Maryland, like the other border slave states still within the Union (Delaware, Kentucky, Missouri, along with parts of Tennessee and Louisiana), was also exempt, though Lincoln continued to press for emancipation in those states, with compensation to loyal owners. Lincoln waited for a Union victory to announce his intention. That victory came in September 1862, after the battle at Antietam Creek near Sharpsburg, Maryland—the battle that forced an end to Confederate General Robert E. Lee's first invasion into Northern territory. When Lincoln unveiled his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862, it was viewed by many as a way to force the border states to follow suit. While the Maryland delegation in Congress voted against a resolution to support the president's proclamation, local newspaper editors voiced a more realistic opinion:

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[35] "Law Enacting an Additional Article of War," citing *Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations of the United States of America,* vol. 12 (Boston: n.p., 1863), 354, *Freedmen & Southern Society Project* (University of Maryland, History Department), accessed January 13, 2020, http://www.freedmen.umd.edu/artwar.htm.

[36] Letter from Millie [Savilla Miller] to sister Amelia (Miller) Hauser, n.d. (probably late spring 1862), in Jan Wetterer, ed., *The Letters of the Jacob Miller Family of Sharpsburg, Washington County, Maryland* (Hagerstown, MD: J. Wetterer, 1994), Western Maryland Room, Washington County Free Library, Hagerstown, MD; also on file at Antietam National Battlefield Library, Sharpsburg, MD.

[37] Whitacre, *A Civil Life in an Uncivil Time,* 85.

[38] J. Duane Squires, "Lincoln and West Virginia Statehood," *West Virginia History* (Volume 24, Number 4, July 1963), http://www.wvculture.org/history/journal_wvh/wvh24-4.html. Lincoln's approval of the act creating the state of West Virginia was given only upon the adoption of a gradual emancipation amendment to the West Virginia constitution.

> The time has passed when we could delude ourselves with the hope that Slavery would survive the ordeal of Rebellion and come out of the fire unscathed. Every reflecting man now sees that its doom is written; let us, therefore, devise and pursue such prudent counsels, as we may prepare us for the impending social revolution, and avert its calamities. Perhaps, it is not too late yet, to propose a basis of adjustment, which may lead to Reconciliation and Peace.[39]

President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation took effect on January 1, 1863. The move would have little practical effect on the enslaved people in the South, but it did have the intended effect on several of the border states, including Maryland and Missouri, as these states began to move toward abolition of slavery within their borders.

The beginning of the end for slaveholders in Maryland came later in 1863, when the Union army began enlisting Black men. Recruitment began among free Blacks in October 1863, but expanded to the enlistment of enslaved men with the War Department's General Order 329, including "slaves of disloyal owners, and slaves of consenting loyal owners in the border states."[40] The enslaved men would be free at the end of their service, while the slaveholders who proved themselves loyal to the Union were entitled to compensation for the enlistment of their slaves. Some slaveholders in Maryland viewed this as perhaps their last opportunity to receive payment for the loss of their "property." Twenty such men in Washington County, Maryland, claimed compensation for the enlistment of twenty-seven enslaved men.[41] However, not all loyal slaveholders willingly parted with their bondsmen. Sixteen-year-old Jeremiah Summers was enslaved on the Henry Piper farm near Sharpsburg when he was enlisted by US Colored Troops recruiters in April 1864. Piper, who described himself as "a truly loyal citizen of the United States," protested to the local Provost Marshal and forced the return of Summers to his farm (Figure 8).[42] Union recruiters reportedly enlisted Maryland bondsmen "by the thousands," resulting in the virtual dissolution of slavery in the border state.[43]

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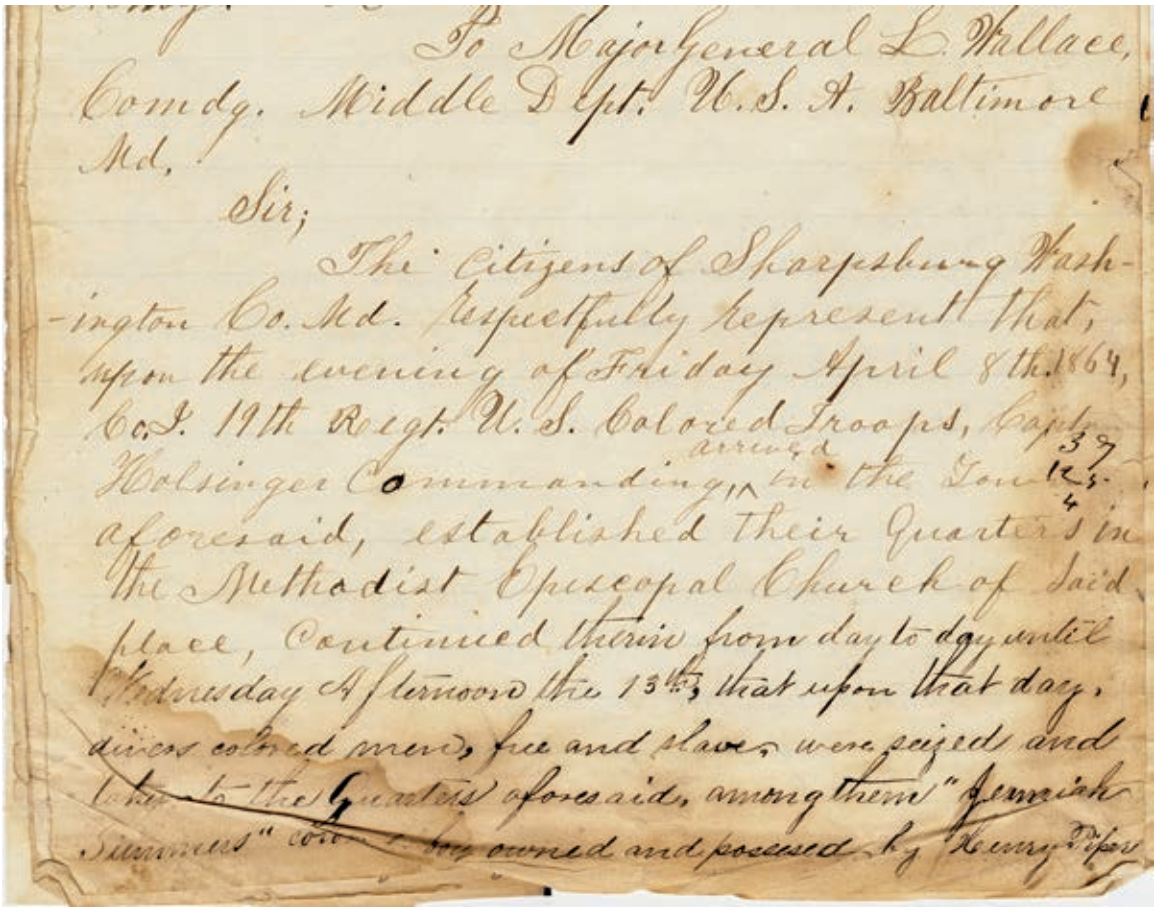
[39] *The Examiner,* Frederick, Maryland, October 1, 1862.

[40] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 125.

[41] Dean Herrin, "Antietam Rising: The Civil War and Its Legacy in Sharpsburg, Maryland, 1860–1900," manuscript (Antietam National Battlefield, March 2002), 20, on file at Antietam National Battlefield Library, Sharpsburg, MD.

[42] "20.1.1.2382, John Miller, Chairman, Sharpsburg Report, holograph document signed, April 13, 1864," item: 2382, and "20.1.1.1921, Piper, Henry: Statement, April 15, 1864," items: 1921 and 1922, Maryland Manuscripts collection, 0047-MDHC, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries.

[43] "A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland," 16, *Maryland State Archives Presents: Legacy of Slavery in Maryland,* "Research Resources, accessed January 16, 2020, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/intromsa/pdf/slavery_pamphlet.pdf.


To Major General L. Wallace,
Comdg. Middle Dept. U.S.A. Baltimore
Md.

Sir;

The Citizens of Sharpsburg Washington Co. Md. respectfully represent that, upon the evening of Friday April 8th 1864, Co. I. 19th Regt. U.S. Colored Troops, Capt. Holsinger Commanding arrived in the Town aforesaid, established their Quarters in the Methodist Episcopal Church of said place, continued therein from day to day until Wednesday Afternoon the 13th inst. that upon that day, divers colored men, free and slave, were seized and taken to the Quarters aforesaid, among them "Jeremiah Summers" who was owned and possessed by Henry Piper

Figure 8: Henry Piper / Jeremiah Summers war document
Item: 2382, Maryland Manuscripts collection, 0047-MDHC, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Maryland Libraries

The highly controversial November 1863 election in Maryland provided the necessary political change to move toward abolishing the institution of slavery in the state. Voters were required to take a Union loyalty oath, which disproportionately impacted voters in the southern and Eastern Shore counties. Unconditional Unionists (Radical Republicans) like Henry Winter Davis, who was known for his strong anti-slavery views, campaigned against the political power of the wealthy slaveholding minority in those counties. In a September 1863 speech, Davis's description of slavery appealed to the political injustice of "the domination of an interest over free men; of property over people; of aristocratic privilege over republican equality, of a minority over a majority," rather than the moral injustice of slavery.[44] "The appeal," notes historian Charles Wagandt, "was to the middle class of the north and west and to white laborers and plain farmers throughout

[44] *Baltimore American,* September 10, 1863, as cited in Charles Lewis Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862–1864* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2004), 143.

Maryland."[45] The political fight for emancipation in Maryland thus appeared to pivot on political and economic power, rather than the moral rightness of freeing enslaved African Americans. The election result did, however, provide a majority of representatives in the Maryland Assembly pledged to the abolition of slavery in Maryland.

On February 9, 1864, the new Assembly passed a bill calling for a Constitutional Convention to be convened, its primary purpose, to write a new Maryland Constitution that would abolish slavery and reapportion state representation away from the slaveholders. The bill set the stage for another contentious election, this one a referendum on the Constitutional Convention Bill. The apparently near-universal fear of "negro equality" that emancipation might bring prompted Unconditional Union delegates in Allegany County to assure voters of their opposition to "negro equality at the ballot-box, in the jury-box, on the witness-stand, or elsewhere."[46] Though voters were again required to take the loyalty oath, it was inconsistently enforced. All of the counties of southern Maryland, including Montgomery and Prince George's, and most of the Eastern Shore counties voted against the Constitutional Convention. Still, the more heavily populated Baltimore City and northern and western counties voted strongly in favor of the convention. The referendum passed by a large majority—31,593 to 19,524—with the majority of delegates "pledged to unconditional emancipation."[47] Meeting in October 1864, the convention drafted a new Maryland Constitution in which Article 24 of the Declaration of Rights stated: "That hereafter, in this State, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and all persons held to service or labor as slaves, are hereby declared free."[48] Maryland's nearly 90,000 men, women, and children would be free on November 1, 1864. Their rights as citizens, however, were yet to be decided.

Meanwhile, Virginia's enslaved people were taking advantage of the war's disruption and the presence of Union troops to enact their own emancipation, as noted previously. Additionally, an estimated 5,000 free and enslaved African Americans from Virginia joined the Union army beginning in 1863.[49] Those unable to escape their bondage would be freed

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[45] Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution,* 143.

[46] Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution,* 195; 217, quote citing the Allegany Co. *Civilian and Telegraph,* April 7, 1864.

[47] Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution,* 217. Of the Eastern Shore counties, Caroline, Talbot, and Worcester voted in favor of the Constitutional Convention.

[48] Edward Otis Hinkley, ed., *The Constitution of the State of Maryland* (Baltimore: J. Murphy & Co., 1864), 16, HathiTrust Digital Library, accessed January 15, 2020, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008586816.

[49] "Research: 240 Blacks from Albemarle County Fought with the Union in the Civil War," *UVA Today,* accessed January 15, 2020, https://news.virginia.edu/content/research-240-blacks-albemarle-county-fought-union-civil-war.

shortly after the end of the war by the Thirteenth Amendment to the US Constitution, passed by Congress in January 1865 and ratified by the states (all northern at that time) on December 6, 1865. An estimated 500,000 men, women, and children in Virginia were free.

The End of War and Transition to a New Life

Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered his Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox Courthouse on April 9, 1865. Though fighting continued elsewhere, Lee's surrender in Virginia marked the end of the Confederacy and the American Civil War. Congress had already established that slavery in the United States would end. The next task was to determine how to bring the Confederate states back into the Union. Another important issue in front of Congress was how to shift four million formerly enslaved African Americans into American society. Some of the work had already begun in March 1865 when Congress established the federal Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (i.e., the Freedmen's Bureau). President Lincoln had ideas about how to bring about the reconstruction of the Union but reportedly had no "fixed plan."[50] Then, on April 14, 1865, an assassin's bullet put an end to the possibilities of Lincoln's Reconstruction. The task would fall to newly inducted President Andrew Johnson, the Republican Congress, and the individual states.

For most African Americans, both free and newly freed, the political arena within which the details of Reconstruction were fleshed out was of little importance next to the daily struggle of maintaining their freedom in post–Civil War America.[51] From 1865 through 1900, African Americans faced persistent and often violent white resistance to "Negro equality," lawmakers who crafted ways to circumvent the legal advances made during Reconstruction, and the "redemption" of white supremacist state governments. And while aid from religious societies and the Freedmen's Bureau focused on larger Black populations in the cities and Black-majority counties of the Deep South, the rural African American experience in the Potomac region appears to have been one of determined self-help, largely accomplished in small communities formed around churches and schools, on Black-owned land and tenancies alike.

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[50] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 73.

[51] This statement is not intended to diminish the significant role of the African Americans who served in a wide variety of public offices during Reconstruction.

CHAPTER ONE

RECONSTRUCTION

The former relation has to be unlearnt by both parties.

HENRY WILLIAM RAVENEL, JANUARY 1866[1]

Introduction[2]

In the spring of 1865, the war-torn United States entered into a period of recovery known as Reconstruction. Two overarching questions dominated the public and political discourse: What should be required of the rebellion states to restore their place in the Union, and how can formerly enslaved African Americans integrate into the American social order? Both would require the federal government to establish the goals and guidelines, and the recalcitrant states to follow through to re-establish their own governing authority. Many of those goals hinged on issues of "Negro equality," in work, education, and family matters; in the courts; and in the voting booth. How Americans—both Black and white—responded to these issues shaped American society for many decades to follow (continuing even now), reaching deeply into local communities. It exposed the breadth of racial prejudice in the United States and the unceasing determination of African Americans to live as free Americans.

Within the national context of Reconstruction and the decades that followed, each state and local community tells its own story, each differing in the details, particularly along the border regions between North and South. The postwar decades in the District of Columbia, Virginia, Maryland, and West Virginia, particularly the counties surrounding

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[1] Arney R. Childs, ed., *The Private Journal of Henry William Ravenel 1859–1887* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1947), 269, as cited in Foner, Reconstruction, 131. The Henry William Ravenel Papers are digitized on *Digital Collections, University of South Carolina Libraries,* accessed January 21, 2020, https://digital.library.sc.edu/collections/henry-william-ravenel.

[2] For a national overview of Reconstruction, see Gregory Downs and Kate Masur, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1861–1900,* National Historic Landmark Theme Study (Washington, DC: Cultural Resources, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 2017).

the District and westward along the upper Potomac River to Jefferson County, West Virginia (the "Potomac region" for the purposes of this report), provide a narrowed context for the rural African American experience during this period, from 1865 through 1900.

"Presidential Reconstruction," 1865–1866

Vice President Andrew Johnson rose to the US presidency following the death of President Lincoln in April 1865. His initial attempt to quickly "reconstruct" the Southern states failed, resulting in restored state governments dominated by former Confederates. Johnson, a Democrat, believed the states, not the federal government, should determine the civil rights of African Americans within their borders. Throughout his political career in his home state of Tennessee, Johnson's mission had always been to break the hold of the former slaveholding aristocracy—the "slaveocracy" as he called it—over Southern state politics.[3] He believed the white yeoman farmers, many of whom were former Confederates, should rise to restore their state governments, saying in 1865, "White men alone must manage the South," suggesting that Blacks should "emigrate to some other country."[4]

President Johnson's plan for reconstruction was at odds with the incoming Republican-dominated Thirty-Ninth Congress. The new Congress was elected in November 1864, the same election that brought Abraham Lincoln to his second term as President. But while President Lincoln began his second term in March 1865 and, after his death in April, was immediately replaced by President Andrew Johnson, the Thirty-Ninth Congress was not seated until December 1865. It was during this interim period that President Johnson enacted his reconstruction plan, often referred to by historians as "Presidential Reconstruction."

Beginning in May 1865, Johnson readmitted the "restored" state governments of Virginia, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Tennessee. All had been formed during the Civil War in defiance of Confederate state governments and with President Abraham Lincoln's encouragement and approval. However, Johnson's lenient policy toward enfranchisement of former Confederates and unwillingness to mandate African American suffrage resulted in essentially unreconstructed governments.[5] "Black Codes" enacted by the "restored" governments, which ensured white domination over a strictly regulated, nominally free African American population, revealed the flaw in Johnson's plan.[6]

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[3] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 176.

[4] As cited in Foner, *Reconstruction,* 180–81.

[5] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 182.

[6] W.E.B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), location 4632, Kindle edition.

Radical Republican members of the new Congress held a starkly different view for the path to reconstruction of the Union. They desired a complete reordering of governance in the Southern states, disfranchising former Confederates and enfranchising African American men. Indeed, when representatives elected to Congress from the "restored" Southern states arrived in Washington in December 1865, their credentials were rejected by the Republican-led "Joint Committee on Reconstruction."[7] With the Southern Democrats denied their seats, Republicans held a substantial majority in the Thirty-Ninth Congress. However, it was the moderates of the party, rather than the radicals, who led the Congress through the 1866 session. While Black suffrage stood at the center of the Radical Republican's plan for reconstruction, moderate members appeared unready to embrace that social revolution.

Instead, the Thirty-Ninth Congress enacted two important bills designed to mitigate some of the consequences of the Johnson reconstruction plan. The Civil Rights Act, passed April 9, 1866, provided protection "for all persons born in the United States," without regard to "race or color," to make labor contracts, to seek equal justice under the law, and to have the same rights of property "as is enjoyed by white citizens."[8] On July 16, 1866, Congress passed an amended version of the 1865 act that created the Freedmen's Bureau. The 1866 act added two years to the Freedmen's Bureau mission, originally established for a one-year term. The act also specifically extended the purview of the Bureau "to *all* loyal refugees and freedmen" (emphasis added) to include those impacted in the border states.[9] The Freedmen's Bureau provided direct aid for education, mediated legal disputes and labor contracts, reunited families and legalized marriages, distributed subsistence supplies for the destitute, and attempted to redistribute land. Congress passed both acts over President Johnson's veto.[10]

In June 1866, Congress passed the Fourteenth Amendment to the US Constitution (ratified July 28, 1868), granting citizenship to all people "born or naturalized in the United States."[11] The amendment did not mandate "universal manhood suffrage" (women's suffrage was not yet on the table), but instead stated that if any eligible males were excluded

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7 "The Civil War: The Senate's Story," *US Senate,* accessed February 19, 2020, https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/civil_war/VictoryTragedyReconstruction.htm.

8 "A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: US Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774–1875, *Statutes at Large, 39th Congress, 1st Session, 27, Library of Congress,* accessed February 20, 2020, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=014/llsl014.db&recNum=58.

9 *Statutes at Large, 39th Congress, 1st Session,* 173, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=014/llsl014.db&recNum=204. The Thirty-Eighth Congress passed the act that established the Freedmen's Bureau in March 1865, just prior to their adjournment. The Bureau was given one year to complete its mission. The same Congress also chartered the Freedman's Saving and Trust Company, which failed in 1874 (Foner, *Reconstruction,* 69).

10 Foner, *Reconstruction,* 247–50.

11 *Statutes at Large, 39th Congress, 1st Session,* 358, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=014/llsl014.db&recNum=389.

from the right to vote, those persons could not be counted in the apportionment of Congressional representation. Thus states could deny Black men the right to vote, but the state would then be eligible for fewer seats in the House of Representatives. The unfortunate result of this loophole was that the Southern states "restored" under Johnson's plan, as well as most Northern states, were more willing to accept reduced representation in Congress than to grant Black enfranchisement.[12]

The issue of Black male suffrage became a central point of contention in the attempts to reconstruct the Union. As the Republican Congress asserted its power through 1866, African American groups began to assert their power as a potential voting bloc. When the National Equal Rights League Convention of Colored Men met in Washington in January 1867, the delegates prepared an "Address to Congress," saying in part: "Wherever your jurisdiction extends and especially throughout all the Territories lately in rebellion, where States are in due time to be reconstructed, and the whole subject of the rights and franchises of citizenship is to be adjusted, there we ask you to secure to our people in partial suffrage and all the rights and privileges of American citizens, equality before the laws of our country."[13] Numerous local groups weighed in on the issue as well, inundating Congress with pleas to give African Americans the tools, particularly the right to vote, to allow them to participate in shaping their future.[14]

The fatal flaw in President Johnson's reconstruction plan was allowing the former Confederate states to shape their own future and the future of the African Americans living within their borders. The Virginia, Maryland, and West Virginia "Black codes," governing African American freedom of movement, labor, and education, were relatively mild compared to the codes enacted by states in the Deep South, who were, according to one Louisiana Republican, determined to return "back as near to slavery as possible."[15] In all the states, these decidedly unreconstructed laws, which applied to both "free and freed" Blacks, ignited strong responses from politically active African American groups and from

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[12] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 252. The constitutional amendment of course also applied to Northern states, where only five (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island) already had universal male suffrage, while New York allowed Black male property holders to vote. Small Black populations in Northern states reduced the representation penalty. In 1869, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Iowa allowed Black males to vote. LaWanda and John H. Cox, "Negro Suffrage and Republican Politics: The Problem of Motivation in Reconstruction Historiography," *Journal of Southern History,* Vol. 33, No. 3 (Aug., 1967), 303, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2204862.

[13] Elisha Weaver, *The Christian Recorder,* January 26, 1867, "Report on the National Convention of Colored Men, Washington DC, January 10, 1867," *University of Delaware,* accessed February 5, 2020, http://udspace.udel.edu/handle/19716/19489.

[14] See "Colored Conventions Project," *University of Delaware,* http://udspace.udel.edu/handle/19716/16733.

[15] Benjamin F. Flanders to Henry C. Warmoth, November 23, 1865, as cited in Foner, *Reconstruction,* 199.

within the Republican-led Congress.[16] Voting rights for African American men would become the central national issue, viewed as the only path to ensure Black Americans would be productive, self-sufficient citizens of the United States.

Presidential Reconstruction in the Potomac Region

While the broad region of the United States commonly called "the South" grappled with the terms of President Johnson's reconstruction plan, the District of Columbia and the border states of the Potomac region—Virginia, Maryland, and West Virginia—offered a distinct set of circumstances and responses to the new social and political order. The District of Columbia was subject to the whims of Congress, while of the three states, only Virginia was legally subject to "reconstruction" as a state that seceded from the Union. Still, the District and all three states had just emerged from slave economies (West Virginia as part of Virginia before 1863) and exhibited similar restrictive approaches to the specter of "Negro equality." It would be the early Congressional actions, the Freedmen's Bureau, and the actions of African Americans themselves that would provide the most positive impact on the lives of freedpeople in the region as the Democratic Party took an early hold on the three state governments.

District of Columbia

Because Congress had jurisdiction over the District of Columbia, a number of Reconstruction policies were first implemented within the District boundaries.[17] Beginning as early as March 1865, Congress passed a law to end discrimination against African Americans in rail transportation within the District.[18] Under Congressional rule, the District of Columbia became the first jurisdiction to recognize the marriages of formerly enslaved people. In July 1866, Congress passed "An Act Legalizing Marriages and for Other Purposes in the District of Columbia." Seen as the first step toward "legal equality," the law provided recognition of the relationship "whether rites of marriage have been celebrated between them or not. . .and be entitled to all the rights and privileges, and subject to the duties and obligations of that relation in like manner. . .and all their children shall be deemed legitimate."[19]

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[16] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 214–15.

[17] Though parts of Alexandria and Fairfax Counties were originally included within the District boundaries, Congress rescinded that area back to Virginia in 1846, making the Potomac River the southern boundary.

[18] Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America,* location 5160.

[19] *Statutes at Large, 39th Congress, 1st Session,* 236; see also Masur, *An Example for All the Land,* 73.

Virginia

The Restored Government of Virginia, led by Governor Francis H. Pierpont, formed in Wheeling (later West Virginia) in June 1861, following Virginia's secession from the Union. When West Virginia was admitted to the Union in June 1863, Pierpont's Restored Government of Virginia moved to Alexandria, safely located within the ring of Union forts. The post–June 1863 Restored Government of Virginia included representatives from just six Virginia municipalities: Fairfax County, Loudoun County, and Alexandria, as well as Accomack and Northampton counties on the Virginia Eastern Shore, and the city of Norfolk.[20]

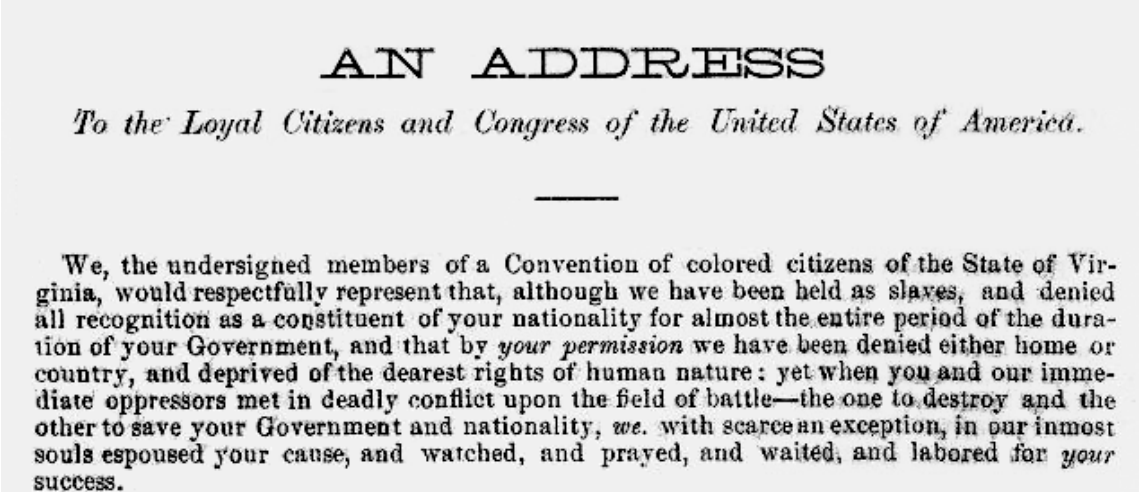
In Alexandria, Pierpont's Restored Government legislature crafted a new Virginia Constitution, approved in 1864, which abolished slavery and provided for the disfranchisement of men disloyal to the Union. However, when President Johnson recognized Virginia's Restored Government in 1865, he granted amnesty to "all but the most extreme secessionists" (who could also seek a pardon "upon good behavior"), ensuring that the "reconstructed" government would be elected by a majority of former Confederates.[21] To combat this outcome, in August 1865, the Convention of the Colored People of Virginia met in Alexandria and published a plea for voting rights in "An Address to the Loyal Citizens and Congress of the United States of America": "Four fifths of our enemies are paroled or amnestied, and the other fifth are being pardoned, and the President has…left us entirely at the mercy of these subjugated but unconverted rebels.… In one word, the only salvation for us besides the power of the Government, is in the *possession of the ballot.* Give us this and we will protect ourselves."[22]

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[20] "A Guide to the Francis H. Pierpont Restored Government Executive Papers, 1861–1865," *Library of Virginia,* biographical note, http://ead.lib.virginia.edu/vivaxtf/view?docId=lva/vi00167.xml. "[C]ontinued calls for a new state to be created from the existing state of Virginia resulted in 'An Ordinance to Provide for the Formation of a New State out of a Portion of the Territory of this State' at the Second Wheeling Convention. A special session of the Assembly adjourned on May 15, 1862, and Congress was presented with the constitution and proposal for the new state of West Virginia. The Senate passed the bill admitting West Virginia on July 14, 1862, and the House of Representatives on December 10, 1862. With prodding by Pierpont, President Lincoln signed the bill creating the state. West Virginia did not officially enter into the Union until June 20, 1863. Arthur I. Boreman became the first governor of the new state at this time…" West Virginia was composed of fifty former Virginia counties, including the Eastern Panhandle counties of Jefferson and Berkeley.

[21] Alrutheus Ambush Taylor, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1926, reissued 1969), 9, https://archive.org/details/negroinreconstru00tayl/page/n7/mode/2up.

[22] Proceedings of the Convention of the Colored People of VA., Held in the City of Alexandria, Aug. 2, 3, 4, 5, 1865 (Alexandria: Cowing & Gillis, Book and Job Printers, 1865), 21, "Colored Conventions Project, Convention Minutes," University of Delaware, accessed February 7, 2020, http://udspace.udel.edu/handle/19716/18317.



AN ADDRESS

To the Loyal Citizens and Congress of the United States of America.

We, the undersigned members of a Convention of colored citizens of the State of Virginia, would respectfully represent that, although we have been held as slaves, and denied all recognition as a constituent of your nationality for almost the entire period of the duration of your Government, and that by *your permission* we have been denied either home or country, and deprived of the dearest rights of human nature: yet when you and our immediate oppressors met in deadly conflict upon the field of battle—the one to destroy and the other to save your Government and nationality, *we*, with scarce an exception, in our inmost souls espoused your cause, and watched, and prayed, and waited, and labored for *your* success.

Figure 9: An Address to the Loyal Citizens and Congress, *Proceedings…Alexandria, 1865*
UDSpace, University of Delaware

President Johnson's belief that only the states had the right to enact enfranchisement for African Americans imperiled Black suffrage in Virginia. The Johnson-approved 1865 Virginia government, now representing all of Virginia and seated back in Richmond, did not take up the issue of enfranchising the freedmen of the state. Rather, a former Confederate candidate running for state office in 1865 pledged: "I shall favor and encourage the emigration and colonization of the negro population.... I shall oppose any law or amendment of the Constitution of the United States having a tendency to give to the negro the right of suffrage, or to so change his status as to place him upon terms of equality with the white man."[23] Without the votes of African American men in Virginia, who numbered approximately 150,000 in 1865, the civil rights of Black Virginians remained in jeopardy.[24]

Governor Pierpont's address to the newly seated Virginia legislature in December 1865 spoke only briefly on the "Freedmen." Pierpont recommended written labor contracts to discourage "idleness," legalizing marriage contracts, that "[Negroes] should also be allowed to testify as witnesses in all cases in the courts of justice," and that Virginia laws on apprenticeships should be updated to agree with the 1864 constitution.[25] Pierpont also recommended a system of public education for Virginians, but did not suggest including African Americans in that system, and the enfranchisement of African American men was not addressed at all.

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[23] As cited, in part, in Taylor, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia,* 11.

[24] This number is estimated from the total African American (slave and free) male population in 1860, ages fifteen to eighty.

[25] *Journal of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Virginia* (Richmond: James E. Goode, 1865), 27, accessed, 2/6/2020, https://books.google.com/books?id=zW0lAQAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. The 1864 Virginia Constitution "authorizes the apprenticing of colored children on the same terms that white children are apprenticed."

During their brief tenure under Presidential Reconstruction, the Virginia legislature—described by one historian as "totally unreconstructed"—did not follow through on many of Governor Pierpont's recommendations.[26] They failed to update the law on "apprenticing colored children," allowing former slaveholders to essentially re-enslave Black children without their parents' consent. Additionally, the testimony of African Americans (and American Indians) was limited to cases "where a colored person or an Indian is a party," rather than in *all* cases as suggested by Pierpont.[27] The legislature also failed to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, which declared all people born in the United States to be citizens.

The denial of the rights of African Americans as citizens by the Virginia legislature was embodied in the vagrancy law enacted in 1866, a law "denounced by the Union military commander of Virginia as 'slavery in all but its name.'"[28] Though not overtly directed at African Americans, the vagrancy law formed the core of the state's "Black codes" aimed at restricting the movement and labor of Virginia's Black population.[29] Vagrants were defined in part as "those who return to any county after being lawfully removed, those who live idly and refuse to work for the usual wages."[30] Thus rural African Americans who left their former homes to find employment in the cities but found none, or those who refused to work for grossly undervalued wages, were labeled vagrants and subject to forced labor.

The perceived vagrancy problem was an employment problem, most acute in areas near the Union forts, like Alexandria and Fairfax County, where freedom seekers had congregated during the war. The Freedmen's Bureau worked to alleviate some of the problem in the northern Virginia counties in 1866, according to Gen. C.H. Howard's report:

> Notwithstanding all efforts to reduce the number of freedmen in this District by securing for them employment elsewhere, it was found that there was still a great number in the spring who could not find work at wages adequate to the support of their families. Brevet Colonel S.P. Lee, superintendent of Alexandria, Fairfax, and Loudon [*sic*] counties, Virginia, was therefore authorized to rent some five hundred and fifty (550) acres of land, at a cost of eight hundred dollars ($800) per year, in the vicinity of Camp Distribution, where were barracks which could be used for tenements. This land was sub-rented to

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[26] Jane Elizabeth Dailey, *Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Post Emancipation Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 17. The legislature reportedly recommended that President Johnson remove Pierpont as Virginia's governor and replace him with Robert E. Lee.

[27] Guild, *Black Laws of Virginia*, 124.

[28] Dailey, *Before Jim Crow, 17.*

[29] The term "Black codes" appears to be a later name given to the laws passed in southern states in 1865–66, prior to Congressional Reconstruction. See Foner, *Reconstruction, 199.*

[30] Guild, *Black Laws of Virginia,* 123.

> heads of families in lots of from five to forty acres. Colonel Lee reports that they generally have good crops of corn, and will be able to pay expenses, including rent.[31]

In addition, Colonel Brown, assistant commissioner for the Freedmen's Bureau in Richmond, observed in his October 1866 report that "in the unsettled relations of labor to supply and demand there were thousands, untaught to seek a livelihood, who were for a time unable to find it."[32]

Maryland

Across the Potomac River, the loyal Union state of Maryland was not subject to President Johnson's reconstruction plan. Maryland slavery was abolished in 1864 with a new constitution, but that same constitution established some of Maryland's early "Black codes." The 1864 constitution "proclaimed suffrage the prerogative of white men," and it did not extend the right of African Americans to testify in court against whites.[33] Even after the right of testimony was codified by Congress in April 1866 with the Civil Rights Act, in November of that year, Freedmen's Bureau Assistant Commissioner E.M. Gregory reported that five Maryland justices had been accused of refusing to take testimony from African Americans, including Justice Wilson of Sandy Hook in Washington County.[34]

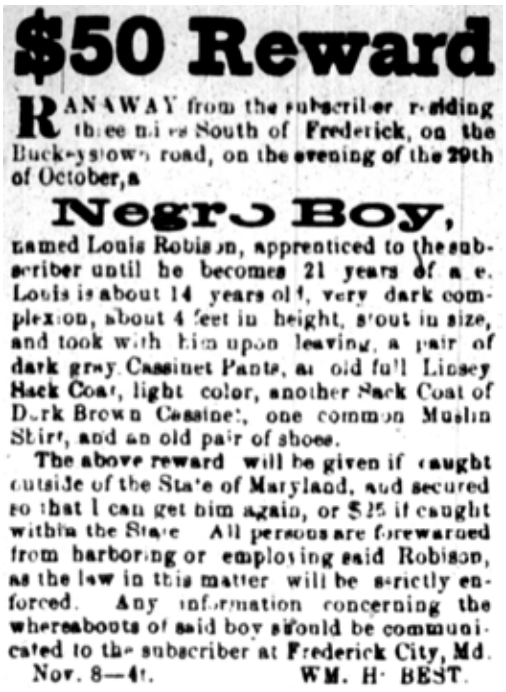
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[31] Cited in United States Bureau of Refugees, *Report of the Commissioner* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1865), 24, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000079068/Home.

[32] *Laws in Relation to Freedmen, US Sen. 39th Congress, 2nd Sess. Senate Executive Doc. No. 6* (Washington: War Department, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1866–67), 159, "African American Odyssey," Library of Congress, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llmisc&fileName=ody/ody0517/ody0517page.db&recNum=0&itemLink=/ammem/aaohtml/exhibit/aopart5b.html@0517&linkText=9.

[33] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 132.

[34] Report of Brev. Maj. Gen. Vol., E. M. Gregory, Ass't Commissioner, Dept. of Maryland, Baltimore, *Laws in Relation to Freedmen, US Sen. 39th Congress, 2nd Sess. Senate Executive Doc. No. 6,* 90.



$50 Reward

RANAWAY from the subscriber residing three miles South of Frederick, on the Buckeystown road, on the evening of the 29th of October, a

Negro Boy,

named Louis Robison, apprenticed to the subscriber until he becomes 21 years of age. Louis is about 14 years old, very dark complexion, about 4 feet in height, stout in size, and took with him upon leaving, a pair of dark grey Cassinet Pants, an old full Linsey Sack Coat, light color, another Sack Coat of Dark Brown Cassinet, one common Muslin Shirt, and an old pair of shoes.

The above reward will be given if caught outside of the State of Maryland, and secured so that I can get him again, or $25 if caught within the State. All persons are forewarned from harboring or employing said Robison, as the law in this matter will be strictly enforced. Any information concerning the whereabouts of said boy should be communicated to the subscriber at Frederick City, Md.

Nov. 8—4t. WM. H. BEST.

Figure 10: William Best advertisement for runaway apprentice Louis Robison, *Frederick Examiner,* Nov. 22, 1865
Newspaper database, Crossroadsofwar.org

Like Virginia, the post-emancipation Maryland legislature failed to address forced apprenticeship of Black children. Maryland law allowed county orphans' courts to decide the fate of children, even over their parents' objections. (Figure 10) The apprenticeship grab in Maryland began, according to historian Barbara Jeanne Fields, "the very day of emancipation, all over the state. . .whisking them off to the county seats, sometimes in wagonloads, to be bound as apprentices by the county orphans' courts."[35] Assistant Commissioner Gregory reported that over a two-month period in 1866, there were twenty-eight complaints of African American children apprenticed in the southern Maryland counties.[36]

In January 1865, the State Convention of the Colored People of Maryland, held in Baltimore, drafted the following advice to the freedpeople of the state:

> [F]irst, to feel that you are free and dependent upon yourselves for support. Second, we advise you to be men of virtuous habits, disdaining to do anything beneath the dignity of men. Third, we advise you to be industrious in all the pursuits of life, purchase property and become men of wealth, owning the soil; for no class of men are so independent as farmers. Fourth, we advise you to educate your children, and give them trades, thereby making them equal for any position in life, for if ever we are raised to the elevated summit in life for which

[35] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 139.

[36] Report of Brev. Maj. Gen. Vol., E. M. Gregory, *Laws in Relation to Freedmen,* 90.

> we strive, it must be done by our own industry and exertion. No one can do it for us. Fifth, we advise you to use every exertion to contradict the predictions of your enemies, which were uttered previous to the emancipation of the States, that if the slaves were freed they would become a pest to society and paupers dependent on public charities.[37]

The use of the word "enemies" appeared to be wholly justified in at least parts of Maryland. The convention began by soliciting contributions to "rebuild seven colored churches in the State, which were burned by rebels and malicious persons."[38]

Maryland planters, like those in Virginia, complained of idleness among the freed-people. Often, what appeared to be "idleness" to former slaveholders was actually practical self-sufficiency. Even the Kent County *Transcript* editor admitted that "[o]ne fruitful source of idleness with this class has been the ability to possess themselves of a hut and a few acres of poverty-stricken land, thereby enabling them to preserve the semblance of the means of living."[39] Few could survive on what they produced for themselves, however, and thus they were hired out as agricultural laborers. Some planters were frustrated by their workers' refusal to stay with one employer (as an enslaved laborer would have). Black laborers often left their employment even before the end of a contract to seek higher wages or better conditions. Some unscrupulous men made a profession of stealing or enticing Black laborers to other jobs with false promises of increased wages.[40]

Labor contracts in Maryland, like Virginia, were also abused by employers, some of whom refused (or could not) pay their laborers at the end of a contract period. The Freedmen's Bureau operated as a mediator of labor contracts and an advocate in labor disputes. The Freedmen's Bureau's efforts to facilitate labor also included "government farms" in St. Mary's County. The farms, labeled as abandoned lands, were confiscated from disloyal owners in the spring of 1865 and operated by the Freedmen's Bureau through the summer and fall of 1865. Assistant Commissioner General John Eaton Jr. reported on the success of the experiment to Congress:

> With all the opposition to the true interests of free labor prevalent in the surrounding community constantly disturbing the relations of employer and employé [*sic*], the freedmen on the government farms in St. Mary's county, Maryland, have proved the advantages of fair treatment and wages, and good faith, by producing with great economy of labor the best crops in that section of the State. Thirteen hundred acres have been under cultivation, of which 176 acres were wheat, 630 acres corn, 248 acres tobacco, 240 acres oats, and 6 acres

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[37] "Report on the State Convention of the Colored People of Maryland, Baltimore, January 1866," transcript, "Colored Conventions Project, Convention Minutes," *University of Delaware,* accessed February 10, 2020, http://udspace.udel.edu/handle/19716/18324.

[38] "Report on the State Convention of the Colored People of Maryland."

[39] As cited in Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 164.

[40] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 160.

> potatoes; in addition to these were the gardens of the people. Besides the work on the crops, barns, fences, &c., have been built, and other permanent improvements made. The number of people has averaged about 500 during the season, about half of whom are laborers, and are paid regular wages. Most of the remainder earn enough to pay for their rations, while a few, too old or too young, are dependent.[41]

Despite this success, the program in Maryland ended in December 1865, when the land was returned to the owners under President Johnson's amnesty decree.

Maryland, as a loyal Union state, was not required to reconstruct its state government to rejoin the Union under President Johnson's reconstruction policy. However, the state's history of enslaved labor and the racial prejudice that accompanied the institution created enough problems to warrant the presence of the Freedmen's Bureau, at least in parts of the state in 1865 and its expansion throughout Maryland by 1866.

West Virginia

West Virginia also faced troubles within its borders. Slavery still existed in nearly all of the West Virginia counties (see Figure 5), even as it was admitted to the Union as a loyal state in 1863. Federal approval of the new state was conditioned upon the addition of an amendment to the state's 1861 constitution, providing "gradual emancipation" of the enslaved population. Granville Parker, a representative from Cabell County, described the atmosphere within the legislature when the emancipation resolution was introduced as, "a kind of tremor—a holy terror. . .visible throughout the house."[42] Full emancipation of West Virginia's enslaved people did not come until February 1865, when the legislature ratified the Thirteenth Amendment.

The Eastern Panhandle counties of Jefferson and Berkeley had some of the highest percentages of enslaved people in West Virginia—Jefferson County at 28.2 percent and Berkeley at 13.5 percent in 1860 (only Hardy, Greenbriar, and Kanawha counties came close; see Figure 5). Although local popular opinion was reportedly against it, Jefferson and Berkeley counties were added to the new Union state later in 1863, largely to protect the B&O Railroad, which crossed the two counties.[43] A positive vote for inclusion was achieved

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[41] "Summary Report of the District of Columbia, by Brevet Brigadier General John Eaton, Jr., Assistant Commissioner," December 15, 1865, in *39th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Ex. Doc. No. 70,* 380, https://books.google.com/books?id=XIpNAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA380&lpg=PA380&dq=freedmen%27s+bureau+government+farms+in+st.+mary%27s+county+md&source=bl&ots=wREIZHc0sD&sig=ACfU3U0nwQrml7lWB_MSoqck56VWn5AaGg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjP3dWLnZjoAhXpgnIEHVGgCfcQ6AEwAXoECAQQAQ#v=onepage&q=freedmen's%20bureau%20government%20farms%20in%20st.%20mary's%20county%20md&f=false.

[42] Stephen D. Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction: Blacks in the Political Reconstruction of West Virginia," *Journal of Negro History,* Vol. 78, No. 3 (Summer, 1993), 140.

[43] Bushong, *A History of Jefferson County,* 194.

by the use of strict loyalty oaths at the polls. Of the 1,857 eligible voters (as recorded in 1860) in Jefferson County, just 250 men qualified to vote as loyal Unionists in 1863, of which 248 voted in favor of joining the new state.[44]

With a relatively small African American population overall, West Virginia laws specifically pertaining to Blacks were in some cases more lenient than those in Virginia and Maryland. The West Virginia legislature of 1863—still operating under Virginia laws for the time being—repealed a number of provisions limiting the rights of free and enslaved (at the time) African Americans. Among the laws repealed were the prohibition on free Blacks returning to the state, laws forbidding religious or educational assemblies, and a law "which forbade a white person to teach Blacks to read or write."[45] A new law enacted in February 1866 extended to African Americans the right to testify in all court cases, including those involving white citizens.[46]

The state of West Virginia did retain some "Black codes" that limited the rights of its African American population, underscoring the racial bias held by many in the state's majority white population. Blacks were prohibited from "carrying firearms, swords, or other weapons or balls of ammunition" and from using "provoking language or menacing gestures toward a white person," both punishable with time in prison, while "unlawful assembly or seditious speeches" could be punished with up to "39 stripes."[47] The provision in the 1861 constitution limiting voting rights to "white male citizens" also remained in effect and was reiterated by the legislature in February 1866.[48] Additionally, while the 1861 constitution provided for "a thorough and efficient system of free schools," like Pierpont's 1866 recommendation for Virginia, it did not specifically extend the mandate to the state's Black citizens, effectively leaving them without publicly funded schools. Though several missionary associations and the Freedmen's Bureau provided some early schools, including one in Harpers Ferry as early as 1864, it was not until 1866 that the West Virginia legislature specified "the establishing of public schools for Negroes between the ages of six and twenty-one years."[49]

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[44] Bushong, *A History of Jefferson County,* 195.

[45] Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction," 141.

[46] Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction," 142.

[47] Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction," 142.

[48] "Constitution of West Virginia," *An Online Exhibit, West Virginia Archives and History: A State of Convenience, the State of West Virginia,* accessed February 12, 2020, http://www.wvculture.org/history/statehood/constitution.html; Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction," 142.

[49] "Constitution of West Virginia"; Carter G. Woodson, "Early Negro Education in West Virginia" (The West Virginia Collegiate Institute, 1921), Chapter I, *West Virginia Archives & History,* accessed February 14, 2020, http://www.wvculture.org/history/africanamericans/woodsoncarter02.html. The Wheeler Missionary School operated in Harpers Ferry from April through July 1864. (American Missionary Association Manuscripts, Roll 1, Washington/West Virginia, No. H2-43 through H2-56, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA, cited in GWWO Architects, "Lockwood House, Harpers Ferry NHP, Historic Structure Report" (June 2006), 54.

West Virginia's white slaveholders expressed their anger following emancipation in February 1865 by abandoning the formerly enslaved people and refusing to hire willing and able Black laborers. Maj. Gen. F.A. Tolbert, commanding the Army of the Valley of the Shenandoah in June 1865, reported "many persons wish to get rid of the old men & women left on their places that they may hire white laborers." Many of those Black refugees, estimated to number from five hundred to seven hundred mostly women and children, flocked to Harpers Ferry, prompting the Freedmen's Bureau to hurriedly appoint an agent to headquarter there by late July 1865.[50]

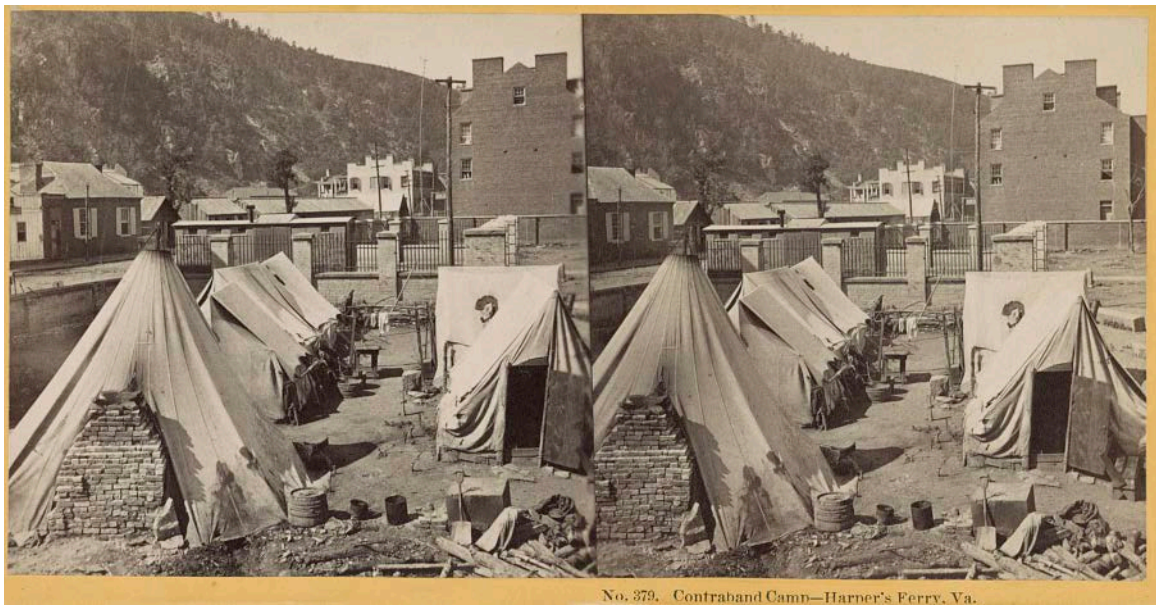


Figure 11: "Contraband Camp—Harpers Ferry, Va."
Library of Congress

[50] John E. Stealey, III, "The Freedmen's Bureau in West Virginia," *Jefferson County Historical Society Magazine* (Volume 68, December 2002), 25 (quote as cited), 31.

Congressional or Radical Reconstruction, 1867–1877

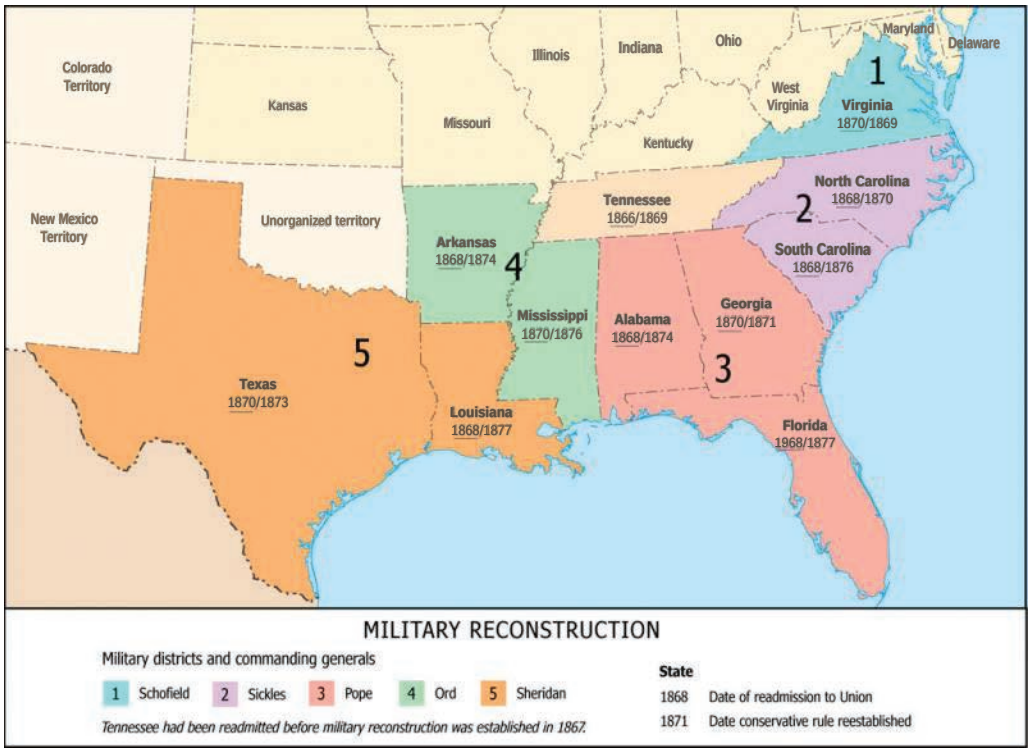


Figure 12: Map of Military Reconstruction Districts
Creative Commons BY-NC-SA, A North Carolina History Online Resource (ANCHOR), https://www.ncpedia.org/media/map/map-military

The period of Reconstruction overseen by Congress, sometimes called "Radical Reconstruction" for its association with the radical wing of the Republican Party, began with the March 1867 Reconstruction Act, enacted during the second session of the Thirty-Ninth Congress. The act, officially entitled "An Act to provide for the more efficient government of the Rebel states," divided the former Confederate states into five military districts (Figure 12). Because the Reconstruction Act was aimed at the states that had seceded from the Union, Maryland and West Virginia were not included in the Military Reconstruction Districts, though the Freedmen's Bureau operated within both states. The act outlined the requirements for the states to become full participants in the Union. Each state was required to hold elections for delegates to a state constitutional convention. Men over the age of twenty-one were eligible to vote in these elections, specifically including Black men while excluding disfranchised Confederates. Congress mandated that the newly crafted state constitutions enfranchise all adult male voters, except disqualified

Confederates. The new constitutions had to be approved by the state's eligible voters and by Congress. Once the new constitution was approved, a new legislature could be elected, and their first order of business was to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment.[51]

Congress used the weight of the federal government and the continued presence of Union troops in the South to open pathways for African Americans to reconstruct their lives as American citizens. At the heart of the plan stood the Freedmen's Bureau, which had been extended by Congress in 1866 to allocate more funds and resources to achieve its goals and to more clearly include border states like Maryland and West Virginia. The 1866 amendment to the Freedmen's Bureau Act (1865) clarified the role of the Bureau operations. In addition to medical aid, subsistence for the destitute, and the promise of land given in the first act, the amendment specified providing aid for educating the freedmen in the form of buildings and/or land; cooperating "with private benevolent associations… [who would] provide suitable teachers and instruction"; and ensuring the freedmen's "immunities and rights" as free citizens. This last provision applied to problems in the courts, which existed throughout the unreconstructed states as well as reconstructed and border states. It provided for the Bureau to "extend military protection and have military jurisdiction over all cases and questions concerning the free enjoyment of such immunities and rights."[52]

While the Freedmen's Bureau did make some headway in improving the condition of African Americans in the former slave states, particularly by helping Black communities to establish schools, its mission to redistribute "abandoned" land was not supported in Congress. George Washington Cox of the African American Union League in Alabama wrote in August 1867 of their hopes to own land "to live upon independently" and "to make crops." However, he continued, "we are aware…that the only way to get these necessaries is to give our votes to the party that are making every effort possible to bring these blessings about by Reconstructing the State."[53]

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[51] *Statutes at Large, 39th Congress, 1st Session,* 428; Foner, *Reconstruction,* 276. Of the eleven former Confederate states, only Tennessee was exempt from the military division.

[52] *Statutes at Large, 39th Congress, 1st Session,* 173–77.

[53] Cited in Gates, *Stony the Road,* 23.

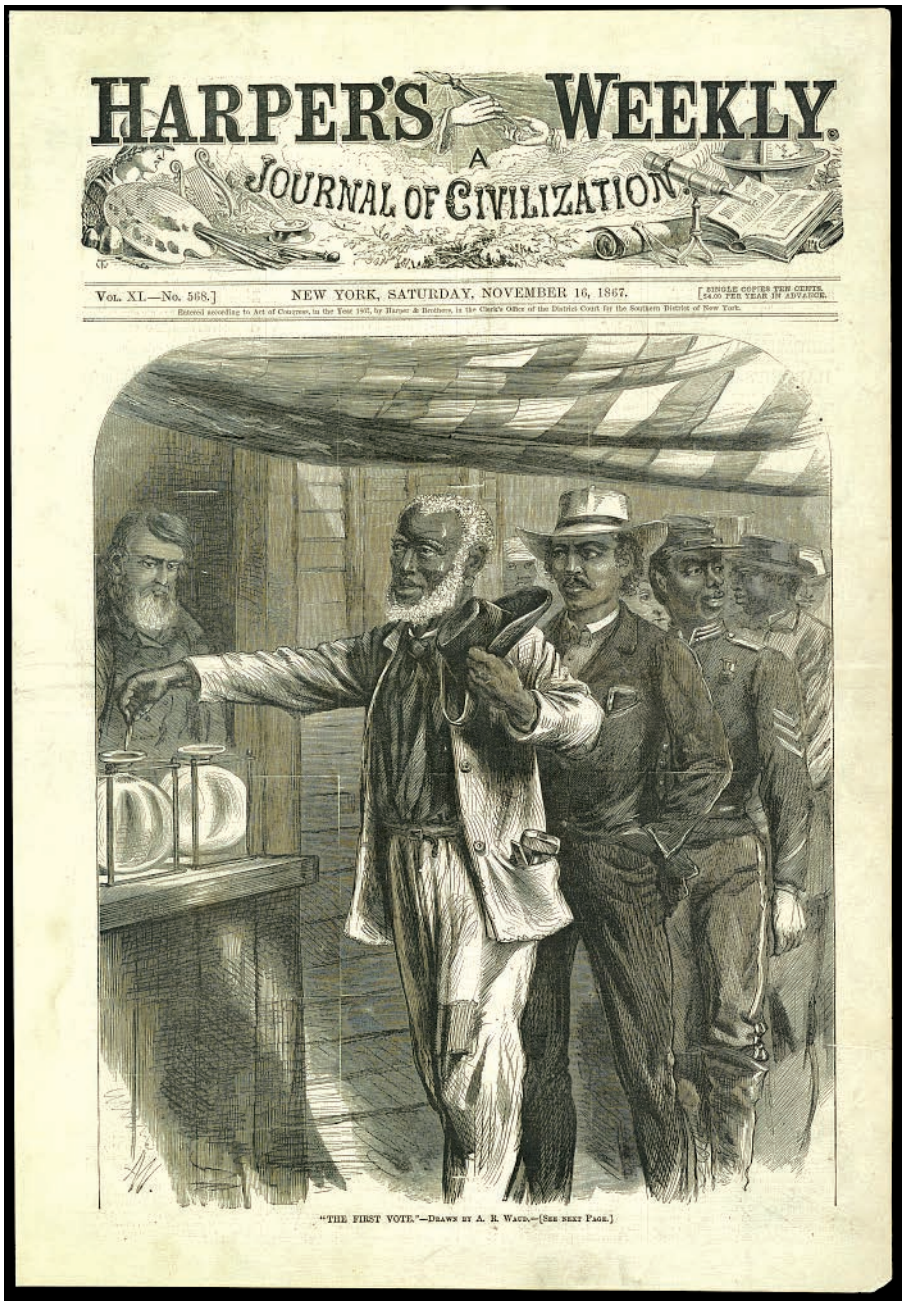


Figure 13: "The First Vote," A.R. Waud, *Harpers Weekly*, November 16, 1867
Library of Congress

The November 1867 election, the first in the South to include Black male voters as mandated by Congress, resulted in a Republican majority at the various state constitutional conventions, just as George Washington Cox predicted. African Americans voted "their entire walking strength," according to one Alabama Republican, with as much as 90 percent of eligible Black voters in Virginia, resulting in many Black delegates elected to the

state conventions (Figure 14).[54] Perhaps anxious to gain the advantage of Black Republican voters during the 1868 presidential election, the Republican Congress quickly accepted seven of the new Southern state constitutions in June and July of 1868. Violence and intimidation against Black and white Republican voters in the South, largely perpetrated by members of a new "social" club called the Ku Klux Klan, revealed the tenuousness of Republican power there. Despite the setbacks in the South, it was largely the votes of 500,000 African Americans that gave former Union General Ulysses S. Grant a narrow victory in his election as president of the United States, and Republican legislatures took their seats in the reconstructed states.[55]

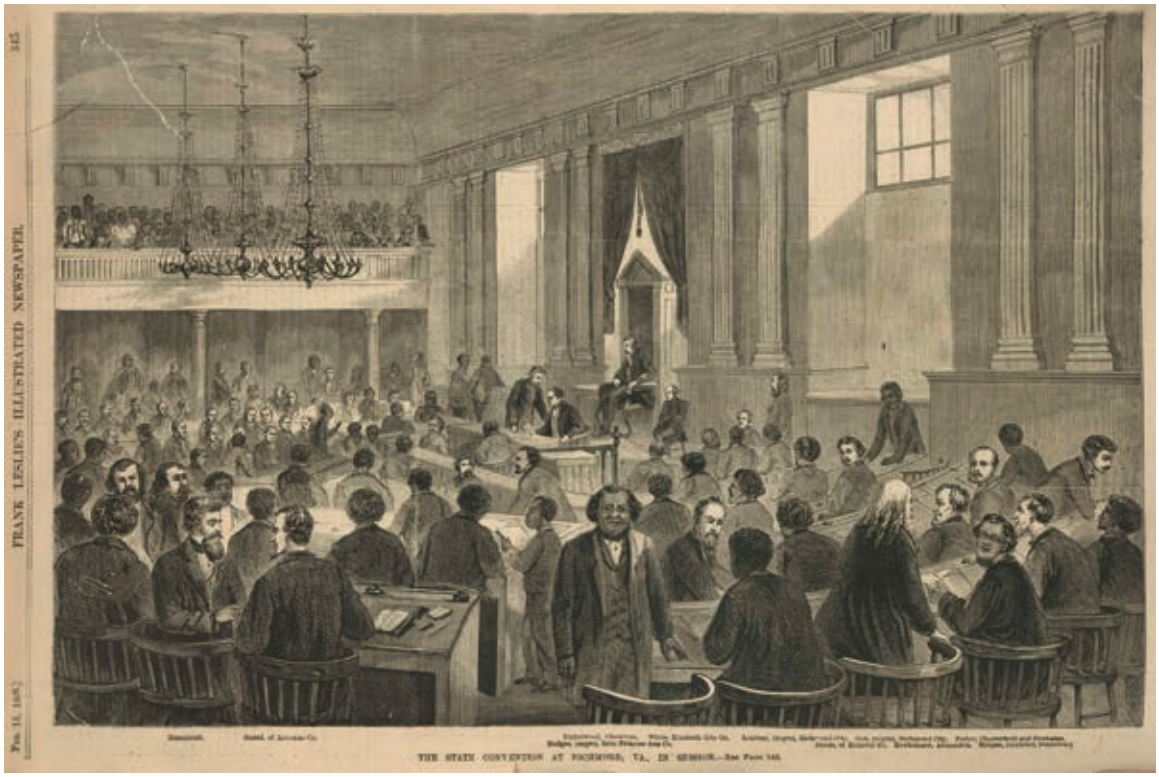


Figure 14: "The State Convention at Richmond"
Library of Virginia

Though President Grant and the Republican Party of 1868 were more conservative than the radicals of 1867, their commitment to the Congressional Reconstruction plan remained in place. In the reconstructed Southern states, however, the Republican Party's

[54] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 314. At the same time in the North, where African Americans did not enjoy voting rights in the majority of states, Republicans began to lose ground. This result was due to, according to New York newspaper The Nation, "the cause of equal rights" (as cited in Foner, *Reconstruction,* 315).

[55] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 342–43. Louisiana and Georgia, where the Ku Klux Klan activities were most successful, did not have Republican majorities (Cox, "Negro Suffrage and Republican Politics," 306). Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas were readmitted to the Union in 1870.

need to attract white voters quickly diluted their commitment to Black civil rights. In Georgia, "party leaders advised freedmen to abandon politics (except for casting Republican ballots)," while some Republican representatives aided Democrats in ousting African Americans elected to the legislature.[56] As a result of infractions like these, Georgia's readmission to the Union was revoked by Congress and not reinstated until 1870.

When the Fortieth Congress, which included three African American representatives, reconvened for its third session in January 1869, they passed the Fifteenth Amendment to the US Constitution (passed February 1869, ratified February 3, 1870). The amendment was intended to ensure voting rights for African American men in all states, both North and South: "[T]he right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."[57] Though clear on disallowing disfranchisement based on race, the amendment was silent on individual states' rights to impose *limitations* based on literacy, property ownership, gender (women were still excluded), or religion. These loopholes were reportedly intentionally included over concerns about immigrants in the North and West, but would soon be used against African Americans in the South.[58]

Initially, the sweep of Congressional Reconstruction appeared to be making progress. In Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Arkansas, and Florida, nineteen African American men served in various state offices between 1868 and 1878, while sixteen Black men served in Congress.[59] In 1869, the Freedmen's Bureau reported more than 2,000 schools established in the southern and border states, with as many 250,000 children and adults attending.[60] It was in 1869, however, that Congress discontinued most of the Freedmen's Bureau functions, except the education and servicemen's claims departments.[61] Additionally, as many of the newly reconstructed state constitutions nullified former Confederate disfranchisement, Democrats in the South began to take back their

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[56] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 346–47.

[57] "A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: US Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774–1875," *Statutes at Large, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, 346, The Library of Congress,* accessed January 31, 2020, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=015/llsl015.db&recNum=379.

[58] Downs and Masur, "The Era of Reconstruction," 47.

[59] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 352–53.

[60] *Report of Brevet Major General O.O. Howard, Commissioner Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1869), 12, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000079068. The number 250,000 given by Howard is inclusive of evening schools and private schools.

[61] *Statutes at Large, 40th Congress, 2nd Session,* 193. The Bureau was abolished in 1872 (*Statutes at Large, 42nd Congress, 2nd Session,* 366).

reconstructed governments. This was achieved through alliances with conservative and moderate Republicans who feared "Negro equality" and, more chillingly, with the help of violent intimidation of African Americans and white radicals.[62]

In the early 1870s, the African American struggle to achieve equal political and social status was also fading from Northern public attention as white Americans demanded action on the economic issues stemming from the Civil War. Additionally, the Enforcement Acts—passed by Congress in 1870 and 1871, authorizing federal intervention to stem the tide of violence and voter intimidation in the South—were seen by many in the North (and South) as federal over-reach, further dividing the already fractured Republican Party.[63] In 1873, an economic recession fueled by a Wall Street banking scandal in New York added to the shift in northern interest away from Reconstruction reforms. In the South, the economic downturn became a campaign issue for Democrats in the midterm elections of 1874, who blamed Republicans for both the social and economic woes of the white southern electorate.[64] In 1877, Republican Rutherford B. Hayes was declared the winner of a contested presidential election, reportedly in exchange for ending federal intervention in the South, bringing to an end the period of Reconstruction.[65]

Though there were certainly important advancements for African Americans during the Reconstruction period between 1865 and 1877, resistance among many white Americans, both in the South and in the North, significantly slowed any progress. In 1881, Frederick Douglass reflected on the challenge rising out of Reconstruction in America:

> Out of the depths of slavery has come this prejudice and this color line. It is broad enough and black enough to explain all the malign influences which assail the newly emancipated millions today. In reply to this argument it will perhaps be said that the negro has no slavery now to contend with, and that having been free during the last sixteen years, he ought by this time to have contradicted the degrading qualities which slavery formerly ascribed to him. All very true as to the letter, but utterly false as to the spirit. Slavery is indeed gone, but its shadow still lingers over the country and poisons more or less the moral atmosphere of all sections of the republic.[66]

The pervasive fear of "Negro equality" would increasingly consume the southern states through the last decades of the nineteenth century.

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[62] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 324, 412, 425. The Radical Republicans in the South included northern men known as "carpetbaggers" and Southern Unionists known as "scalawags."

[63] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 454–59.

[64] Stuart Chinn, *Recalibrating Reform: The Limits of Political Change* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 75–76.

[65] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 581.

[66] Gates, *Stony the Road,* xiii.

Congressional or Radical Reconstruction in the Potomac Region

The impacts of Congressional Reconstruction in the Potomac region again revealed the distinctiveness of the "Upper South" and border region. Virginia was subject to the rules of Reconstruction, and the District of Columbia was subject to direct Congressional action, while the Maryland and West Virginia governments were free to continue their own respective courses. The difference was particularly clear with the path to Black enfranchisement, which came early (1867) in the District and Virginia, but came to Maryland and West Virginia in 1870 only through the power of a US constitutional amendment.

With Congressional Reconstruction came the full extension of Freedmen's Bureau operations across Maryland to its western reaches and into interior West Virginia. Initially, their task in the region had focused on the large Black refugee populations that had accumulated around Washington (and Harpers Ferry) during and immediately following the war. Although tasked with the same mission as other Freedmen's Bureau offices throughout the South, by 1868, their focus in the region would largely turn to facilitating educational opportunities.[67]

The white population of the Potomac region demonstrated similar determination to prevent "Negro equality" as those in the Deep South states, though it appears violent intimidation played a smaller role in achieving their goal. Still, despite some gains by African Americans and their Radical allies, the white conservative majority prevailed in the region.

District of Columbia

On January 8, 1867, Congress implemented its first official Radical Reconstruction policy in the District with the "Act to regulate the elective Franchise in the District of Columbia." The act extended the right to vote to "each and every male person," excepting only felons and men "who may have voluntarily given aid and comfort to the rebels in the late rebellion," effectively enfranchising African American men in the District.[68] The same language was used in the January 25 act extending the vote to all male citizens in the US territories.[69] Both acts were a prelude to the March 1867 Reconstruction Act, which enfranchised Black men in the Southern states (but not the Northern states), while also placing the region

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[67] "Records of the Field Offices for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1870, Historical Note," *Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Online Virtual Archives,* accessed March 5, 2020, https://sova.si.edu/record/NMAAHC.FB.M1902.

[68] *Statutes at Large, 39th Congress, 2nd Session,* 375, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=014/llsl014.db&recNum=406.

[69] *Statutes at Large, 39th Congress, 2nd Session,* 379, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=014/llsl014.db&recNum=410.

under federal military administration. The District of Columbia, where voters elected their municipal officers but had no representation at the federal level, was a safe zone for Congress to enact potentially unpopular laws.



Figure 15: Detail from 1861 topographic map of the District of Columbia
Library of Congress

As noted previously, the Freedmen's Bureau began its work in and around the District of Columbia in June 1865. The Bureau's assistant commissioner for the District oversaw a number of "barracks" to house freedmen within Washington City. Additionally, the Barry Farm, located within the District of Columbia boundary on the east side of the Anacostia (Eastern) River, was purchased by the Freedmen's Bureau for the purpose of subdivision and sale to freedmen (Figure 15). The Freedmen's Bureau purchased James Barry's 375-acre farm in 1867. It was divided into single-acre lots and sold for $200 to $300,

paid in monthly installments. Though considered a successful project, with 180 lots sold in the initial offering and a community-built church and schools established within the first year, the strategy was reportedly not tried elsewhere.[70]

Virginia

Immediately following the passage of the Reconstruction Act on March 2, 1867, African American men in nearby Alexandria, Virginia, reportedly exercised their newly codified right to vote in a March 5 municipal election. The endeavor was not well-received by local officials who reportedly questioned the men's right to vote and consequently ignored 1,400 Black votes, counting only the "1,000 white Conservative votes, and 72 white Radical votes" in the final tally.[71] Presumably, if the African American votes had been counted, it would have altered the outcome of the local election. In the October 1867 election for constitutional convention delegates, Black male voters of Virginia did have their votes counted, and twenty-four African American men served as delegates.[72]

Although white men held the majority of seats in the Virginia convention, a quarter of those delegates were white Radicals, some of them native Virginians and some newcomers from northern states, aligned with the Black Republicans to "create a biracial Radical majority."[73] Virginia's proposed constitution, known as the Underwood Constitution, enfranchised Blacks and disfranchised former Confederates, required potential officeholders to take the "iron-clad" oath of loyalty to the Union, created "a uniform system of public free schools" funded by a state "literary fund" and county property taxes, and established the homestead exemption for protection from debt collection.[74] Though passed by the convention in 1868, the public vote was held up by General Schofield, commander of the Reconstruction Military District No. One, who claimed there was no appropriation to fund

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[70] Thomas J. Cantwell, "Anacostia: Strength in Adversity," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, DC,* Vol. 49 (Historical Society of Washington, 1973/1974), 340–41, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40067747.

[71] Richard L. Morton, *The Negro in Virginia Politics, 1865–1902* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1919), https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000340622. It is important to note that this book was part of "a series of studies in the race problem," written by "southern white scholars." The contemporary *Journal of Negro History,* which reviewed the book in January 1920, observed, "[T]he whole study is from the white man's point of view" *Journal of Negro History,* Vol. 5, No. 1 (January 1920), 126–28, https://doi.org/10.2307/2713505.

[72] *Dictionary of Virginia Biography and Encyclopedia Virginia* staff, "African American Legislators (1867–1899)," Encyclopedia Virginia/Virginia Humanities, accessed March 5, 2020, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/African_American_Legislators_in_Virginia_1867-1899; Richard G. Lowe, "The Freedmen's Bureau and Local Black Leadership," *Journal of American History,* Vol. 80, No. 3 (December 1993), 995, incorrectly identifies J.B. Baldwin as an African American delegate from Prince William County.

[73] Richard L. Hume, "The Membership of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1867–1868: A Study of the Beginnings of Congressional Reconstruction in the Upper South," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* Vol. 86, No. 4 (October 1978), 471, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4248257.

[74] The Constitution of Virginia: Framed by the Convention Which Met in Richmond, Virginia, December 3, 1867. Passed April 17, 1868 (Richmond: Printed at the office of the New Nation, 1868), HathiTrust Digital Library, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/010446672/Home.

the election. The vote was finally held in 1869, in which the new constitution was adopted, though a separate vote on the disfranchisement and loyalty oath clauses failed to pass.[75] In the same election, a new biracial legislature was seated, but with a conservative majority made possible by a coalition of former Democrats and moderate Republicans that had formed in the interim period.[76] Virginia was readmitted to the Union in 1870 after the legislature ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. However, the 1869 triumph of the conservative coalition muted any radical plans for Virginia. Thus, notes historian Eric Foner, "Virginia became the only Confederate state to avoid a period of Radical Reconstruction."[77]

Among the twenty-four Black representatives elected to the Virginia legislature in 1869 was George Lewis Seaton, a free-born carpenter from Alexandria.[78] In 1867, George Seaton, along with eight other Black men and thirteen white men, was identified as "reliable" by Freedmen's Bureau district superintendent Capt. S.P. Lee. The list came at the request of Assistant Commissioner for Virginia, General Orlando Brown, who asked for names of loyal men, both white and Black, to be potential leaders and officeholders in Virginia. Lee also sent recommendations for six Black men in Loudoun County and six in Fairfax County as "men of strict integrity."[79] Lt. W.S. Chase, assistant superintendent in Prince William County, listed six Black men who were literate and "respected by all," including William Chinn of Brentsville; Arthur Toler of Buckland; and Charles Mason, Howison Pinn, Richard Alexander, and John Miles, all of Manassas.[80]

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[75] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 412–13.

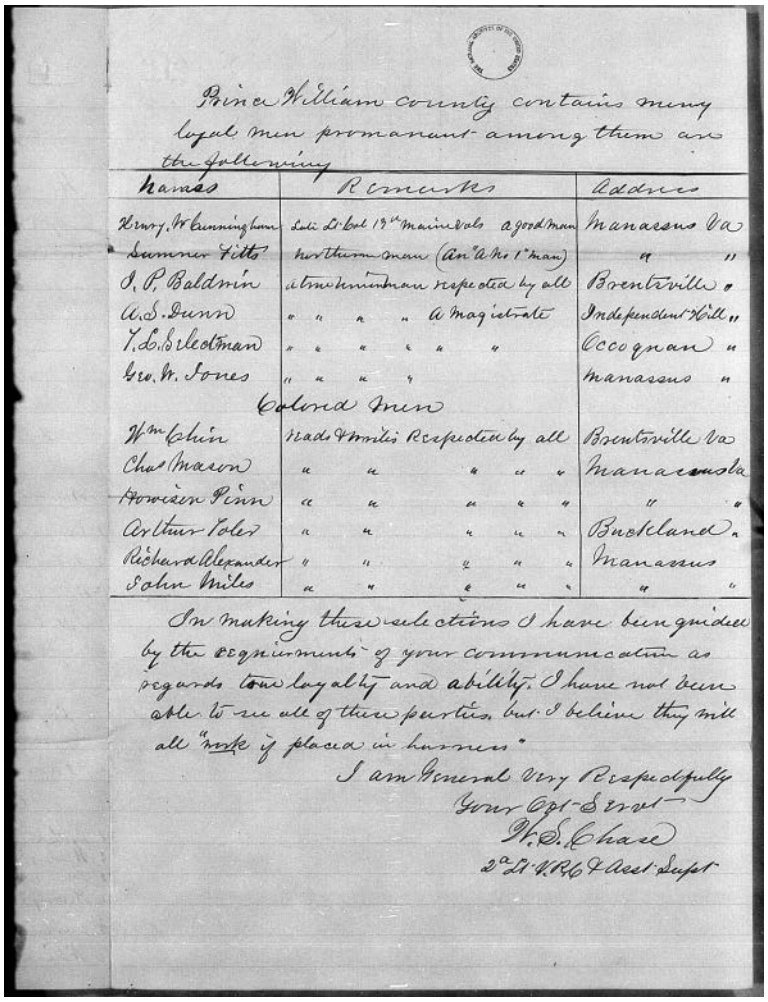
[76] Robert Maurice Ours, "Virginia's Funding Legislation, 1869–1875: Its Background, Principal Features, Related Measures, and Effects" (1974), 28, *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects,* College of William & Mary, Paper 1539623670, https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-7n1c-g410.

[77] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 413.

[78] Marianne E. Julienne and the *Dictionary of Virginia Biography, "George Lewis Seaton (ca. 1822–1881)," Encyclopedia Virginia, Virginia Humanities, accessed March 5, 2020,* https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Seaton_George_Lewis_ca_1822-1881#start_entry.

[79] "Records of the Assistant Commissioner for State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1869/Miscellaneous Records/ Reports on Prominent Whites and Freedmen," *Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Online Virtual Archives,* accessed March 5, 2020, https://edan.si.edu/slideshow/viewer/?eadrefid=NMAAHC.FB.M1048_ref187_part2, images 124, 131, and 132.

[80] "Records of the Assistant Commissioner for State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1869/Miscellaneous Records/ Reports on Prominent Whites and Freedmen," *Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Online Virtual Archives,* accessed March 5, 2020, https://edan.si.edu/slideshow/viewer/?eadrefid=NMAAHC.FB.M1048_ref187_part1, Image 83.



Prince William county contains many loyal men promanant among them are the following

Names	Remarks	Address
Henry W Cunningham	Sold 2d Lieut 19th Maine Vols a good man	Manassas Va
Sumner Fitts	northern man (An Ala 1st man)	" "
O. P. Baldwin	a true Union man respected by all	Brentsville "
A. S. Dunn	" " " " a Magistrate	Independent Hill "
T. L. Selectman	" " " " " "	Occoquan "
Geo. W. Jones	" " " "	Manassas "
	Colored Men	
Wm Colvin	reads & writes Respected by all	Brentsville Va
Chas Mason	" " " " "	Manassas Va
Hoxicen Penn	" " " " "	" "
Arthur Toles	" " " " "	Buckland "
Richard Alexander	" " " " "	Manassas
John Miles	" " " " "	" "

In making these selections I have been guided by the requirements of your communication as regards true loyalty and ability. I have not been able to see all of these parties, but I believe they will all "rate if placed in harness."

I am General Very Respectfully
Your Obt Servt
W. S. Chase
2d Lt 1 VRC & Asst Supt

Figure 16: Prince William County list of "loyal men"
Records of the Assistant Commissioner for State of Virginia [Freedmen's Bureau], NMAAHC

George Seaton served in the Virginia House of Delegates through 1871, when he lost his bid for reelection by one hundred votes.[81] At its peak before the 1871 elections, African American representation in the Virginia legislature stood at only 16 percent, despite comprising 43 percent of Virginia's total population. Most of these men and their Radical white allies were elected from the Tidewater and "Southside" counties with higher Black populations.[82] The Virginia legislature, now dominated by Democrats, effectively curtailed the power of the Black vote by requiring payment of a poll tax and excluding men "convicted of petty larceny." To consolidate their own power, the legislature gerrymandered segregated districts with fewer polling places, "to ensure Democratic control."[83] Still,

[81] Julienne, "George Lewis Seaton (ca. 1822–1881)."

[82] Ours, "Virginia's Funding Legislation, 1869–1875," 35.

[83] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 422.

despite declining representation over the following decades, African Americans served in the Virginia legislature as late as 1890. Virginia sent only one African American to the US House of Representatives, John Mercer Langston of Petersburg, who served only part of a two-year term in 1890–91.[84]

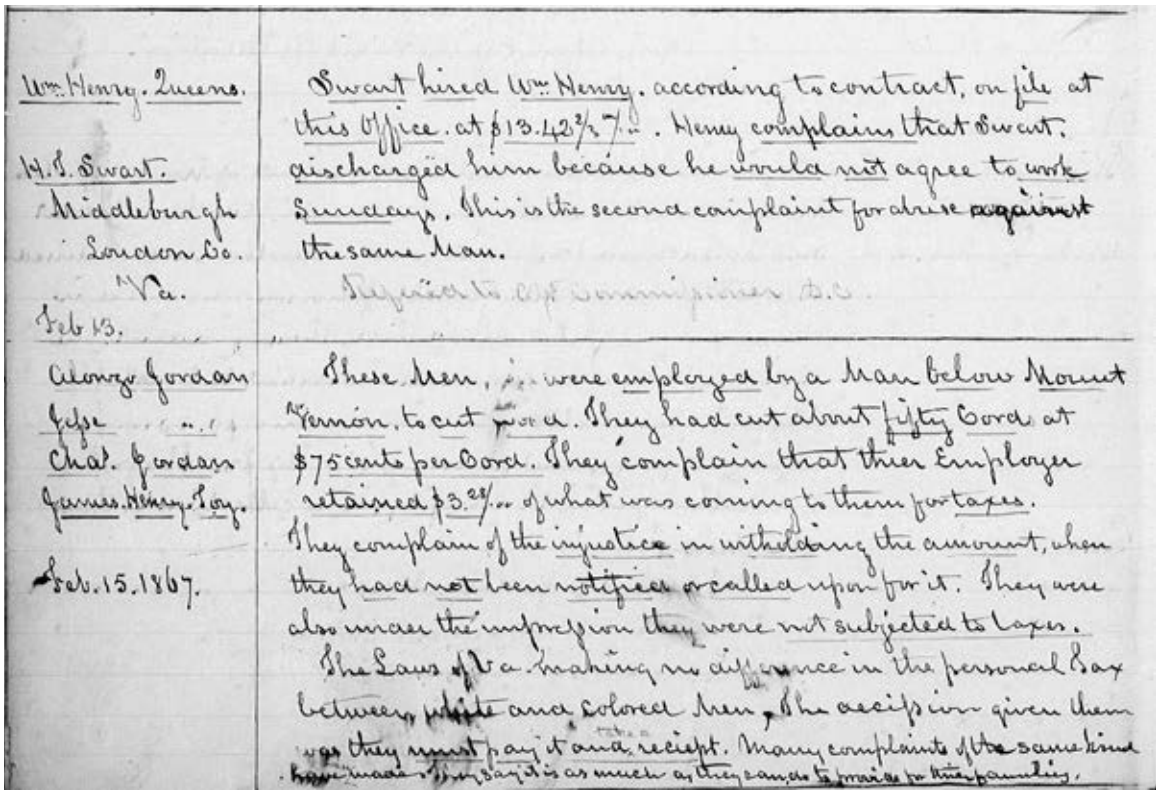
The Freedmen's Bureau maintained a presence in Virginia from its inception in 1865 through its practical demise in 1869 (1870 for the Education Department). While most of the Virginia counties were administered by the assistant commissioner assigned to Virginia, the northern Virginia counties of Loudoun, Fairfax, and Alexandria remained under the District of Columbia administration through August 1866 for Loudoun County, and March 1867 for Fairfax and Alexandria counties.[85] Activities administered through the Alexandria field office included aiding the destitute—Lieutenant Whitten of the Alexandria field office reported more than four hundred "Destitute Freedpeople" receiving rations in April 1867—mediating labor contracts, adjudicating complaints of unfair treatment, and housing hundreds of freedpeople in a number of Alexandria tenements.[86]

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[84] *Dictionary of Virginia Biography and Encyclopedia Virginia staff,* "African American Legislators (1867–1899)," *Encyclopedia Virginia, Virginia Humanities,* accessed March 5, 2020, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/African_American_Legislators_in_Virginia_1867-1899.

[85] "Records of the Field Offices for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, Historical Note," https://sova.si.edu/record/NMAAHC.FB.M1913.

[86] "Records of the Field Offices for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, Series 3: Subordinate Field Offices, 3.2: Alexandria (Superintendent)," http://edan.si.edu/slideshow/viewer/?eadrefid=NMAAHC.FB.M1913_ref167_part2.



Wm. Henry. Queens.

H. S. Swart.
Middleburgh
Loudon Co.
Va.
Feb 13.

Swart hired Wm Henry. according to contract, on file at this Office. at $13.42½ 7/. Henry complains that Swart discharged him because he would not agree to work Sundays. This is the second complaint for abuse against the same man.

George Jordan
Jefse
Chas. Jordan
James Henry. Boy.

Feb. 15. 1867.

These men, ... were employed by a man below Mount Vernon. to cut wood. They had cut about fifty Cords at $75 cents per Cord. They complain that thier Employer retained $3.22/.. of what was coming to them for taxes. They complain of the injustice in withholding the amount, when they had not been notified or called upon for it. They were also under the impression they were not subjected to taxes. The Laws of Va making no difference in the personal tax between white and colored men, the receipts given them by the Assessor are not receipts. Many complaints of the same kind have been made. They say it is as much as they can do to maintain a family.

Figure 17: Complaints by William Henry Queens and four men near Mount Vernon
Virginia, Freedmen's Bureau Field Office Records, 1865–1872, Alexandria (Superintendent), Roll 51, Register of complaints, Jan. 1867–Dec. 1868, Image 8, FamilySearch.org

Perhaps the best-known "temporary" shelter project initiated was Freedman's Village, established in 1863 as a refugee camp for freedom-seekers (better known as a "contraband camp") on the former Arlington estate of Confederate General Robert E. Lee in Fairfax County. By 1866, the Freedman's Village population numbered about 1,100 men, women, and children. Those who could work labored on the government farms on the acreage surrounding the village. The Freedmen's Bureau administered the program through 1870, though the community remained until 1900.[87] Northern Virginia African Americans also benefited from the Bureau's active involvement in establishing schools—Alexandria had eleven schools in operation in 1868, Loudoun had five, and Fairfax had six, though Prince William County had just one school located in Manassas.[88]

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[87] Joseph P. Reidy, "Coming from the Shadow of the Past: The Transition from Slavery to Freedom at Freedmen's Village, 1863–1900," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* Vol. 95, No. 4 (October 1987), 417–19, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4248971.

[88] "Virginia, Freedmen's Bureau Field Office Records, 1865–1872/Alexandria Superintendent/Roll 50, School Reports, Apr 1867-Mar 1869," Image 108, 187, 247, 307, 337, 501, 585, 633, 731, 877–78, list of schools Oct. 1868, 887–88, Nov. 1868 summary, *FamilySearch,* accessed October 8, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-6QBL-1W?wc=9LMP-L29%3A1078510502%2C1078511901&cc=1596147.

Maryland

In Maryland, the period from 1867 through 1877 unfolded somewhat differently, again because Maryland was not subject to the requirements of Congressional Reconstruction. Thus, when Maryland lawmakers proposed a revision of the 1864 state constitution, Black men were not permitted to vote or be elected to the 1867 constitutional convention, as they had been in Virginia. In 1866, Conservative Unionist Governor Thomas Swann, apparently motivated by a fear of "Negro equality," helped disable the registry law which had disfranchised former Confederates. This move allowed a Democratic majority to adopt a new Maryland constitution in 1867, which conferred the right of suffrage specifically to "every white male citizen" who met the age and residence qualifications. The Democrats further solidified their power by altering the calculation for representation in the legislature, now to be determined by each county's total population—including non-voting women and African Americans.[89]

At the August 1868 meeting of the Colored Men's Border State Convention held in Baltimore, the men addressed the inequity inherent in the Fourteenth Amendment, "which has been construed by some to remand us to the tender mercies of individual States." They pointed out that while Black men were voting in the reconstructed Southern states, "the glaring fact remains that citizens, even in States for many years free, are systematically deprived of suffrage, the first, the crowning right of citizenship."[90] Maryland's African Americans already felt the brunt of that inequity with the adoption of the 1867 constitution. In fact, the Maryland legislature, composed entirely of members of the Democratic Party from 1866 through 1871, failed to ratify both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, demonstrating a clear antipathy to Black civil rights.

Many of the issues faced by Blacks in Maryland through the postwar Reconstruction period were mitigated not by the state government but rather by the Freedmen's Bureau. The Bureau had an early presence in Maryland in the counties adjoining the District of Columbia, opening an office in Rockville in Montgomery County as early as September 1865.[91] Following its brief administration of the St. Mary's County government farms, the Bureau continued to aid Black laborers with mediation of labor contracts, largely in the southern counties, including Prince George's and Montgomery.

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[89] "The constitution of the state of Maryland: formed and adopted by the Convention, which assembled at the city of Annapolis, May 8th, 1867, and adjourned August 17th, 1867. Submitted for adoption or rejection by the people, on Wednesday, September 18th, 1867" (Annapolis: G. Colton, printer to the Convention, 1867), *HathiTrust Digital Library,* https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/010447213/Home; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 132.

[90] "Address of the Colored Men's Border State Convention to the People of the United States, Baltimore, August 5–6, 1868," http://udspace.udel.edu/handle/19716/18333.

[91] "Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1869, Historical Note," *Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Online Virtual Archives,* https://sova.si.edu/record/NMAAHC.FB.M1055.

The Bureau also mitigated some of the more egregious results of emancipation, including pressing for legal resolution of the discriminatory law allowing apprenticeship of Black children without parental consent. In 1867, in a case brought by the Freedmen's Bureau in Maryland, the US Circuit Court under Chief Justice Samuel P. Chase (a Maryland Unionist) found the Maryland apprenticeship law was in violation of the 1866 Civil Rights Act.[92]

The Freedmen's Bureau's greatest impact in the state of Maryland came in the form of aid that helped establish schools. By an 1865 Maryland law, only the school taxes collected from Black landowners could be used "for the purpose of founding schools for colored children."[93] However, few such schools were established as a result of this law, and those that were opened were located primarily in Baltimore. Given the small number of Black rural landowners at the time, particularly in the southern and eastern counties, the property tax monies raised would have provided little support for rural schools. In 1867, only Washington County reported to the Bureau that it had "paid what the law allows."[94] The lack of support for Black education across the state emphasized the importance of the Freedmen's Bureau and its missionary partners in establishing schools—said to be as many as eighty schools by 1868. In the Potomac region, Montgomery County and Prince George's County both had ten schools, while Frederick County had eleven, and Washington County had seven.[95] By 1870 Freedmen's Bureau operations had been withdrawn from Maryland, and it was left to the state and counties to continue providing education for African Americans.

Despite Maryland's constitutional and legislative failures, African American men gained the right to vote in 1870 under the Fifteenth Amendment, to which Frederick Douglass responded, "At last, at last, the Black man has a future."[96] The impact was seen in the 1871 election when both Allegany County and Washington County sent majority Republican delegations to the 1872–73 legislative session, and in 1874, they were joined by

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92 Fields, *Slavery and Freedom, 153.*

93 As cited in J. W. Alvord, *Third Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen, January 1, 1867* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1867), 8, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008958036.

94 John Kimball to Pvt. Major Stuart Eldridge, AAA Gen'l., April 1, 1868 in Monthly Reports District of Columbia, Oct. 1865–June 1868, NARA, M803, Roll 16, as cited in Brewer Kathleen Thompson, "The Freedmen's Bureau Schools of Frederick and Washington Counties, Maryland" (Senior Honors Paper, George Washington University, 2001), 22.

95 "Records of the Field Offices for Maryland and Delaware, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, Historical Note," https://nmaahc.si.edu/object/sova_nmaahc.fb.m1906; 1869 report by the Freedmen's Bureau Supervisor of Education for Maryland, Montgomery County; The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, *African-American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland* (Upper Marlboro, MD, 2012), 24; Edith B. Wallace, *Reclaiming Forgotten History: Preserving Rural African-American Cultural Resources in Washington County, Maryland,* Master of Arts in Historic Preservation, 2003, Goucher College, Baltimore, MD, 30.

96 Frederick Douglass, 1870, as cited in Gates, *Stoney the Road,* 26.

Frederick County and Prince George's County.[97] In 1872, Republican delegates helped pass an improved Public School Law that mandated African American schools in every county. The State Board of Education report for the 1872–73 school year showed an increase in the "[a]mount paid for colored schools" from $6,800 in 1872 to more than $31,000 in 1873, noting that "the greater part of the increase in the number of pupils is due to the opening of schools for colored children."[98] In Frederick County, fourteen new schools were opened, serving more than 700 students; Washington County received nine new schools, with 455 students; Prince George's County also saw nine new schools open, with just over 400 new students; while Montgomery County had eight new schools and 468 students.[99] Maryland's turn to supporting Black education after 1870 showed the power of African American suffrage in their daily lives.

West Virginia

"Reconstruction in West Virginia," according to history professor Stephen Engle, "was, like most border states, a struggle between conservative whites and liberal whites with Blacks becoming the object of abuse and political leverage."[100] The fledgling state of West Virginia, like its mother state of Virginia, initially maintained Republican control of its legislature through the disfranchisement of its former Confederate citizens.[101] West Virginia's African American men did not gain the right to vote until the state legislature ratified the Fifteenth Amendment to the US Constitution in March 1869. But while West Virginia's white male voters were still subject to the loyalty oath through 1870, the restriction was reportedly not universally enforced. In the 1870 election, the West Virginia legislature abruptly shifted to a Democratic majority. The relatively small population of African Americans in the state translated to a limited impact in the voting booth.[102]

The shifting political wind brought significant changes in Jefferson County, where Radical Republicans had controlled the county government from its new seat in Shepherdstown since 1865. In 1865, the state legislature moved the county seat from

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[97] "Archives of Maryland, Historical List, General Assembly Members," https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/speccol/sc2600/sc2685/html/sesslist.html.

[98] "State Department of Education—Origin," *Maryland Manual Online,* https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/13sdoe/html/sdoef.html; Maryland State Board of Education, *Annual Report: Showing Condition of the Public Schools of Maryland* (Baltimore: State Printer, 1874), 7–8, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000057122/Home.

[99] Maryland, *Annual Report,* 12.

[100] Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction," 141.

[101] Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction," 138. Of the fifty counties that formed West Virginia, twenty-six had voted for secession in 1861 (then still part of Virginia). Engle identifies those counties as primarily the southern and eastern counties that later bordered Virginia, including the eastern panhandle counties of Jefferson and Berkeley, and representing as much as forty percent of West Virginia's total population.

[102] Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction," 144, 148.

Charles Town, a majority Democrat district, to Shepherdstown, where federal troops along the B&O Railroad provided protection for the Republican board of supervisors. During the 1866 election, the supervisors reportedly disallowed conservative votes due to "irregularities," at one point reducing the number of voters in the Charles Town district "from nearly 500 to 22."[103] In December 1870, county Democrats emboldened by their restored voting rights petitioned the state legislature to return the county seat to Charles Town. With a new Democratic majority in the legislature, the move back to Charles Town was approved in February 1871.[104]

Though Jefferson County had one of the largest African American populations in West Virginia, they struggled to make their votes count against the larger conservative white majority.[105] According to local physician William O. Macoughtry, African Americans held "radical" meetings in the county's three largest towns, Charles Town, Harpers Ferry, and Shepherdstown. Black Republican voters supported Nathan C. Brackett, then president of Storer College in Harpers Ferry, in his losing bid for a seat in the 1870 state legislature. The loss, wrote Macoughtry, "humbled the Negros at Harpers Ferry."[106]

Rev. Nathan C. Brackett was well-known by the Black population of Jefferson and Berkeley counties for his dedication to Black education through the missionary society of the Freewill Baptist Church. Brackett's work in Harpers Ferry, which began with a small school opened in a former government building in 1865 and culminated with the 1867 founding of Storer College to train African American teachers, paralleled the efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau in promoting Black education across the state of West Virginia.

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[103] Bushong, *A History of Jefferson County,* 203–4.

[104] Bushong, *A History of Jefferson County,* 202, 214. The return to Charles Town was held up in court until August 1871, when the state Supreme Court upheld the legislation.

[105] Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction," 145.

[106] Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction," 152.



Figure 18: 1873 Storer College Musical Group
A&M 2621, Storer College Correspondence, Business Papers and Other Material, West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University Libraries

The Freedmen's Bureau began operations in West Virginia in late 1865 and continued there through October 1868. The Bureau's largest presence was in Jefferson County and Berkeley County, headquartered in Harpers Ferry. Initially, the distribution of rations seemed to dominate their efforts, due to the influx of destitute freedmen during the Union occupation of Harpers Ferry.[107] As in Maryland, perhaps the Bureau's most lasting impact in West Virginia came from educational aid. In all, the Freedmen's Bureau helped establish as many as sixteen schools across the state by May 1868, including one in Shepherdstown, one in Martinsburg, and two in Harpers Ferry.[108]

[107] John Edmund Stealey, III, "Reports of Freedmen's Bureau Operations in West Virginia: Agents in the Eastern Panhandle," *West Virginia History,* Vol. 42, Fall 1980–Winter 1981, Nos. 1 & 2, 94–129.

[108] "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872," "8.7: Quartermaster's Monthly Reports of Materials Received and Issued," https://sova.si.edu/details/NMAAHC.FB.M1056?s=0&n=10&t=C&q=&i=0#ref51.

Conclusion

The political and racial divisions that led the United States into civil war did not disappear with the Confederate States' loss and the emancipation of enslaved African Americans. Several iterations of Reconstruction in the South permanently codified the end of slavery and attempted to establish the constitutional rights of African Americans, including the right of Black men to vote. These are rightly considered some of the nation's greatest achievements. However, the strength of white Southern resistance to the changes required during Reconstruction, coupled with waning interest and support in the North for federal intervention in the South, would undermine progress and result in some of the worst failures of the Reconstruction era. Slavery was gone, but the struggle was far from over.

CHAPTER TWO

The Post-Reconstruction Period, 1870s–1900

No people to whom liberty is given, can hold it as firmly and wear it as grandly as those who wrench liberty from the iron hand of the tyrant. The hardships and dangers involved in the struggle give strength and toughness to the character, and enable it to stand firm in storm as well as in sunshine.

Frederick Douglass, 1892[1]

Most of the Radical Republican–controlled state governments established by Congressional or Radical Reconstruction policies held on for several years. However, the elections of 1874 and 1876 effectively shifted the states to a Democratic Party–led, post-Reconstruction period known in the South as "Redemption." Henry Louis Gates Jr. defines this as the period "when the former Confederate states 'redeemed' themselves at the expense of Black rights, especially the right of Black men to vote."[2] The term grew out of Southern frustration with the federally imposed civil and political rules of Reconstruction, and it implied a return of governance to pre-Reconstruction ideals. However, those ideals were largely couched in the prewar plantation slavery economy, an economic model found to be unsupportable in the waning decades of the nineteenth century. From its ashes would rise the "New South," with its turn toward railroad transportation and industry, all while vehemently embracing racial oppression and segregation.

[1] Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass, Written by Himself* (Boston: De Wolfe & Fiske Co., 1892; electronic edition, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001), 615, *Documenting the American South,* https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/dougl92/dougl92.html#p650.

[2] Gates, *Stony the Road,* xii. Gates recalled that he had never heard of the term "Redemption" before hearing it in an undergraduate college history course and that its use "still today verges on the obscure and unfamiliar to most" (Gates, Stony the Road, xvi).

Post-Reconstruction "redeemer" governments in the South had three primary agendas. The first task at hand was to "redeem" the states from Republican control and to advance the "lost cause" of the Confederacy.[3] Steeped within that was an agenda of white supremacy—to maintain control over the Black population that formed the core of agricultural labor in the South. Another important task was reducing the size of state governments and repudiating the states' crippling Reconstruction debts. The movement in the South to restore the vision of a "white man's government" was at the same time eased by a growing lack of support in the North for federal involvement in southern affairs.[4] In both sections, the economic depression after 1873 turned many away from the objectives of Reconstruction and inflamed the political and social responses to the "specter" of "Negro equality" for decades.

In 1874, a resurgence of the Democratic Party successfully ousted many southern Republican state governments, signaling the approaching end of Reconstruction in the South. The Forty-Third US Congress, which convened in 1875, still dominated by Republicans, would attempt to forestall the inevitable erosion of African American civil rights. But, while a watered-down Civil Rights Bill passed, the minority Democrats managed to delay even discussion of the Enforcement Act, which would have given the federal government power to enforce Black voting rights. The presidential election of 1876 was marked in the South by violence and intimidation, largely at the hands of vigilante groups like the Ku Klux Klan and in the North by deep divisions within the Republican Party. The election culminated in a contested electoral college vote. Republican presidential candidate Rutherford B. Hayes was declared the winner after Southern Democrats negotiated a promise to end federal enforcement of Reconstruction policies and the restoration of "home rule" in the southern states. With Hayes's inauguration in 1877 came the demise of Reconstruction and its promise for African Americans.[5]

The withdrawal of federal protections for African American civil rights guaranteed by the US Constitution freed the post-Reconstruction state governments to systematically erode those rights. Across the South, many familiar "Black codes" aimed at controlling labor returned, including vagrancy laws, laws preventing enticement of contracted workers, and strict penalties for petty crimes.[6] The language of the law was colorblind, but

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[3] The various tenets of the "Lost Cause" are summarized here by Civil War historian Gary Gallagher: "[E]x-Confederates denied the importance of slavery in triggering secession, blamed sectional tensions on abolitionists, celebrated antebellum Southern slaveholding society, portrayed Confederates as united in waging their war for independence, extolled the gallantry of Confederate soldiers, and attributed Northern victory to sheer weight of numbers and resources." Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds., *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 4.

[4] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 567, 588. In the North, labor unrest became the overriding issue (Foner, Reconstruction, 586).

[5] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 553–56, 569–72, 581; Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America,* location 16163, 16182, Kindle edition.

[6] Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 44.

enforcement primarily targeted Black offenders. The legal limitations put in place by "redeemed" southern governments were supported by a judicial system stacked against African Americans, particularly in criminal cases.[7] Cases against Black defendants were tried in local courts by white judges and all-white juries. Despite an 1879 Supreme Court ruling in *Strauder v. West Virginia*, which struck down a West Virginia law denying African Americans the right to serve on juries, the names of African Americans rarely appeared on jury lists (see the Manassas, Virginia, case study in Chapter Four for a rare exception).[8] As a result, Black "criminals" filled the prisons and formed the core of the "convict lease system," described by southern Republicans as a legal system designed "to reenslave the colored race."[9] "Redeemer" legislatures codified a sharecropping system that approached enslavement as well. In Georgia, a sharecropper was defined not as a tenant but as a laborer whose role was limited to "only a right to go on the land to plant, work, and gather the crop."[10]

In support of their goal to restore the "white man's government," states took particular aim at curtailing Black votes. Stopping short of outright disfranchisement, Black voter majorities in the South were neutralized politically with gerrymandered districts, heavy poll taxes, and outright fraud, while citizen-led violent intimidation proved an effective deterrent as well.[11] Former president Ulysses S. Grant, who initiated the federal withdrawal before leaving office, later mused, "Looking back over the whole policy of reconstruction, it seems to me that the wisest thing would have been to have continued for some time the military rule."[12]

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[7] See Melissa Milewski, "Rethinking the Role of the Courts in the Lives of Black Southerners," *The American Historian* (November 2017), accessed November 29, 2020, https://www.oah.org/tah/issues/2017/november/rethinking-the-role-of-the-courts-in-the-lives-of-black-southerners/#fr12. Milewski found that while African Americans faced barriers in the criminal courts, they continued to successfully use the civil courts for redress in civil matters.

[8] "Strauder vs. West Virginia," *Legal Information Institute,* accessed November 27, 2020, https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/100/303.

[9] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 594. Foner notes that South Carolina and Florida dismantled their prison systems through the convict leasing system, thereby saving money, while at the same time bringing in additional cash by leasing convicts (predominantly Black) to former slaveholders.

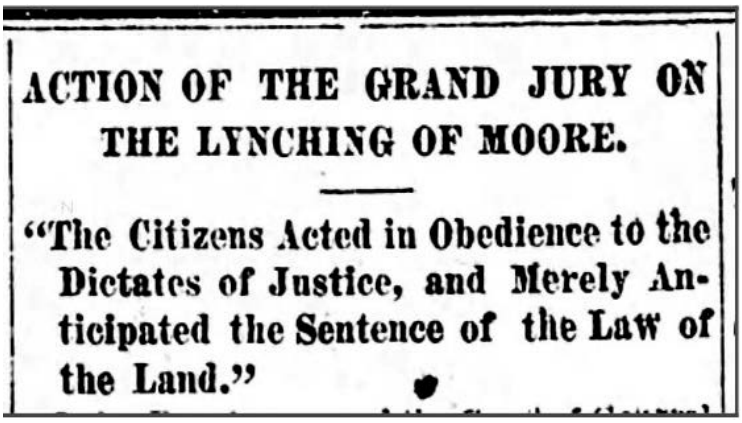
[10] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 594.

[11] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 590.

[12] John Russell Young, *Around the World with General Grant…Volume II, Part 2* (New York, 1879), 362, https://books.google.com/books?id=SytBAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false; Downs and Masur, "The Era of Reconstruction, 1861–1900," NHL Theme Study, 62.

The Scourge of Lynching

Racially and politically motivated violence increased significantly following the withdrawal of federal troops from the South. The unthinkable violence known as lynching, summary murders perpetrated on African Americans under the guise of justice, began even before the 1870s, but accelerated through the 1880s and 1890s, peaking in the early twentieth century.[13] These acts of violence were often initiated by rumors, spread by word of mouth or in the local newspaper, of a Black man's "outrage" (assault or rape) of a white woman. The accused men, often innocent of any crime, were pulled from their jail cells while awaiting trial and hanged or shot by an angry mob. Sometimes the men were taken as they awaited a death-by-hanging sentence after receiving a guilty verdict by an all-white jury—their lynching justified as simply speeding up the wheels of justice. While the largest number of lynching victims were Black men, Black women were also targeted.[14]


ACTION OF THE GRAND JURY ON THE LYNCHING OF MOORE.

"The Citizens Acted in Obedience to the Dictates of Justice, and Merely Anticipated the Sentence of the Law of the Land."

Figure 19: Newspaper clippings on lynching from 1879
Newspapers.com

The growing number of incidents prompted newspaper headlines and editorial discussions concerning the moral underpinnings of the practice—both for and against. Though the greatest number of lynchings occurred in the southern states, it was by no means a purely southern phenomenon. Nearly every state in the Union reported one or

[13] Foner details the use of lynching by the early Ku Klux Klan and others in the late 1860s to help southern planters control their Black laborers. See Foner, *Reconstruction,* 428–29.

[14] Downs and Masur, "The Era of Reconstruction," NHL Theme Study, 62–63. White criminals were occasionally lynched for egregious crimes such as rape. Foner describes a white Northern teacher lynched in 1870 in Alabama for teaching in a Black school (Foner, *Reconstruction,* 62). However, the clear message was the suppression of African American attempts to claim citizenship and civil rights. For a full treatment of the history of lynching in the United States, see the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI) report, "Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror" (3rd edition, 2017), https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report.

more lynchings between the years 1889 and 1921 (Figure 20).[15] The gruesome practice continued, though with less frequency, into the 1950s. Incidents have been reported since then as well, even in the twenty-first century.[16]

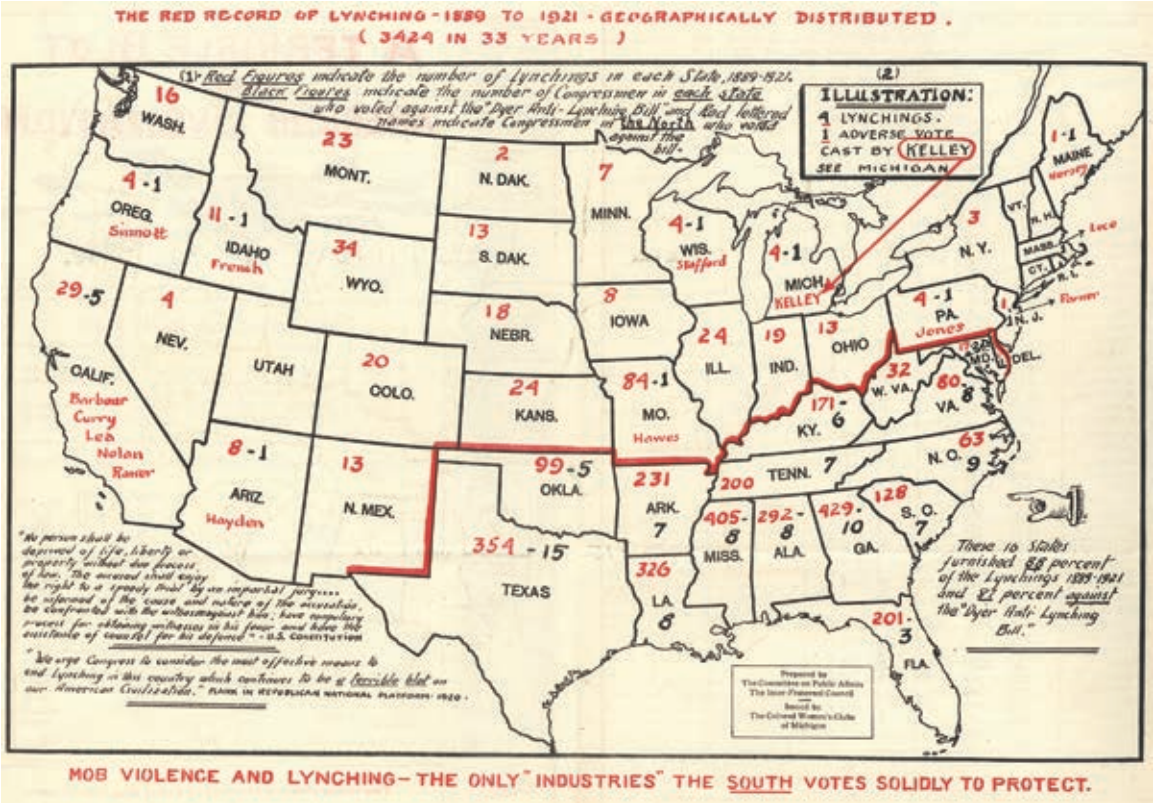


Figure 20: Red Record of Lynching Map
National Archives and Records Administration

While often cloaked under the guise of justice, these murders were in fact efforts to assert and solidify white supremacy. In their 2017 report "Lynching in America," the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI) observed that the bulk of the murders should be termed "racial terror lynchings," which they described as "a tool used to enforce Jim Crow laws and racial segregation—a tactic for maintaining racial control by victimizing the entire African American community, not merely punishment of an alleged perpetrator for a crime." The community was further held captive by the white-controlled justice system that refused to hold the murderers accountable. "Indeed," the EJI report notes, "some public spectacle

[15] "Red Record of Lynching Map, 1922," RG 233, Series: Bill Files, 1903–1968, File Unit: Papers Accompanying Specific Bills and Resolutions of the Committee on the Judiciary from the 67th Congress, NARA, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/149268727.

[16] EJI, "Lynching in America," https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report.

lynchings were attended by the entire white community and conducted as celebratory acts of racial control and domination."[17] Investigations of lynchings were led by white coroners and police, and tried before white judges and all-white juries, some or all of whom may have actually participated in the violence. Witnesses, who were also possible participants themselves, were often unwilling to identify the perpetrators. More often than not, the jury's verdict was that the acts were perpetrated by "parties unknown."[18] In 1900, North Carolina Congressman George H. White, the lone Black US representative at the time, proposed a bill to make lynching a federal crime. The bill failed in committee, as the first of many unsuccessful attempts, thwarted by southern objections to federal involvement in state matters.[19] The EJI report has documented more than four thousand lynchings between 1877 and 1950 in the South, and an additional 341 in the North.

The Landscape of the "New South"

The so-called redeemed states of the Deep South, and to a lesser degree the Upper South, sought to return to an idealized pre–Civil War plantation economy with a subservient underclass of Black workers. To some extent that was achieved, but the plantation agriculture of the past would not be enough to restore southern states to economic stability. Those same state governments also used tax incentives to cultivate a boom in railroad building across the South. Railroad transportation altered the landscape, sparking new town growth, industry, and an explosion of small farms in previously inaccessible areas. Many of these new smaller, often tenanted, farms in the Deep South produced cotton, a reliable and readily marketable cash crop. However, increased production, which paralleled decreasing demand for cotton, resulted in a steady decline in the crop's market value, putting pressure on both small and large farms alike. Farmers that diversified to market products, particularly in the Upper South, found a growing urban market now made more accessible via railroad transportation.[20]

Some African Americans, despite the hostile political, social, and civil environment, were able to advance their economic position through land ownership, particularly in the Upper South and border states. Loren Schweninger, author of *Black Landownership in the*

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[17] EJI, "Lynching in America," https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report.

[18] Dean Herrin, "The 'Mob Fairly Howled': Lynching in Frederick County, Maryland, 1879–1895" (Frederick County, MD: African American Resources—Cultural and Heritage, 2020), 19, 38, 61.

[19] Adrienne Beasley, "Lynching in West Virginia," *The Carter G. Woodson Project,* accessed December 8, 2020, https://www.marshall.edu/woodson-dev/lynching-in-west-virginia/; EJI, "Lynching in America," https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report/; "White, George Henry," *History, Art & Archives, United States House of Representatives,* accessed December 10, 2020, https://history.house.gov/People/Detail/23657.

[20] Ayers, *The Promise of the New South,* 7–15. Rising transportation costs were an ongoing problem that, in part, fed the Grange Movement in the South, beginning in the 1870s (Ayers, *The Promise of the New South,* 214–15).

South, found that relatively prosperous Black farmers emerged in the 1880s and 1890s. Many were formerly enslaved people who acquired land in small parcels "over a period of many years, sometimes decades, until eventually they had acquired substantial land holdings."[21] The farmers documented by Schweninger owned four hundred or more acres and planted cotton or tobacco as cash crops, but "diversified their holdings by cultivating various other crops and raising herds of livestock." He recounts: "South Carolina plantation owner Jonas W. Thomas, known as the 'Cotton King of Marlboro County,' not only planted several hundred acres of cotton each spring, but also harvested corn, vegetables, tobacco, 'some garden truck,' while raising horses, mules, cattle, and hogs."[22] Others prospered as market or "truck farmers," including Lewis Winter in Tennessee, who built a poultry empire by the 1880s.[23] Not all Black landowners were prosperous farmers. Indeed, many owned only tiny parcels on which only a kitchen garden and perhaps a cow provided subsistence for the family. Regardless of the amount of land, however, ownership gave African Americans a sense of independence.[24]

Through the final decades of the nineteenth century, rural Blacks increasingly diversified their occupations. Though the majority continued to work in agriculture and domestic service, skilled laborers and craftsmen, including blacksmiths, masons, carpenters, shoemakers, and barbers, worked independently or established their own businesses. Over the course of his research, Schweninger has found evidence of general store owners, mill owners, distillers, and hotel operators.[25] Like their counterparts in the growing Black urban middle class, many were educated in schools established during Reconstruction, and some became teachers, physicians, and preachers. But while blacksmiths, masons, and carpenters could apply their skills within white society, teachers, physicians, and preachers catered exclusively to increasingly segregated Black communities.

Segregation and Disfranchisement

Racial segregation had been a part of public education across the South since its inception in the years immediately following the Civil War. Black churches, some of which formed even before the war, proliferated and often formed the symbolic center of post-emancipation rural Black communities. A Memphis, Tennessee, newspaper observed in 1885 that

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[21] Loren Schweninger, *Black Property Owners in the South,* 1790–1915 (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 208.

[22] Schweninger, *Black Landowners in the South,* 209. This information appears to be from the 1908 Report of the Ninth Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League, held in Baltimore, Maryland.

[23] Schweninger, *Black Property Owners in the South,* 210.

[24] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 178.

[25] Schweninger, *Black Property Owners in the South,* 210.

Blacks "prefer their own preachers, teachers, schools, picnics, hotels and social gatherings."[26] Though the statement was inaccurate to the extent that segregated schools were certainly not preferable, it belied the de facto segregation that had become normalized throughout the South through the 1870s and 1880s. However, as historian Eric Foner observed, "not until the 1890s did the system of racial segregation become embedded in Southern law."[27]

It was public transportation, in particular the railroads which crossed state and regional lines, that began the move to codify segregation in state legislatures. Railroad cars were traditionally segregated by class—the plush, clean first-class cars versus the dirty, second-class smoking cars. While in the North, first-class accommodation was available to anyone who could pay, in the South it was expected that Blacks would occupy only second-class cars. Occasionally, well-dressed African Americans were discovered in a first-class car and forced to remove themselves, despite having paid for a first-class ticket. Incidents occurred most frequently in trains that crossed state lines from North to South. In response, southern state legislatures began passing laws in the 1880s requiring railroads to provide separate accommodations. Citing the expense, railroads rarely provided equal accommodations for Black passengers. In 1896, Homer Plessy appealed his conviction for refusing to leave a white railcar to the US Supreme Court, with the Court ruling the provision of "separate but equal" to be constitutional. By that time, notes Ayers, "segregation had been written into the laws of every Southern state except the Carolinas and Virginia."[28]

By the end of the nineteenth century, the post-Reconstruction southern white agenda to regain control of local and state governments and to control Black economic, civil, and social standing was approaching its full expression. Attempts to intervene at the federal level were all but nonexistent as the country focused on industrialization, immigration, and westward expansion. In 1890, however, a Federal Elections Bill supported by the majority Republican House and Senate, as well as Republican President Benjamin Harrison, aimed to prevent fraud in national elections. The bill failed to come to a vote due to a filibuster by southern Democrats. Had the bill passed, observed historian Richard Valelly, "it would likely have committed Republicans to doing something about the process of disenfranchisement then just getting underway in Florida, Mississippi, and Tennessee."[29] In most cases, the states' legislatures supported poll tax and literacy statutes, with

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[26] As cited in Ayers, *The Promise of the New South,* 136.

[27] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 593.

[28] Ayers, *The Promise of the New South,* 140–45.

[29] Richard M. Valelly, *Two Reconstructions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 121.

constitutional changes that limited the voting franchise. In 1893, Democrats took the majority in Congress under Democratic President Grover Cleveland and effectively disabled federal enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.[30]

With the demise of Reconstruction in 1877, African Americans saw their civil rights erode, and the doors to political and legal redress of racial oppression, violence, and poverty closed. Black community supports, developed during Reconstruction and the decades that followed, became all the more important in the lives of African Americans. "In general, black activity turned inward," observed Foner. "Assuming a defensive cast, it concentrated on strengthening the Black community rather than on directly challenging the new status quo."[31]

The Post-Reconstruction Period in the Potomac Region

"Having led the way in wartime Reconstruction," wrote historian Eric Foner, "the border and Upper South now blazed the trail of Redemption."[32] The Potomac region states along the border shifted early to Democratic Party and conservative Republican political influence—led by Maryland in 1867, Virginia in 1869, and 1870 in West Virginia. The District of Columbia also changed course as early as 1871, when an alliance of white "tax payers" successfully lobbied the Republican-led Congress to consolidate the Georgetown, Washington City, and Washington County municipal governments under a single territorial District government that effectively silenced the Black vote.[33] Virginia alone experienced the brief ascendance of a biracial, multiparty coalition known as the Readjusters, lasting from 1879 to 1883. However, despite a few civil gains for African Americans achieved during the Readjuster period, Virginia schools remained segregated by law, while social interaction between whites and Blacks was regulated by custom.

In the realm of publicly-funded education, the Potomac region states differed from Deep South "redeemer" states in terms of the extent to which legislatures continued to provide funding for public schools. Though budget cuts did occur, public education was not abandoned. It was, however, skewed to provide primarily for white schools, with scant attention or funding directed toward African Americans. It was clear in all three states (Virginia, Maryland, and West Virginia) that school facilities would be separated by race.

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[30] Valelly, *Two Reconstructions,* 122.

[31] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 598.

[32] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 421.

[33] Masur, *An Example for All the Land,* 212.

Maryland and Virginia established separate schools for African Americans as part of their public school system founding legislation, in 1865 in Maryland and 1869 in Virginia, while in West Virginia, the separation of schools was codified in the 1872 constitution.[34]

Agriculture in the Potomac region was significantly impacted by population movements, both within the region and across the expanding US territory. As the railroads opened new expansive lands to farming in the Midwest, the explosive growth of wheat and corn production there brought about the decline of the Mid-Atlantic's standing as America's breadbasket. Much like the cotton production boom occurring in the Deep South, increased production of grains in the Midwest drove prices down. In 1860 and 1870, Frederick and Washington Counties were among the top producers of wheat in the state of Maryland, but by 1880, production had leveled off, with no increase over the ten-year span.[35] Additionally, the very railroads that opened the Midwest to settlement also moved their products to eastern markets at more-advantageous rates compared to farmers in the Mid-Atlantic region. As one Virginia farmer observed, "I pay as much for sending a carload of cattle a distance of 100 miles as Armour and Company are charged for carrying one 1,700 miles."[36]

As noted previously, in the South, those farmers that could diversify their production were the most likely to succeed. In the Potomac region, diversification took the form of canning vegetables, orchard products, and dairy, in addition to wheat and corn. By 1880 in Maryland, "market garden products," which required less land under cultivation and fewer laborers, showed significant increases. Fruits and vegetables increased in value by more than 50 percent, dairy cows increased by 25 percent, and livestock rose in value by more than a million dollars across the state.[37]

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[34] "State Department of Education/Origin," *Maryland Manual Online,* https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/13sdoe/html/sdoef.html; *The Constitution of Virginia: Framed by the Convention Which Met in Richmond, Virginia, December 3, 1867. Passed April 17, 1868* (Richmond: Printed at the Office of the New Nation, 1868), *HathiTrust Digital Library,* https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/010446672/Home; Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction," 154.

[35] Paula S. Reed, *Tillers of the Soil: A History of Agriculture in Mid-Maryland* (Frederick, MD: Catoctin Center for Regional Studies, 2011), 64–65.

[36] As cited in Ayers, *The Promise of the New South,* 191.

[37] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground,* 174–75. The changes in Maryland agricultural and industrial production can be seen in the list of leading industries determined by value of product. Beginning in 1860: "1) Flour and Meal; 2) Men's Clothing; 3) Cotton Goods; 4) Sugar, Refined; and 5) Leather." In 1870: "1) Sugar, Refined; 2) Flouring and Grist Mill Products; 3) Men's Clothing; 4) Cotton Goods; and 5) Iron, Forged and Rolled." In 1880: "1) Men's Clothing; 2) Flouring and Grist Mill Products; 3) Fruits and Vegetables, Canned; 4) Fertilizers; and 5) Cotton Goods." In 1890: "1) Men's Clothing; 2) Brick and Stone Masonry; 3) Canning and Preserving Fruits and Vegetables; 4) Flouring and Grist Mill Products." In 1900: "1) Men's Clothing; 2) Fruit and Vegetable Canning; 3) Iron and Steel; 4) Foundry and Machine Shop Products; 5) Flouring and Grist Mill Products." See Eleanor Bruchey, "The Industrialization of Maryland, 1860–1914," in Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds., *Maryland: A History* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1974), 483–84.

The adoption of these "market garden products" responded to a growing need to supply the urban markets of Baltimore and Washington. In Baltimore, expanding industrial production drew laborers from depressed agricultural counties. Between 1860 and 1880, Baltimore's population grew by a third to more than 300,000 residents, including a nearly 50 percent in the African American population, from 28,000 to 54,000.[38] The District of Columbia, where government and service jobs were the draw, saw its population more than double in size to 118,000, with the number of Black residents growing from just over 14,000 to nearly 60,000.[39] The majority of rural to urban migrants in these cities came from Maryland and Virginia, with a large proportion being African American. Prince George's County saw a decline in its Black population, as did Frederick and Washington Counties, along with several of the Eastern Shore counties.[40]

The population movements and changes in agriculture in the Potomac region had varying impacts on Black families seeking freedom via land ownership. In the District of Columbia, available rural land would quickly disappear under expanding urban development. Schweninger found that white landowners in Virginia were eagerly abandoning farming and selling their land to Blacks, "in part because they were discovering higher-paying jobs in manufacturing and industry, jobs that were generally not available to Negroes."[41] At the same time, Maryland historian Barbara Jeanne Fields found that a larger percentage of Maryland Blacks were unable to free themselves from farm tenancies. Those who did purchase land, for the most part, owned little more than "subsistence plots," many of which, according to Fields, "undoubtedly failed even to afford subsistence." Regardless of a farm's size or its economic success, Fields concludes, "[f]arming their own land may have enhanced black people's sense of freedom, independence, and accomplishment."[42]

District of Columbia

In 1874, Congress signaled its disillusionment with the central tenant of Reconstruction, universal manhood suffrage, when it abolished the District of Columbia territorial government (created by Congress in 1871), replacing it with a three-man commission appointed by the US president. The move, which disfranchised all voters in the District, including the large block of Black voters, was supported by whites of both parties. It was an idea, notes historian Kate Masur, that "had long been dear to conservatives, who had been seeking a

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[38] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 176.

[39] 1880 Census: Volume 1. Statistics of the Population of the United States, 1883, "Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity," Table V, 384, *US Census Bureau,* https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1883/dec/vol-01-population.html.

[40] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 175–76. Fields concludes, "As cultivators moved away from tobacco and grains, their need for a large force of laborers diminished" (Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 187).

[41] Schweninger, *Black Property Owners in the South,* 172.

[42] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 178.

form of government entirely free from popular control ever since Black men's suffrage had come up for debate in Congress."[43] Thus, even before the 1876 presidential election, Congress had put an end to Reconstruction-era reforms in the District.



Figure 21: 1891 map of DC showing the Broad Branch settlement
Library of Congress

Even as the political experiments of the Reconstruction era within the District of Columbia contracted, population growth continued and expanded outward from the city. By 1870, the rural Washington County municipality of the District had a population of over 11,000 people, more than double the total in 1860. Though the majority of the District's African Americans lived within the city boundary, as much as 40 percent of the rural population in 1870 was Black.[44] African American communities had formed on small parcels near the Union forts, including "the Broad Branch settlement where the Harris family lived" (Figure 21), along with "Fort Reno in Tenleytown, the Vinegar Hill settlement east of Rock Creek near Fort Stevens. . .and Good Hope, later known as Garfield, east of the Anacostia River (Figure 22)."[45]

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[43] Masur, *An Example for All the Land,* 250.

[44] Barbara Torrey and Clara Green, "Free Black People of Washington County, DC George Pointer and His Descendants," *Washington History,* Vol. 28, No. 1 (Spring 2016), 24–25, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43799315?seq=1.

[45] Torrey and Green, "Free Black People of Washington County, DC," 25.



Figure 22: 1891 map of DC showing the Good Hope settlement
Library of Congress

Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, suburban development spread across the rural farmland of the District (formerly Washington County), with as much as 4,000 acres developed by 1888, eventually driving out both white and Black small landowners and tenants (Figure 23).[46]

[46] Kim Prothro Williams, *Lost Farms and Estates of Washington, DC* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2018), 143–44. Williams does not directly address the loss of Black-owned land or tenant farms.

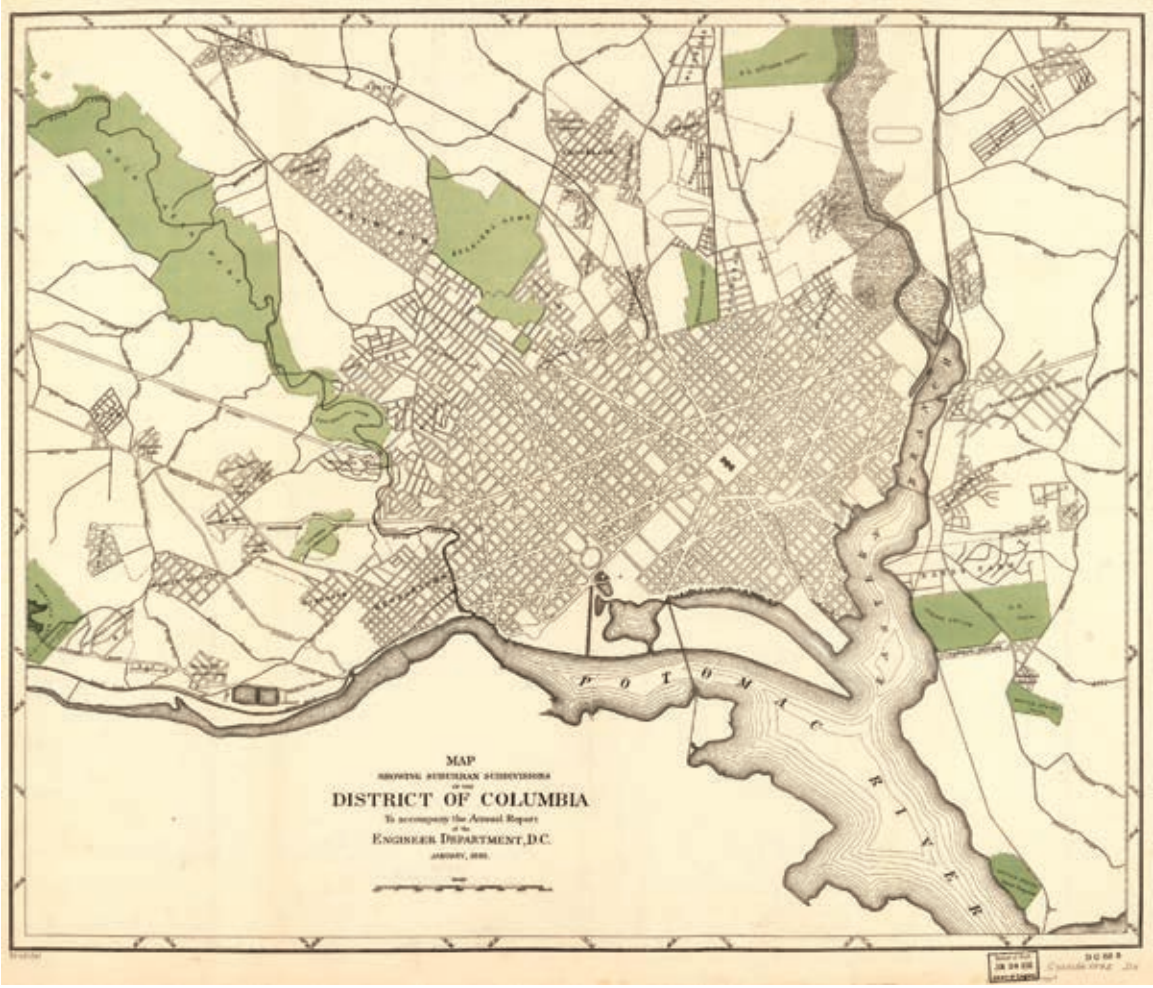


Figure 23: 1895 map of the suburban subdivisions of the District of Columbia
Library of Congress

Virginia

In Virginia, the Conservative coalition that led the government through much of the 1870s had already reenacted many of the repressive codes that reappeared somewhat later in the Deep South states. Segregated schools were codified in Virginia by 1869, and after 1870, they actively worked to counteract the Fifteenth Amendment with gerrymandered voting districts, heavy poll taxes, and other measures to limit Black votes.[47] Still, about the time that post-Reconstruction "redeemer" governments elsewhere in the South began to take shape, a new political movement known as the "Readjusters" took control in Virginia, beginning in 1879. The party formed in response to the ruling Conservative Party's refusal to adjust the state's enormous postwar debt, choosing instead to impose higher taxes on a

[47] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 422.

population struggling through the economic depression that engulfed the state and the nation through much of the 1870s.[48] The Readjuster Party was a wide-ranging coalition, including Virginia's 100,000 Black voters, both urban and rural, as well as many of the state's European immigrant laborers and white landowners in the western counties.[49]

In 1879, a crisis in the public funding of Virginia's schools became the breaking point for party politics. Though schools were segregated by law since 1869, both Black and white schools were publicly funded. During the 1878–79 school year, the system was spending more than it was receiving from the state, and nearly half of the schools were closed.[50] Despite continuing to pay the school tax, which in 1877 was tied to voter eligibility, Virginia's working men and yeomen farmers saw their children's schools shutting down. In Prince William County, the county school board was so frustrated with the diversion of taxes from the schools to the state's debt repayment that in November 1878 the board requested the property taxes collected in the county for the state Literary Fund be "considered and treated as a County fund instead of a State fund."[51]

Riding on the wave of discontent, Readjuster candidates, including thirteen African Americans representing majority Black districts, took seats in the Virginia legislature in 1879.[52] In the northern Virginia counties, only Alexandria had a sufficient number of Black voters to impact elections, even during the pre-Readjuster years. George L. Seaton represented Alexandria (city) in the Virginia House of Delegates from 1869 to 1871, and John B. Syphax, born free on the Custis family's Arlington estate, represented Alexandria County in the House of Delegates from 1874 to 1875 (Figure 24).[53] Syphax also held local offices, including county treasurer (1875–79) and Justice of the Peace, while R.D. Ruffin, a law graduate of Howard University, served as Alexandria County sheriff from 1873 to 1874.[54]

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[48] James T. Moore, "Black Militancy in Readjuster Virginia, 1879–1883," *Journal of Southern History* Vol. 41, No. 2 (May, 1975), 170, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2206012; Daily, *Before Jim Crow,* 17–18, 28–29.

[49] Dailey, *Before Jim Crow,* 32–33.

[50] Dailey, *Before Jim Crow, 29;* Henry Kiddle, Alexander Jacob Schem, eds., *The Yearbook of Education for 1878 [and 1879]* (New York: E. Steiger, 1879), 120, https://books.googleusercontent.com/books/content?req=AKW5Qad60U27DEX3BB8sB_njiaHcXNpVkllnVQTWCq2sktk5QgFUc1ZuZr44vC0VgHRk1AvNwjuKte4787meM4wv6Z5Qj0boqRDzuoi92k7IZQxVYtTL_OaTDc0dwvcN3-w6UJUml2Q5xfkEytrFSweEd2xgJhBhqF0TlObCsgsaA5wBKyniEFOFqZqGPgAyEtbx_nsksm0rASf3Vx4h7O-pJxqMNzMJZ5MpYXTJ6BLkr0gK4nEJH8CIyXCKmEgCP2mb8iwz5tSnG0s4Emyrj76lK3Zp_s1i2LJQHC0iOl2UZ2j2zKs70Ig.

[51] "County School Board Minutes1872–1922, Book 1," 41, transcribed by Morgan Breeden, June 2014, http://historicprincewilliam.org/county-history/schools.

[52] *Dictionary of Virginia Biography and Encyclopedia Virginia* staff, "African American Legislators (1867–1899)," *Encyclopedia Virginia, Virginia Humanities,* accessed March 5, 2020, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/African_American_Legislators_in_Virginia_1867-1899; Dailey, *Before Jim Crow,* 47.

[53] Luther Porter Jackson, *Negro Office-Holders in Virginia, 1865–1895* (Norfolk, VA: Guide Quality Press, 1945), 38 and 41, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000340615.

[54] Jackson, *Negro Office-Holders in Virginia,* 36–41.

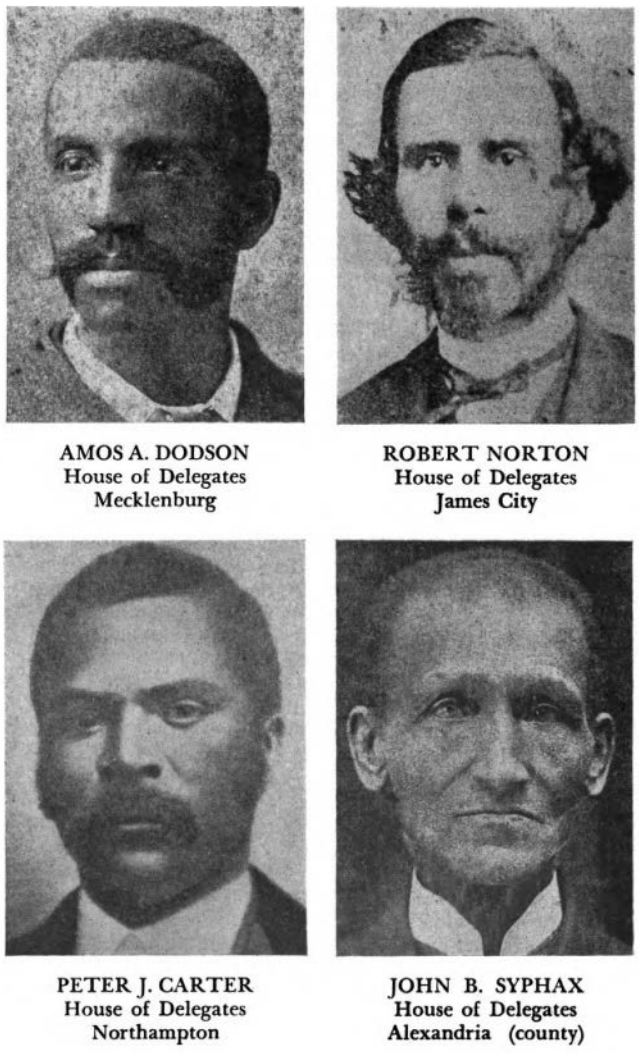


Figure 24: John B. Syphax
Luther Porter Jackson, *Negro Office-Holders in Virginia, page 52.*

During the state election of 1881, Readjusters successfully won the governorship and a majority in the Virginia legislature. In return for their support, African Americans benefited from a number of changes including repeal of "punishment by stripes" in the criminal code, abolishing the poll tax, and allotting state and federal patronage jobs to African Americans. Significant improvements were made to Black education, though still segregated and underfunded, including allowing Black teachers and equalizing their pay and increasing the number of Black schools by more than a thousand statewide by 1883.[55] The school superintendent for Alexandria City reported a significant enrollment increase,

[55] *Acts and Joint Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly…Session of 1881–82* (Richmond: R.F. Walker Superintendent Public Printing, 1882), 403, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100695339; Moore, "Black Militancy in Readjuster Virginia," 179–80. For more detail on the leadership of railroad capitalist William Mahone see Foner, *Reconstruction,* 413, 592.

from 322 Black students in the 1882–83 school year to 834 students in the 1883–84 year. Other northern Virginia counties reported needs for additional Black school facilities: Alexandria County sought to add one building to their inventory of five; Fairfax County, with twenty-one Black schools already operating, saw a need for three additional buildings; Loudoun County had twenty-seven schools but needed two more; and Prince William needed to add three to their eleven Black schoolhouses.[56]

COMPARATIVE SUMMARIES

For the period extending from August 1st, 1878, to July 31st, 1884, based upon the reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the different years, showing a steady growth in the number of schools opened, number of graded schools, number of pupils enrolled, number in average daily attendance, number of teachers, and an improvement in many other essentials:

SCHOOLS.

Number opened:

	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.
White	1,816	3,598	3,939	4,062	4,259	4,477
Colored	675	1,256	1,443	1,525	1,715	1,873
	2,491	4,854	5,382	5,587	5,974	6,350

Average number of months taught:

1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.
5.36	5.64	5.87	5.91	6.09	6.

Number of graded schools:

	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.
White	95	155	178	194	221	243
Colored	33	50	56	57	66	77
	128	205	234	251	287	320

PUPILS.

Number enrolled:

	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.
White	72,306	152,136	162,087	172,034	177,412	184,720
Colored	35,768	68,600	76,959	85,328	90,948	103,310
	108,074	220,736	239,046	257,362	268,360	288,030

Number in average daily attendance:

	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.
White	44,540	89,640	92,922	97,997	102,155	106,907
Colored	21,231	38,764	41,565	46,907	48,850	56,462
	65,771	128,404	134,487	144,904	151,005	163,369

Figure 25: "Comparative Summaries"
Virginia School Report 1884, page 105.

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[56] Virginia Department of Education, Virginia School Report 1884. *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, for the Year Ending July 31, 1884* (Richmond: Rush U. Derr, Superintendent of Public Printing, 1884), Table 2, 12–14, accessed April 6, 2020, https://books.google.com/books?id=S-ksAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA106&lpg=PA106&dq=virginia+school+report+1880&source=bl&ots=TF_E3s8uCc&sig=ACfU3U2Xc89yZ-WXFuxk1wLLFrLv-eeArg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwivjcvh6czoAhUzYjUKHWk7ARgQ6AEwEHoECAoQSA#v=onepage&q=virginia%20school%20report%201880&f=false.

While the Readjuster tenure in Virginia government opened up some opportunities for Black advancement, continuing white resistance to "Negro equality" collapsed the Readjuster coalition during the 1883 state elections. With Conservatives back in power, African Americans again faced increasing restrictions on their civil rights. Many Virginia judges continued to seat all-white juries, despite the US Supreme Court ruling in 1880 *(Strauder v. West Virginia)* that found the exclusion of African Americans from juries "because of race" to be in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. In 1883, attendees at a "Colored Mass Meeting" held in Leesburg prepared a petition to Loudoun County Court Judge James B. McCabe, which stated: "[W]e desire in the future a fuller recognition of our rights and privileges which the laws of the land have guaranteed to us; hence we respectfully petition your Honor in the future, to recognize our rights, to serve as Jurors and Judges of Election." The judge reportedly allowed for Black jurors, but would not allow them to serve as election judges.[57] African American voters were again neutralized by gerrymandered districts and election fraud through the 1890s. The trend culminated in 1902 with a new state constitution that effectively silenced the Black vote through a convoluted literacy requirement.[58]

According to the Equal Justice Initiative report "Lynching in America," the state of Virginia was among the "twelve most active lynching states in America." Though of little comfort to the victims, the number of Virginia lynchings was among the lowest of the twelve southern states. As many as eighty-four racially motivated lynching murders occurred in Virginia between 1877 and 1950.[59] In northern Virginia, all of the known incidents were related to accusations of criminal acts, though in some cases the lynching occurred before a trial in court. Victims that were tried in court typically faced a white judge, an all-white jury, and white witnesses. While there were no known lynchings in Prince William County during this period, in Alexandria, Joseph McCoy was lynched in 1897, followed by Benjamin Thomas in 1899. Owen Anderson was lynched in Loudoun County in 1889, and Charles Craven was lynched in Fairfax County in 1902. Two Black men were lynched in Fauquier County—Arthur Jordon in 1880 and Shedrick Thompson in 1932.[60] In 1880, Page Wallace was lynched in Loudoun County after an angry mob abducted him from the train at the B&O Railroad depot in Point of Rocks, Maryland.

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[57] "A Colored Mass Meeting," transcription from *The Mirror,* May 13, 1883, "A Glimpse into Loudoun County's African American History," *Friends of Thomas Balch Library,* accessed April 6, 2020, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/559ec31fe4b0550458945194/t/563e41e7e4b07fc6089c5d37/1446920679537/LC+Meeting+to+Sit+on+Juries.pdf; see also Eugene Scheel, "Timeline of Important Events in African American History in Loudoun County, Virginia," *The History of Loudoun County, Virginia,* accessed January 15, 2021, http://www.loudounhistory.org/history/african-american-chronology. For a detailed history of Loudoun County, see Eugene Scheel's five volume series, *Loudoun Discovered—Communities, Corners & Crossroads* (Friends of Balch Library, 2002).

[58] Moore, "Black Militancy in Readjuster Virginia," 185.

[59] Equal Justice Initiative (EJI), "Lynching in America," https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report.

[60] *Racial Terror: Lynching in Virginia,* https://sites.lib.jmu.edu/valynchings.

Wallace was accused of raping a white woman in Loudoun County, but had been arrested in Washington County, Maryland, and was in the process of extradition to Virginia for trial when he was seized by the mob.[61]

Rural African Americans in Virginia through the decades following the end of Reconstruction clearly faced many obstacles to civic engagement, education, and economic improvement. Significantly, growth in Black landownership in Virginia during the 1880s and 1890s, described as "remarkable" in its scope by Loren Schweninger, provided one avenue to improvement for rural Black communities. Schweninger identified better access to mortgage financing in the state and nearby District of Columbia beginning in 1888 as one reason for the surge in Black ownership. White property owners' increasing willingness to sell to Blacks, coupled with depressed property values, also influenced the growth in ownership. Schweninger tallied the increase from 860 farm owners in 1870 to more than 26,000 in 1900, with nearly one million acres across the state.[62] In the Dumfries District of Prince William County, the number of Black landowners jumped from just five in 1870 to fifty in 1900, and in the Manassas District, the number of owners grew from twenty-five to sixty-seven over the same period (see the Virginia case studies in Chapter Four).

Maryland

As noted previously, Maryland's special status as a Union slave state on the border, outside the former Confederacy, avoided federal Reconstruction requirements. This allowed for the state's nearly immediate "redemption" from radical Republicanism after emancipation, both politically and socially. In 1865, a solid Democratic legislature codified school segregation by race. In 1867, a new state constitution ensured Conservative, white political dominance by limiting the "elective franchise" to white men only, while basing representation on total population counts. And while the Freedmen's Bureau presence in Maryland through 1870 mitigated some of the more egregious failings of the state and local judicial system, Blacks were prohibited by a state law dating back to 1832 to serve as lawyers in state courts, thus ensuring that judges and juries would remain all-white as well.[63] Segregation on public modes of transportation, in accommodations, and in entertainment venues

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[61] Herrin, "The 'Mob Fairly Howled': Lynching in Frederick County, Maryland, 1879–1895," 5.

[62] Schweninger, *Black Property Owners in the South,* 173–74 (Table 18).

[63] David S. Bogen, "The Transformation of the Fourteenth Amendment: Reflections from the Admission of Maryland's First Black Lawyers," *Maryland Law Review,* Vol. 44, No. 939, 1985, 1039, https://digitalcommons.law.umaryland.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1184&context=fac_pubs. The 1867 constitution required that all judges be members of the state bar.

expanded, according to Maryland law professor David Bogen, because white judges and juries "would never convict anyone criminally for enforcing company segregation policies."[64]

Even after 1870, when Black men gained the right to vote, their relatively small numbers in Maryland limited their political power. The social inequalities reinforced during Reconstruction were already entrenched. In 1878, Republican legislators, still the minority in the Democrat-controlled Maryland government, attempted to remove the racial language barring Black lawyers, but failed. It was not until 1888 that the first African American lawyer, Everett Waring, was admitted to the state bar after the 1832 statute was rewritten to remove the racial bias. Though the change held hope for improved racial equity in Maryland, that hope was "soon dashed," notes Bogen, as "Waring had few victories in litigation against discrimination."[65]

Black Marylanders did not escape the violence sweeping across the South through the post-Reconstruction period. In the years immediately following emancipation in Maryland, "freelance violence, shared in democratically by whites of all classes, played a key role."[66] The violent acts were aimed at punishing freedmen for the white men's perceived loss of property. Of the forty-four known lynchings in Maryland between the years 1854 and 1933, thirty-three occurred after 1877. The majority of Maryland lynchings occurred in the tidewater counties; however, at least nine were perpetrated in the Potomac region. Three took place in Prince George's County (plus two pre-1877), including Michael Green (1878, Upper Marlboro), who was accused of assault against a white woman and was taken from jail and hanged; Joseph Vermillion (1889, Upper Marlboro), who was arrested on "suspicion of arson," taken from the jail by a mob and hanged a week later; and Stephen Williams (1894, Upper Marlboro), who was accused of attempted rape of a white woman and was removed from jail "and hanged. . .from the same iron bridge where Joe Vermillion was lynched five years before."[67] Three lynching murders occurred in Montgomery County, including George W. Peck (1880, Poolesville), who was reportedly "foiled" in his attempt to rape a white girl and arrested, but was hanged by a mob of thirty men before he reached the jail; John Diggs (1880, Darnestown), whose story is yet untold; and Sidney

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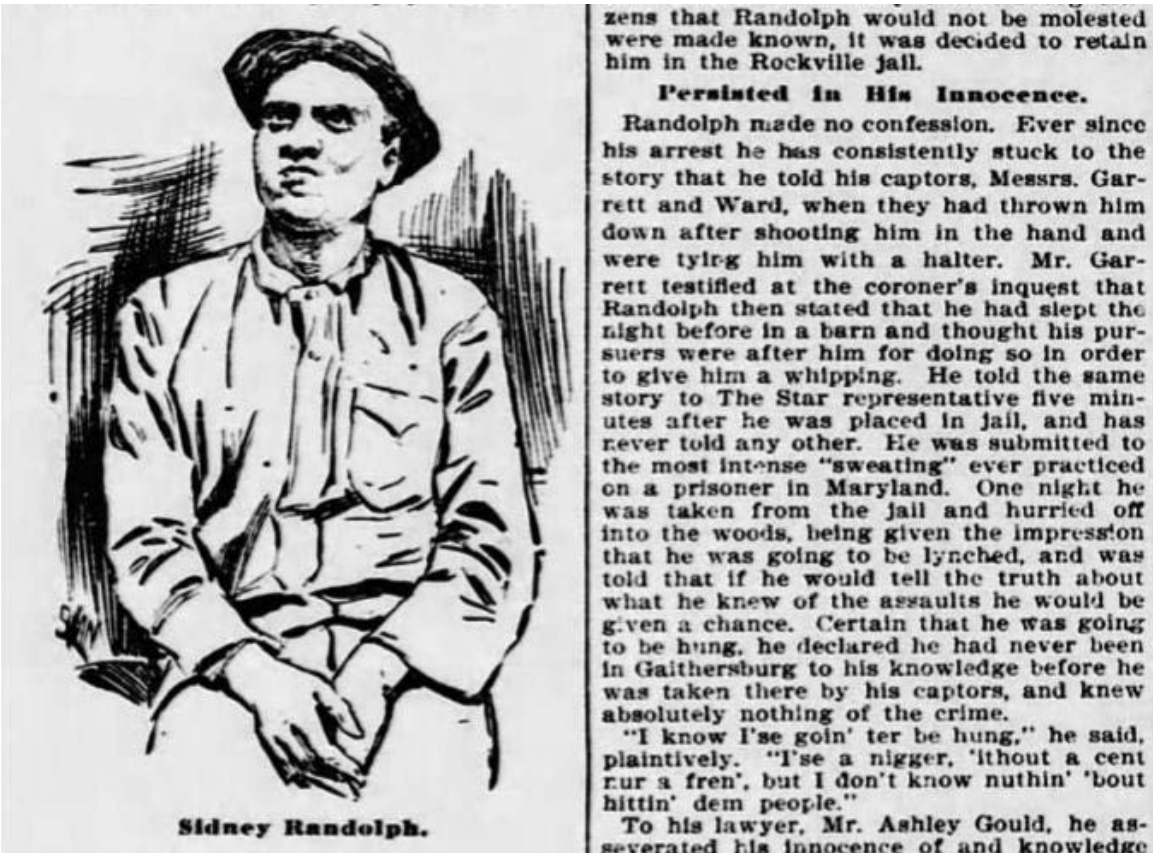
[64] David S. Bogen, "Precursors to Rosa Parks: Maryland Transportation Cases Between the Civil War and the Beginning of World War I," *Maryland Law Review,* Vol. 63, No. 721, 2004, 729, https://digitalcommons.law.umaryland.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1071&context=fac_pubs. It was not until 1902, however, that segregation in transportation became law in Maryland. Bogen, "Precursors to Rosa Parks," 743; see also Fukes, *Imperfect Equality, 200.*

[65] Bogen, "The Transformation of the Fourteenth Amendment," 1034, 1043.

[66] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 142.

[67] Jonathan Pitts, "Lynchings in Maryland," *Baltimore Sun,* accessed November 13, 2020, https://news.baltimoresun.com/maryland-lynchings.

Randolph (1896, Rockville), who was one of two Black men accused in an attack with an ax on a white family, but was the only one held for trial and was hanged by a mob while awaiting a verdict from the coroner's jury inquest.[68]



Sidney Randolph.

zens that Randolph would not be molested were made known, it was decided to retain him in the Rockville jail.

Persisted in His Innocence.

Randolph made no confession. Ever since his arrest he has consistently stuck to the story that he told his captors, Messrs. Garrett and Ward, when they had thrown him down after shooting him in the hand and were tying him with a halter. Mr. Garrett testified at the coroner's inquest that Randolph then stated that he had slept the night before in a barn and thought his pursuers were after him for doing so in order to give him a whipping. He told the same story to The Star representative five minutes after he was placed in jail, and has never told any other. He was submitted to the most intense "sweating" ever practiced on a prisoner in Maryland. One night he was taken from the jail and hurried off into the woods, being given the impression that he was going to be lynched, and was told that if he would tell the truth about what he knew of the assaults he would be given a chance. Certain that he was going to be hung, he declared he had never been in Gaithersburg to his knowledge before he was taken there by his captors, and knew absolutely nothing of the crime.

"I know I'se goin' ter be hung," he said, plaintively. "I'se a nigger, 'ithout a cent nur a fren', but I don't know nuthin' 'bout hittin' dem people."

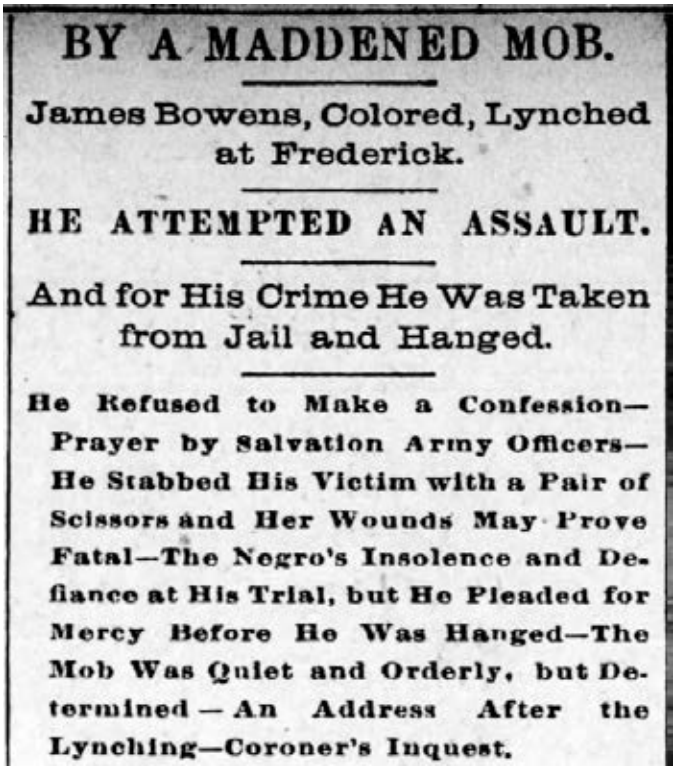
To his lawyer, Mr. Ashley Gould, he asseverated his innocence of and knowledge

Figure 26: "Sidney Randolph Lynched," *Evening Star*, July 4, 1896
Newspapers.com

In Frederick County, three lynchings perpetrated by white mobs in 1879, 1887, and 1895 were researched and detailed by Dr. Dean Herrin in the 2020 article "The 'Mob Fairly Howled': Lynching in Frederick County, Maryland, 1879–1895." James Carroll was accused of raping a white woman in Licksville in April 1879. Carroll was found in Georgetown the next day, where he was arrested and put on a train for trial in Frederick. At the Point of Rocks depot (just miles from Licksville), Carroll was dragged from the railcar by an angry mob of more than one hundred men and hanged in a nearby tree, just three days after the alleged rape. Although newspaper reports of the murder actually named some of the men

[68] Pitts, "Lynchings in Maryland"; "Sidney Randolph MSA SC 3520-17891," *Archives of Maryland* (Biographical Series), https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/017800/017891/html/17891bio.html.

involved in the mob action, the all-white coroner's jury concluded that Carroll was "unlawfully hanged" by "a body of men unknown."[69] In November 1887, John Biggus was accused of beating Mary Yeakle, a fifty-five-year-old white woman, in Frederick City. The following day Biggus was arrested, identified by Yeakle as her assailant, and placed in jail. Two days later, Biggus was taken from the jail by a mob of as many as 150 apparently masked men, who took him to a farm on the edge of town where they hanged him and then shot him several times. No witnesses could (or would) identify the perpetrators, and the all-white jury concluded that Biggus was murdered by "a masked body of men. . .unknown to this jury."[70] James Bowens was lynched in November 1895 after being accused of assaulting Lillie Long in Frederick City. Like Biggus, Bowens was pulled from the city jail and hanged within days of the alleged crime, without having been found guilty in a court trial. Despite the presence of as many as three hundred people at the hanging of Bowens, the coroner's jury was unable to identify anyone involved in the murder, concluding he died "at the hands of parties unknown to this jury."[71]



BY A MADDENED MOB.

James Bowens, Colored, Lynched at Frederick.

HE ATTEMPTED AN ASSAULT.

And for His Crime He Was Taken from Jail and Hanged.

He Refused to Make a Confession—Prayer by Salvation Army Officers—He Stabbed His Victim with a Pair of Scissors and Her Wounds May Prove Fatal—The Negro's Insolence and Defiance at His Trial, but He Pleaded for Mercy Before He Was Hanged—The Mob Was Quiet and Orderly, but Determined—An Address After the Lynching—Coroner's Inquest.

Figure 27: "By a Maddened Mob…James Bowens Lynched," *Baltimore Sun*, November 18, 1895
Newspapers.com

[69] Herrin, "The "Mob Fairly Howled," 7–23; see also Pitts, "Lynchings in Maryland," https://news.baltimoresun.com/maryland-lynchings.

[70] Herrin, "The "Mob Fairly Howled," 28–47; see also Pitts, "Lynchings in Maryland."

[71] Herrin, "The "Mob Fairly Howled," 54–63; see also Pitts, "Lynchings in Maryland."

In nearly every one of the lynching murders committed in Maryland over the eighty-year period identified by Jonathon Pitts on the "Lynching in Maryland" website, the Black victim was accused of a crime and was awaiting trial or had been sentenced to death by the court.[72] Because the lynchings appeared to be motivated by an alleged crime, most of the Maryland incidents might be termed "popular justice," as described in the Equal Justice Initiative "Lynching in America" report. Still, because the majority of lynchings in Maryland were perpetrated against Black victims, lynching served as "a tool of racial control" and thus was a form of racial terrorism.[73]

With the daily lives of African Americans in Maryland limited by statute, social norms, and violence during and after the demise of Reconstruction, community building became the primary source of comfort and mutual aid, particularly in the rural counties. Black church construction increased during this period. As many as six new Grand United Order of Odd Fellows (GUOOF) lodges were established in the region between 1873 and 1886.[74] Black schools, though administered by the state and county school boards after 1871, were in many cases still housed in the community church, just as they had been as Freedmen's Bureau schools. From just forty-two schools across the region—from Prince George's County to Allegany County—in the 1872–73 school year, the first after the 1872 state law requiring one Black school per election district, the number grew more than 50 percent to a total of 105 schools in 1900.[75]

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[72] Pitts, "Lynchings in Maryland."

[73] EJI, "Lynching in America," Section III, "From Popular Justice to Racial Terror," https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report. Pitts, "Lynchings in Maryland," identified three lynchings of white men accused of crimes in Maryland.

[74] Charles H. Brooks, *The Official History and Manual of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows in America,* (Philadelphia: Odd Fellow's Journal Print, 1902), 85–183, accessed May 6, 2020, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100853735/Home.

[75] *Annual Report, Showing Condition of the Public Schools of Maryland…,* https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000057122.

TABLE I.—*Colored Schools—Statement Showing the Number of Schools, Number of Teachers—Male and Female, Number of Different Pupils, Average Number of Pupils Enrolled and in Attendance and the Highest Enrollment for One Term for the Year Ending July 31, 1900.*

COUNTIES	Cost of Schools.	Number of Schools.	Months Schools were Open	NUMBER OF TEACHERS.			Number of Different Pupils	AVERAGE NUMBER OF PUPILS.		Highest enrollment in one term.
				Male.	Female.	Total.		Enrolled.	In attendance.	
Allegany	$ 2,318 12	4	8½	2	5	7	335	282	185	302
Anne Arundel	12,991 87	36	10	16	29	45	2,810	2,173	1,374	2,520
Baltimore	24,667 08	36	10	14	32	46	2,205	1,725	1,034	1,875
Calvert	4,176 87	19	9	5	15	20	1,405	1,029	536	1,223
Caroline	3,705 56	19	7½	9	13	22	1,254	992	749	1 148
Carroll	2,476 75	12	7½	6	6	12	463	384	234	419
Cecil	8,000 42	15	9	4	14	18	896	712	433	787
Charles	7,409 00	30	9	6	24	30	1,991	1,434	782	1,609
Dorchester	8,119 67	41	7½	31	15	46	2,184	1,827	1,126	2,004
Frederick	7,196 11	29	7½	20	14	34	1,461	1,269	819	1,394
Garrett	233 19	1	5½	.....	2	2	24	19	12	24
Harford	8,874 64	21	10	6	19	25	1,378	1,059	593	1,242
Howard	4,617 22	14	9½	4	12	16	824	636	345	739
Kent	7,383 38	19	10	8	12	20	1,532	1,074	531	1,412
Montgomery	9,018 23	32	8½	12	28	40	2,388	1,969	1,304	2,175
Prince George's	11,117 95	30	9	9	23	32	2,170	1,700	970	1,918
Queen Anne's	5,608 23	20	10	7	13	20	1,268	909	502	1,123
St. Mary's	7,740 40	25	9	5	21	26	1,746	1,356	640	1,579
Somerset	8,719 18	31	7½	19	20	39	2,105	1,789	1,054	1,825
Talbot	6,930 97	19	9	10	16	26	1,723	1,317	796	1,568
Washington	3,832 40	10	7½	6	6	12	441	400	274	434
Wicomico	4,826 81	17	7½	10	13	23	1,268	1,151	650	1,201
Worcester	8,039 11	20	9	16	11	27	1,500	1,151	607	1,427
Totals	$168,003 16	500	8.57	225	363	588	33,371	26,357	15,550	30,148
Baltimore City	147,669 11	27	10	49	191	240	12,124	9,054	7,027	9,413
Totals	$315,672 27	527	9.28	274	554	828	45,495	35,411	22,577	39,561

Figure 28: Table I from the 1900 *Annual Report*
1900 *Annual Report, page xxii*

Although landownership was an important goal among rural African Americans in Maryland, only a small number had become landowners by 1880—about 1 percent of families in Frederick County and 3 percent of families in southern Maryland's Charles County. Many more farmed as tenants or on shares, as much as 32 percent in Frederick County.[76] By 1910, however, about 50 percent of Black farmers (specifically those who described their occupation as "farmer" on the census) across Maryland owned "at least moderate property," according to agricultural historian Adrienne Petty (Figure 29).[77] Potomac region farm ownership by 1910 actually varied greatly by county. Prince George's County had a total of 562 Black farms, of which slightly more than half were owner-occupied. In Washington County, only twenty Black farms were listed; however, fifteen of those (75 percent) were owned by the Black occupants and only five were tenanted.[78] The diversification in the region's agricultural products that accelerated through the 1870s and 1880s

[76] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 177. Information on Charles County tenant farmers was not given in the 1880 agriculture census. Fields looks at farm ownership and tenancies in Frederick County (west-central Maryland), Charles County (southern Maryland), and Kent County (Eastern Shore).

[77] Adrienne Petty, "The Jim Crow Section of Agricultural History," in Debra A. Reid and Evan P. Bennet, eds., *Beyond Forty Acres and a Mule* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012), 23.

[78] US Census Bureau, *Negro Population in the United States, 1790–1915* (New York: Arno Press, 1968 reprint of the 1918 edition), "Table 18. Home Ownership by Counties: 1910," 485, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001306823. Frederick County had a total of 94 Black farms in 1910, with 64 owned and 30 rented, while Montgomery County had 356 Black farms, with 275 of these being owned and 81 rented.

influenced individual survival strategies. Potomac region farmers who specialized in market gardens, orchards, or dairy benefited from the close proximity of major urban markets in Washington and Baltimore, as well as ready rail transportation.

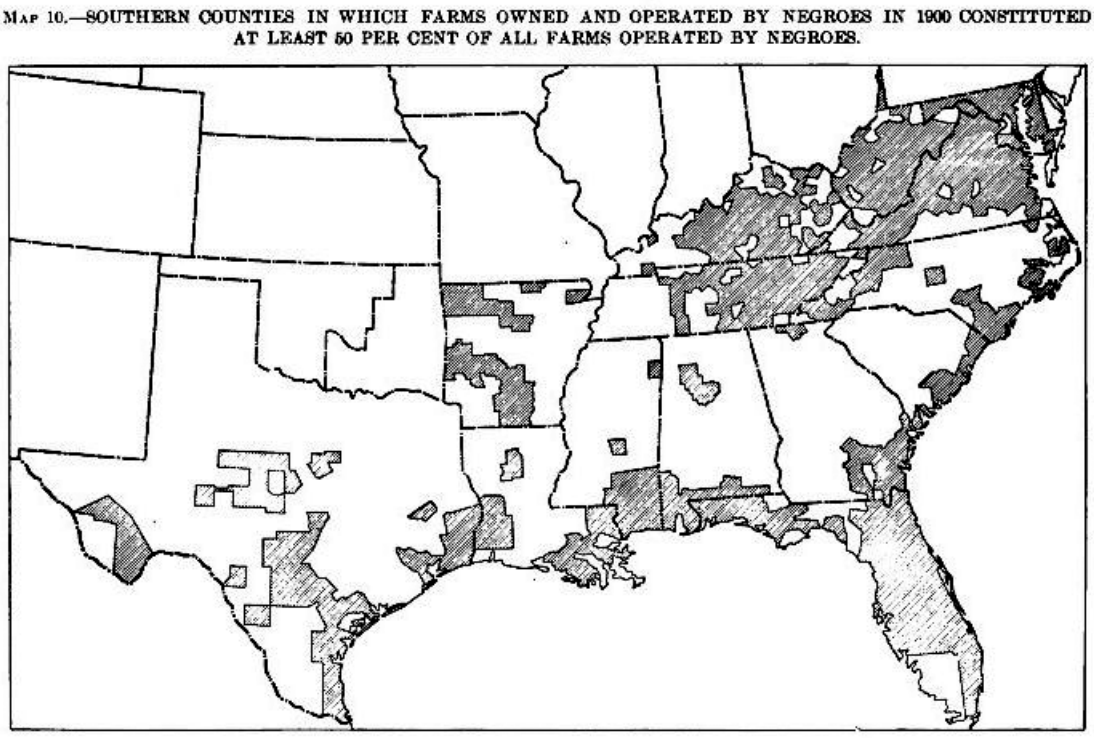


Figure 29: Map 10, showing southern counties with 50 percent Black farm ownership
US Census Bureau, *Negroes in the United States, 1904, page 96*

Though perhaps relatively better off than African Americans in the Deep South, Maryland's rural Black population faced what historian Barbara Jeanne Fields described as "beyond doubt, a bleak situation":

> The ending of slavery placed in their hands at best only modest resources to meet it: land in marginal amounts; some access, though progressively restricted, to the produce of the water; the right to marriage and family relationships, and formal rights of citizenship. The importance of these resources, poor as they were, was that they were attributes of free men and women and, as such, preconditions for facing those challenges that do not arise in slavery but belong uniquely to the domain of freedom.[79]

[79] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 193.

Even as rural Black communities nurtured their residents' moral, intellectual, and economic growth, the ruling white majority in Maryland continued to take steps aimed at subordinating its African American neighbors. After 1900, a reinvigorated conservative Democratic majority in the legislature made three attempts at disfranchising Maryland's Black men.[80] Although none were successful, it foreshadowed decades of oppression and segregation that lasted into the mid-twentieth century.

West Virginia

The Democratic "redemption" of West Virginia came with the 1870 election, in which the self-described "white man's party" waged an "avowedly anti-black campaign" to overcome any perceived impact newly enfranchised Black voters might have.[81] The legislature worked quickly to codify restrictions on African American civil rights. In 1872, a new state constitution made segregated education mandatory, stating "white and colored persons shall not be taught in the same school," and in 1873, Blacks were explicitly excluded from juries—a law struck down by the US Supreme Court in 1879.[82] In 1881, the legislature passed a law "allowing all eligible voting citizens, including African Americans, to be jurors," though even as late as 1888, Jefferson County citizens violently resisted an attempt to seat Black jury members.[83]

Although West Virginia's Black population declined between 1860 and 1870, by the time of the 1890 US Population Census, it had nearly doubled—in large part due to migrations to the state's coal mining areas. Fayette County's Black population rose by nearly three thousand from 1870 to 1890.[84] Still, as a relatively small percentage of the state's total population, African American voting power was limited to localized areas. While white Republicans in West Virginia welcomed Black votes and fought to retain the Black franchise, they did not support racial equality and largely kept Black Republicans from holding

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[80] Valelly, *Two Reconstructions,* 124.

[81] Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction," 153.

[82] Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction," 154.

[83] "A Timeline of African-American History in West Virginia," *West Virginia Archives & History,* accessed April 18, 2020, http://www.wvculture.org/history/archives/blacks/timeline.html; Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction," 153–55.

[84] "Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity," *1880 Census: Volume 1. Statistics of the Population of the United States,* Table V, 413, *United States Census Bureau,* https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1883/dec/vol-01-population.html; "Sex, General Nativity, and Color," *Eleventh Census—Volume 1. (Part I & Part II) Report on Population of the United States,* Table 15, 435, *United States Census Bureau,* https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1895/dec/volume-1.html; "A Brief History of African Americans in West Virginia," *West Virginia Archives & History,* accessed April 18, 2020, http://www.wvculture.org/history/archives/blacks/blachist.html.

office or taking patronage positions.[85] The first Black state legislator was elected in 1896 in Fayette County, in the heart of the West Virginia coal-mining region.[86] While the Republican Party retook the West Virginia legislature from the 1890s through the turn of the twentieth century, in Jefferson County Democrats held the majority from 1870 forward. Although the county's Black men gained the right to vote that year, so did the large majority of former Confederates. Jefferson County's Black population also did not increase at as great a rate as other parts of the state, growing by less than one hundred between 1880 and 1890, and actually declined by 175 between 1890 and 1900 (see Appendix D, "African American Population Statistics in the NPS National Capital Area, 1860–1900").[87]

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[85] Gordon B. McKinney, "Southern Mountain Republicans and the Negro, 1865–1900," in John C. Inscoe, ed., *Appalachians and Race: The Mountain South from Slavery to Segregation* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 214.

[86] "A Timeline of African-American History in West Virginia"; "Segregation: Hinton, WV," *New River Gorge, National Park Service,* https://www.nps.gov/neri/planyourvisit/segregation-hinton-wv.htm.

[87] "Sex, General Nativity, and Color," *Eleventh Census—Volume 1. (Part I & Part II) Report on Population of the United States,* Table 15, 435, *United States Census Bureau,* https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1895/dec/volume-1.html.

WASHINGTON TERRITORY

1889

Jan. 7	*SHAFFORD, ALFRED*	Gilman,	Murder

WEST VIRGINIA

1889

July 24	*CARTER, JOHN*	Hinton, Summers Co.	Murder
Aug. 30	**TURNER, JOHN**	Fayetteville, Fayette Co.	Murder
Sept. 10	*THE HALL BROTHERS*		Rape and murder
Oct. 25	*McCOY, GREEN*	Hamlin, Lincoln Co.	Murder
" 27	*HALEY, MILTON*	Hamlin, Lincon Co.	Murder

1891

Apr. 13	**FOOTE, ALEXANDER**	Princeton, Mercer Co.	Murder

1892

May 13	**LUTHER, MILLS**	Mercer Co.	Murder
" 15	**"RED" SMITH**	Naugatuck, Mingo Co.	Murder
" 27	**SMITH, JAMES**	Logan Co.	Murder
July 6	**JONES, EDGAR**	Weston, Lewis Co.	Murder
Dec. 5	**COFFEE, CORNELIUS**	Keystone, McDowell Co.	Murder

1894

Aug. 2	**HOLLIDAY, ANDERSON**	Elkhorn, McDowell Co.	Murder
Dec. 5	*ARTHUR, MRS. T.*	Lincoln Co.	Cause unknown, by white caps

1896

Jan. 28	**JONES, ALEXANDER**	Bluefield, Mercer Co.	Murder
Feb. 1	**UNKNOWN NEGRO**	Bramwell, Mercer Co.	Murder

1900

May 11	**LEE, WILLIAM**	Hinton, Summers Co.	Attempted rape

1901

July 22	**BROOKS, WILLIAM**	Elkins, Randolph Co.	Murder

1902

Feb. 7	**WILLIAMS, T.**	Glen Jean, Fayette Co.	Alleged conjuring
July 25	**JACKSON, PETER**	Elkins, Randolph Co.	Mistaken identity
" 25	**CLEMENTS, RUDOLPH**	Wanelsdorf	Murder
" 25	**CARROLL, WM.**	Wanelsdorf	Murder
" 25	**TWO NEGROES**	Wanelsdorf	Murder

1903

Feb. 4	**BROWN, FRANK**	Madison	Murder

1909

Mar. 19	*BROWN, JOS.*	Whitmore	Murder
Nov. 3	**LEWIS, CHAS.**	Near Sutton, Braxton Co.	Rape

1910

Oct. 14	**NEGRO**	Huntington, Cabell Co.	Murder

1912

Sept. 5	**JOHNSON, WALTER**	Bluefield, Mercer Co.	Rape

1917

Nov. 22	**UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO**	Welch, McDowell Co.	Attempted rape

WISCONSIN

1889

Nov. 25	*OLSEN, HANS JACOB*	Preston, Grant Co.	Cause unknown

1891

Sept. 21	*SIEBOLT, ANTON*	Darlington, Lafayette Co.	Murder

1894

Feb. 6	*PIKKARIEN, A.*	Ewen,	Rape

Figure 30: List of lynchings in West Virginia

NAACP, *Thirty Years of Lynching (1918), page 102. Note: Names in bold are African American victims; names in italics are white victims.*

Researchers have identified as many as thirty-five lynching murders in West Virginia between 1876 and 1933, though that number includes at least six white victims. Most of the lynchings occurred in the southern or central coal counties affected by in-migrations.[88] In 1876 and 1879, Marshall Johnson and Mort Lee were lynched in Huntington, Cabell County, in southwestern West Virginia.[89] Another eleven African Americans were murdered by lynching between 1889 and 1900 in southcentral Fayette County and the southern counties of Mercer, Mingo, Lewis, McDowell, and Summers (Figure 30). It was the central and southern counties in particular that experienced that largest influx of migrant African Americans from the South, where as West Virginia historian Tim Konhaus explained, "Black laborers invoked hostility by their mere presence…a hostility born of fear, fear that migratory Blacks could not be readily watched and monitored and therefore defied social controls."[90] Lynching then was used as a form of social control in the mining counties of West Virginia. No known lynchings appear to have taken place in the eastern panhandle agricultural counties of Jefferson and Berkeley, likely because the Black populations had remained relatively stable.

West Virginia's segregated Black schools were consistently funded at lower levels than its white schools. By the 1867 law, only districts with a minimum of fifteen Black students were required to provide a public education. Thus, even as late as 1906, only thirty-eight of the fifty-five counties in the state had at least one school for African Americans. Jefferson County had as many as ten public "colored" schools by 1877, and by 1906 that number had grown to nineteen, among the highest in the state.[91] The Charles Town District Colored School (still extant; see Figure 55) was among the first public schools, established in 1874 under the tutelage of L.L. Page. The school continued under Philip Jackson until 1897, when a larger graded school was constructed to meet the growing student population.[92]

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[88] EJI, "Lynching in America," https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report/; Beasley, "Lynching in West Virginia"; Tim Konhaus, "'I Thought Things Would Be Different There': Lynching and the Black Community in Southern West Virginia, 1880–1933," *West Virginia History*, New Series, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Fall 2007), pp. 25–43, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43264769; NAACP, *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States* (New York: NAACP National Office, 1919), *HathiTrust Digital Library*, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/012288711.

[89] Beasley, "Lynching in West Virginia."

[90] Konhaus, "'I Thought Things Would Be Different There,'" 31.

[91] "Archive: Education," *Jefferson County Black History Preservation Society,* accessed December 28, 2020, http://www.jcblackhistory.org/archive/archive-education; State Superintendent of Schools, *The History of Education in West Virginia* (Charleston: Tribune Printing Co., 1907), 275, https://archive.org/details/TheHistoryOfEducationInWestVirginia1907/mode/2up.

[92] "Archive: Education," *Jefferson County Black History Preservation Society,* accessed December 28, 2020, http://www.jcblackhistory.org/archive/archive-education.



Figure 31: Philip Jackson with students, likely in the 1890s
Courtesy Jefferson Co. Black History Preservation Society

Higher education for African Americans was available in West Virginia as early as 1868, with the establishment of Storer College. From 1882 to 1892, the privately chartered Storer College reportedly received an annual payment of $630 from the state.[93] Storer College was considered for state acquisition in 1891; however, the legislature instead established two other state-sponsored schools: the West Virginia Colored Institute in Kanawha County in 1891 and the Bluefield Colored Institute in Mercer County in 1895.[94] All three were "Normal" schools, initially established to educate Black teachers but expanded to include agricultural, industrial, and collegiate studies.

[93] Dawn Raines Burke, *An American Phoenix: A History of Storer College from Slavery to Desegregation* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2015), xxvi.

[94] "A Timeline of African-American History in West Virginia."



Figure 32: West Virginia counties
US Census Bureau

Agriculture remained a central occupation in the Eastern Panhandle counties of West Virginia. As part of the fertile Shenandoah Valley (and an extension of the Cumberland Valley to the north), farms prior to the 1880s had prospered as part of the Mid-Atlantic breadbasket. Like the neighboring Maryland and Virginia counties of the Potomac region, agricultural production was in a state of transition in West Virginia, moving from grain to urban market products. Jefferson County was becoming known for its orchard products, in particular. Dr. D.W. Border of Kearneysville, West Virginia, who planted his first commercial apple trees in 1876, recalled that his neighbors had called him a "crank" for doing so, but by 1910, they were "all planting largely and say they were cranks in not doing as I did."[95]

While the Jefferson County orchard farms likely provided seasonal employment for the area's Black laborers, farm ownership does not appear to have been obtainable, even by 1900. In the rural Shepherdstown District, only three Black men listed their occupation as

[95] *Farm and Orchard,* July 1910, Ruth Scarborough Library, Shepherd University, Shepherdstown, WV.

farmer in the 1900 census, up from just one farmer in 1870, and all were renting the land they farmed. Home ownership did improve over the same period, from just six of forty-six households owning their home in 1870 to forty-three households out of eighty-three (more than 50 percent) in 1900.[96]

West Virginia was at the center of several important developments in the African American struggle for equality at the turn of the century. In 1898, African American school teacher Carrie Williams sued the Tucker County school board for reducing the Black school session to five months while maintaining the eight-month school year in white schools. Williams won her suit for three months of back pay. Her lawyer was John R. Clifford. Clifford was an 1878 graduate of Storer College who edited a nationally known and outspoken newspaper *Pioneer Press* in Martinsburg (Berkeley County, WV). In 1887, he became the first Black lawyer certified to practice in West Virginia. J.R. Clifford successfully argued, in the 1898 case of *Williams v. Board of Education of Tucker County,* that segregated schools should receive equal funding. The decision was reportedly the first determination in US courts that discrimination based on race was unlawful.[97] Clifford continued his deep involvement in the promotion of African American civil rights when in 1906 he worked with W.E.B. Du Bois on the first meeting of the Niagara Movement in the United States, held at Storer College in Harpers Ferry (Figure 33). Du Bois's "Address to the Country" presented at the end of the conference concluded: "We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans."[98] Described as the "cornerstone of the modern civil rights era," this gathering of leading Black men and women would soon become the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

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[96] The breakdown of home ownership in the Shepherdstown District in 1900 was eighteen households in the district and twenty-five households in the town of Shepherdstown.

[97] "J. R. Clifford," *West Virginia Archives & History,* accessed December 7, 2020, http://www.wvculture.org/history/archives/blacks/clifford.html.

[98] As cited in "The Niagara Movement," *Harpers Ferry National Historical Park,* accessed December 9, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/hafe/learn/historyculture/the-niagara-movement.htm.



Figure 33: Niagara Movement leaders W.E.B. Du Bois (seated) and (left to right) J.R. Clifford, L.M. Hershaw, and F.H.M. Murray at Harpers Ferry
HF-1230, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park.

Conclusion: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back

For many African Americans, emancipation and the institutions that gained footing during Reconstruction represented two significant steps toward social and civil equality. However, the decades that followed under "redeemer" governments across the "New South" were a step back toward racial oppression. The 1896 US Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson,* in which "separate but equal" was declared constitutional, opened the gates for the twentieth century Jim Crow era—a codified expansion of racial segregation, the near-complete disfranchisement of African Americans, and intensification of the racial violence that marred the second half of the nineteenth century.

Despite the setbacks through the 1880s and 1890s, African Americans quietly continued to build upon the foundations of determination and resilience laid during enslavement and the opportunities opened during Reconstruction. "Reconstruction," notes Henry Louis Gates Jr., "provided space for the creation of key institutions of Black America—the independent church, schools and colleges, and stable families, which became

the springboards for future struggle."[99] Honed and solidified throughout the decades following the demise of Reconstruction, these community institutions supported African Americans in both urban and rural settings, North, South, and on the border, though they differed in the details, based on the location. The following chapters provide more insight into the history and lived experiences of rural Black communities in the Potomac region of Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia.

[99] Gates, *Stony the Road,* 36.

CHAPTER THREE

Rural African American Community and Culture

And yet how little we really know of these millions, of their daily lives and longings, of their homely joys and sorrows, of their real shortcomings and the meaning of their crimes!

W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 1903[1]

Introduction

In 1878, William Still suggested in his preface to the revised edition of *The Underground Rail Road* that African Americans would ultimately be responsible for their own improvement to reach the goal of true freedom and equality: "Well-conducted shops and stores; lands acquired and good farms managed in a manner to compete with any other; valuable books produced and published on interesting and important subjects—these are some of the fruits which the race are expected to exhibit from their newly gained privileges."[2] As official segregation by race accelerated in the 1880s and 1890s following the US Supreme Court decisions of 1883 (*Civil Rights Cases*, which struck down the Civil Rights Act of 1875) and 1896 (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, which declared "separate but equal" was constitutional), Still's suggestion became a necessity for Black communities across the nation.[3]

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[1] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (n.p., 1903, Amazon Classics, Kindle edition), 55.

[2] William Still, *The Underground Rail Road* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1872; Project Gutenburg ebook #15263, 2005), "Preface to the Revised Edition," accessed December 28, 2020, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15263/15263-h/15263-h.htm.

[3] "Landmark Legislation: Civil Rights Act of 1875," *United States Senate,* accessed April 2, 2020, https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/CivilRightsAct1875.htm.



Figure 34: 1899 photograph of Booker T. Washington
Collection of the NMAAHC

The late nineteenth century inward turn of African American support and personal development found its voice in Booker T. Washington, a former Virginia slave who established the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in 1881 (Figure 34). **Washington advocated for the social separation of Blacks and whites in the South and encouraged industrial (trades) education to establish a secure place for Blacks in American society.**[4] W.E.B. Du Bois (Figure 35) publicly decried Washington's "submission and silence as to civil and political rights" in his 1903 *Souls of Black Folk*.[5] However, in his 1899 study of the Philadelphia Black community, Du Bois also spoke about the need for African Americans to focus on "the solving of his own social problems."[6] In part, this rose from Du Bois's two-year experience in the 1880s teaching in a rural school in Tennessee, during which time he saw and lived through many of the problems that beset rural African Americans. He also understood the immense road blocks to forward progress that people faced.[7] While encouraging advancement within the Black community, Du Bois became the voice of African American activism, strongly advocating for political engagement as integral to achieving social progress: "[T]he

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[4] Robert J. Norrell, *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education,* No. 42 (Winter, 2003–4), 97–98, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3592453. Norrell points out that Washington also spoke out against racial prejudice, lynching, and separate but "far inferior" railcars, and that he "frequently sent press releases to both black and white newspapers that either pointed to black achievements that contradicted the 'Negro-as-beast' image by showing black success or suggesting actions that contradicted blacks' negative image."

[5] Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk,* 18–25.

[6] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (Schocken Books, 1899), Location 7759, Kindle edition.

[7] Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk,* 26–31.

bulk of the work of raising the Negro must be done by the Negro himself, and the greatest help for him will be not to hinder and curtail and discourage his efforts. Against prejudice, injustice and wrong the Negro ought to protest energetically and continuously, but he must never forget that he protests because those things hinder his own efforts, and that those efforts are the key to his future."[8] Both Du Bois and Washington sought ways for African Americans to navigate the extreme prejudice that pervaded American society and politics throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century.



Figure 35: 1904 photograph of William Edward Burghardt Du Bois
Library of Congress

In a society increasingly divided along the lines of race and class, rural African Americans found support and opportunities for growth within the structure of their own communities. Rural groupings of African Americans grew around long-established or new

[8] Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro,* Locations 7763–70.

Black landowners, often expanding through strong kinship ties. They could be widely scattered or adjoining farmstead communities, or residents within rural towns. At the center of the Black community framework stood the church, providing not just spiritual and financial aid, but also avenues for personal improvement. Many Black churches served a dual function as places of worship and education. For the most part, it was the African Americans themselves who took the lead in ensuring that there would be schools for their children and aid for the poor—whether with the help of the Freedmen's Bureau or state and local governments, or through their own traditions of mutual aid and support.

In his seminal history of Reconstruction, Eric Foner highlighted the institutions that promoted African American "independence from white control": "In stabilizing their families, seizing control of their churches, greatly expanding their schools and benevolent societies, staking a claim to economic independence, and forging a distinctive political culture, Blacks during Reconstruction laid the foundation for the modern Black community, whose roots lay deep in slavery, but whose structure and values reflected the consequences of emancipation."[9] Henry Louis Gates Jr. agreed in his social history of the "redemption" era following Reconstruction, describing the "key institutions of Black America" that not only supported African Americans through the daily struggles of the late nineteenth century but "became the springboards for future struggle."[10]

The following discussion will outline the structure of rural African American communities, particularly those found in the Potomac region, and detail some of the "key institutions" that supported those communities and the individuals who occupied them.

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[9] Foner, *Reconstruction,* 78.

[10] Gates, *Stony the Road,* 36.

The Structure of Community

In January 1865, Garrison Frazier, a Black Baptist minister from North Carolina, responded to a government query regarding how African Americans would "take care of yourselves" as freedpeople. Frazier replied, "The way we can best take care of ourselves is to have land, and turn it and till it by our own labor." When asked if Blacks would prefer to live "scattered among the whites or in colonies by yourselves," Frazier stated most would prefer to live "by ourselves, for there is a prejudice in the South that will take years to get over."[11]

In the rural counties of Virginia, Maryland, and West Virginia along the Potomac River, and the rural edges of the District of Columbia, a number of established free Black landowners became the core of post-emancipation African American communities, often drawn together by kinship ties. Most were little more than one or two small farmsteads with a scattering of relations' homes on shared land, subdivided parcels, or nearby tenancies. Other communities began after emancipation with a land purchase opportunity offered by a white landowner, often a northerner. Again, these communities typically expanded through kinship. Alternately, many newly freed rural Blacks migrated to nearby small towns, creating a community of their own within the larger white community. Individual scattered farmsteads and tenancies existed as outliers, but found community connections at the nearest churches and schools. These rural community structures provided an environment in which African Americans could establish their lives as free citizens in a shared, supportive space, with a cushion against the tide of white oppression through the second half of the nineteenth century.[12]

Not surprisingly, population distribution within the counties and the region impacted the development of different community types. Typically, the districts where larger numbers of enslaved African Americans had been held became the locus of more post-emancipation communities. Also, areas with a higher prewar free Black population

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[11] "Newspaper Account of a Meeting between Black Religious Leaders and Union Military Authorities," *New York Tribune,* February 13, 1865, "Documents from Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867," *Freedmen & Southern Society Project,* accessed April 15, 2020, http://www.freedmen.umd.edu/savmtg.htm.

[12] See Hellman and McCoy, "Soil Tilled by Free Men" (Fairfax County, VA); Marion J. Dobbins, "Freedmen of Northern Virginia; Independence through Landownership, Black Communities and the Northern Virginia Baptist Association" (George Mason University, History 711 paper, 2014, downloaded from *Academia.edu*); "Courage, My Soul: Historic African American Churches and Mutual Aid Societies" (Loudoun Museum exhibition catalog, 2000); Betty Bird, "African American Historic Resources of Prince George's County, Maryland," National Register of Historic Places, Multiple Property Documentation Form, 2003; George W. McDaniel, "Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County" (Sugarloaf Regional Trails, 1979); George W. McDaniel, *Heath & Home: Preserving a People's Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), Appendix I; Edie Wallace, "African American Emancipation and Community in Frederick and Washington Counties of Western Maryland" (Goucher College, HP628, 2002); Tourism Council of Frederick Co., "African American Heritage Sites" brochure, 2001; Jefferson Co. Black History Preservation Society, "African American Heritage Trail" brochure; Torrey and Green, "Free Black People of Washington County, DC George Pointer and His Descendants."

were often likely to see more landowners on scattered farmsteads, at the center of cluster communities, or in rural town communities. For example, in 1860, Frederick County, Maryland, had a Black population of more than 8,000, of whom 3,200 were enslaved and 5,000 were free. After emancipation, at least ten rural towns and fourteen rural communities became home to a Black population large enough to build a church and school. Most of these Black communities were in the five southern and two eastern districts of the county where the majority of the county's enslaved population was located.[13] Washington County, Maryland, had a Black population of just over 3,000 in 1860, with just over 1,400 enslaved and 1,500 free people. Across the county, only five rural town communities developed and four rural communities, two of them widely scattered.[14] In Prince George's County, where the Black enslaved population exceeded the white population, particularly in the southern districts, a 1996 survey observed that "schools were built in the areas of already-well-established Black population, near the villages of Aquasco, Piscattaway, Brandywine and Croom."[15] These scattered communities of largely tenant agricultural laborers contrast with the clustered and town communities that grew in the northern districts near non-agricultural employment centers.[16]

The following discussion describes three types of rural community "structures": Clustered Communities, Rural Town Communities, and Scattered Farmsteads/Tenancies with Community Ties. These types are identified for convenience of description rather than any conscious structuring of these communities by the historical inhabitants. In all of the rural Black communities, kinship played an important role in their development, as did church and school (to be discussed later).

Clustered Communities

Clustered communities tended to be centralized, though often scattered farmsteads and tenancies were associated with a nearby clustered community. In many cases, a community cluster grew around a parcel owned by a person or family that was free before the Civil War—some claiming ownership of the land for several generations back (see Batestown and Hickory Ridge case study). In most cases, the initial land purchase was made after emancipation, often from a Northern white landowner, but occasionally from a former slaveholder. The land itself was often marginal, located on thin-soiled hillsides or on

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[13] There are several communities in the northern districts that are currently being researched. See Appendix A.

[14] Edie Wallace, "African-American Emancipation and Community in Frederick and Washington Counties of Western Maryland," HP638-Independent Study, April 2002 (manuscript copy).

[15] Susan G. Pearl, "African-American Heritage Survey, 1996" (Upper Marlboro, MD: The Maryland-National Capital Park & Planning Commission, 1996), 11.

[16] Pearl, "African-American Heritage Survey," 11.

wooded land, commonly sold in parcels of ten acres or less to keep the price affordable.[17] In some cases, much larger tracts were purchased, forming the core of a community cluster comprised largely of extended family.[18] Additionally, some clustered communities grew around the placement of a church and/or school.[19]

Kinship played a significant role in the growth of cluster communities, as George McDaniel notes in his Upper Montgomery County study: "Not unusually, grandparents allowed their descendants to build houses on their land, thereby converting the homestead into an extended family. Thus, the elderly lived in close proximity to the younger generations in the community and passed on their ideas, values, skills, and ways of life to the young."[20] In some cases, the land was subdivided and sold to the younger generations or extended families. Adjoining or nearby parcels were purchased by others (likely former tenants on nearby farms) as money came available, sometimes decades later.

The symbolic importance of land ownership has previously been established (see Chapter One). It was often the landowners within rural Black communities who provided the land for churches and schools, and who played leading roles in their operations. In his study of southern Maryland Black communities, McDaniel noted the more financially secure landowners "could support schools, churches, lodges, and insurance societies, the principal institutions of the rural black community."[21]

The following are some examples of historic cluster communities documented in Montgomery and Frederick Counties in Maryland, Jefferson County in West Virginia, Fairfax and Arlington Counties in Virginia, and the historic Washington County of the District of Columbia.

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[17] George W. McDaniel, "Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County," Sugarloaf Regional Trails, July 1979, 19; Wallace, "Reclaiming Forgotten History," 58.

[18] John Bedell, "Few Knew That Such a Place Exists" The Land and People in the Prince William Forest Park (Washington, DC: NPS, National Capital Region, 2004), 89.

[19] Pearl, "African-American Heritage Survey," 11.

[20] McDaniel, "Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County," 23.

[21] McDaniel, *Hearth & Home,* 187.

Martinsburg, Montgomery County, Maryland[22]



Figure 36: 1879 atlas map, Medley District, Martinsburg P.O. detail
Johns Hopkins University Sheridan Libraries

Martinsburg grew from an antebellum crossroads village, located at the intersection of White's Ferry Road and the Martinsburg-Dickerson Road. In 1866, Nathan Nailor, reportedly free before the war, purchased ninety-seven acres. The community grew after the war as men formerly enslaved on nearby farms, including Major Graham, Albert Green, Gilmore Green, James Ridout, and John Peters (a blacksmith), also purchased land. Most of these land purchases were for one- to five-acre homesteads, on which they settled and raised their children. In 1870, despite Nailor's relatively large land holding, he listed his occupation as a farm laborer, as did many of the Black men living in the Martinsburg community. A few were specialized craftsmen: John Peters operated his blacksmith shop in the center of the community, and John Liles was a fence maker.

[22] McDaniel, "Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County," Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties (MIHP) #M-16-1201 through 20, 119–134.



Figure 37: Warren ME Church, Martinsburg Negro School, and Loving Charity Hall, White's Ferry Road
Photo by the author, 2021

A Methodist Episcopal church and adjoining cemetery occupied a lot on Nailor's land. Around 1880, the church was moved to White's Ferry Road, and in 1903, a new building was constructed. Other community buildings included Martinsburg Negro School (1886), Loving Charity Hall (1914), a post office, a store, and the Peters blacksmith shop.

Martinsburg was described as a biracial community by George McDaniel in his 1979 survey. By the early twentieth century, it is said to have had as many as forty Black households and an unknown number of white households. By 1979, only a few of these houses were still standing, with only one original log house. The church, school, and Loving Charity Hall are still standing and are being preserved by the Warren Historic Site Committee Inc.

Hope Hill, Frederick County, Maryland[23]

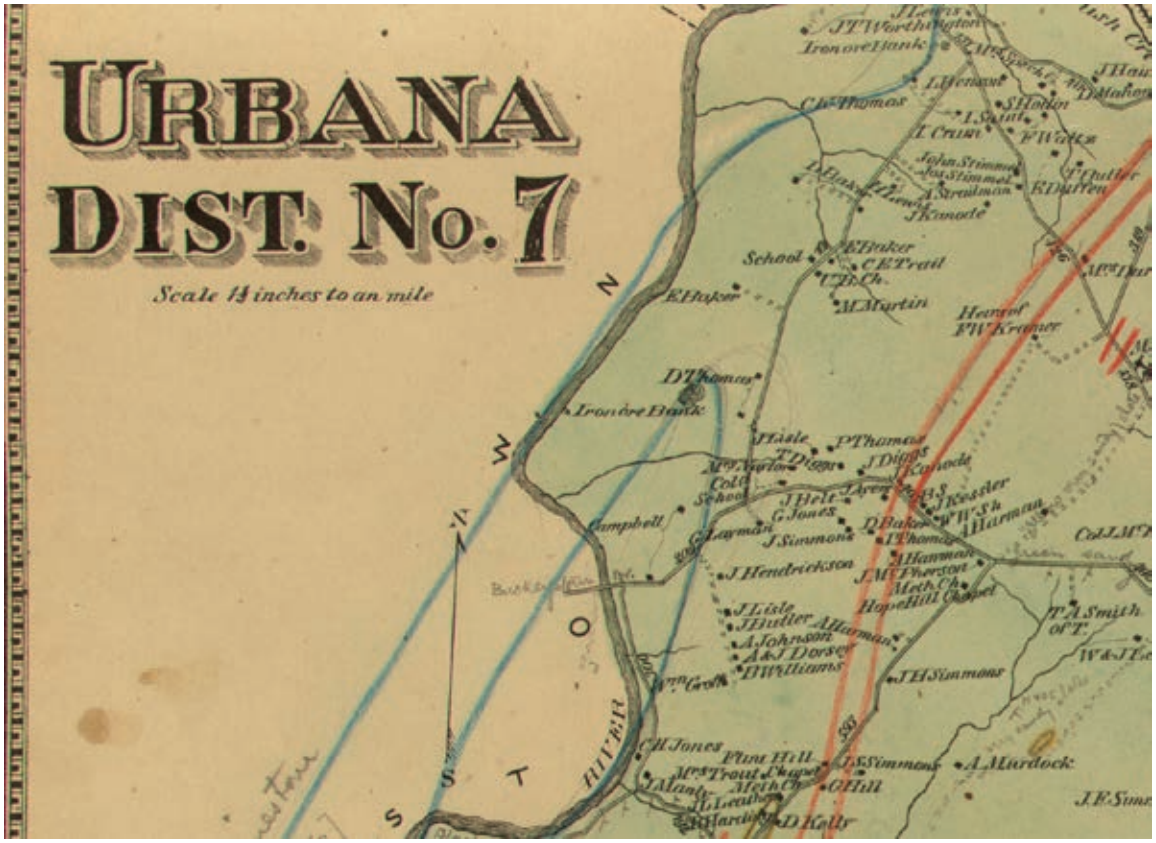


Figure 38: 1873 atlas map of Frederick County, Hope Hill detail
Johns Hopkins University Sheridan Libraries

The Hope Hill community was located on a rocky hill on the east side of the Monocacy River overlooking the Buckingham Manor estate, where many of the early residents had been enslaved. The community appears to have grown around the 1858 land purchase by John Q. Belt, a free man described as a "mulatto" in the census records. Belt purchased the eight-acre lot from Daniel Baker, located "on the road from Urbana to Buckeystown."[24]

Following emancipation, the Black community grew to such an extent that in 1869, the white trustees of the Hope Hill (Methodist Episcopal) Church, located on today's Park Mills Road, sold the building and property to Black trustees Enoch Ayers, William Tasker, Samuel Holland, Elijah Duffin, and Simond Gray.[25] The 1870 census listed at least fourteen households in the area, with six property owners, including Benjamin Williams, James and A. Margaret Dorsey, John Butler, John Belt, and Enoch Ayers. The 1873 Titus Atlas Map of

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[23] Wallace, "African-American Emancipation and Community in Frederick and Washington Counties." MIHP #F-7-29 and F-7-37.

[24] Frederick County Land Record, Deed Book BGF 2, page 430.

[25] Frederick County Land Record, Deed Book CM 4, page 74.

Frederick County shows the community, including the "Hope Hill Chapel" and a county "Col'd School." In 1910, the school building was replaced with the larger Hopeland School. The church building was replaced with a new building on a lot "nearly opposite where an old school stood," leaving just the cemetery on the old chapel lot on today's Park Mills Road.

Johnsontown, Jefferson County, West Virginia[26]



Figure 39: Detail from 1883 S. Howell Brown map of Jefferson County
Library of Congress

Johnsontown grew on and around the property of free African Americans George W. and Betty (Betsy) Johnson, who purchased the twelve-acre parcel as early as 1848 (but probably after 1870). In 1870, George Johnson was a shoemaker and his wife Betsy was a domestic servant, both in their forties. They were living, according to the census taker, as tenants on the Thomas Hite farm in the Charles Town District, along with two other Black households. This was likely the genesis of Johnsontown.

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[26] "Jefferson County West Virginia African American Heritage Trail," *Jefferson County Black History Preservation Society,* http://www.jcblackhistory.org/tour. This description indicates the twelve acres were purchased in 1848. Family descendants say the Johnson's came from Maryland as enslaved people but were free by 1848. However, the census appears to tell a different story. The Johnsons do not appear in the census until 1870, when they are living on the Hite farm, indicating they may have remained enslaved until 1865. Jefferson County land records are available online, but not indexed after 1842, so the date of their land purchase could not be confirmed.

By 1880, Betsy Johnson was widowed, still living in the Charles Town District, but apparently on her own land. Her household included six children; her oldest son Jerry, age eighteen, was listed as a farmer. The census listed five adjoining or nearby independent Black households, including Bacchus Briscoe, also a farmer. This appears to indicate the Johnsontown community was in place by 1880. The 1883 S. Howell Brown Map of Jefferson County shows the Johnson and Briscoe parcels (and several others) and the school on the edge of the Thomas Hite farm.

The one-room schoolhouse, which according to local lore "also served as a meeting place and housed religious activities," was probably constructed by 1880. In 1898, the Zion Free Will Baptist Church (still extant) was constructed. A cemetery is located adjoining the church. Both are located on Johnsontown Road, which becomes Hite Road. "During World War I, 12 black women of the Johnsontown Auxiliary of the Jefferson County Red Cross made garments for the refugee children of Belgium and France. The auxiliary met in the 'colored school house' in Johnsontown."[27]

[27] "Jefferson County West Virginia African American Heritage Trail," *Jefferson County Black History Preservation Society,* http://www.jcblackhistory.org/tour.

Merrifield, Fairfax County, Virginia



Figure 40: 1878 atlas of fifteen miles around Washington, showing Mills X Roads
Library of Congress

Merrifield was a crossroads village called Mills Crossing and was later renamed for George Adolphus Lyon (G.A.L.) Merrifield, the town's Black postmaster. Mr. Merrifield was born in Maine in 1839 and moved to the Falls Church area in 1865 when he took a job at the US Pension Bureau in Washington, DC.[28]

Shortly after emancipation, white landowners in the area of Mills Crossing, including Robert Porter, sold tracts to formerly enslaved Blacks. Horace Gibson purchased land in 1867, followed by Robert Bradley in 1874 and Joshua Ball in 1876. Horace Gibson was a blacksmith, listed in the 1870 census with real estate valued at three hundred dollars. The Black community around Mills Crossing continued to grow through the 1880s, as many African Americans migrated into the area and white landowners, including Porter, O.M. Hines, and E.M. Dunn, showed willingness to sell land to Blacks. William Dunn owned a store in the center of town that "serviced both white and Black customers without discrimination. Dunn, known for his willingness to help Blacks, assisted in creating churches and schools."[29]

The community included the Merrifield Colored School, probably built in the 1880s; the Merrifield Odd Fellows Hall (1891); and the First Baptist Church of Merrifield, "built in 1891, located on a 5,000-square foot parcel sold by Robert and Virginia Bradley to John E. Coates, Joshua Pearson and Joshua Ball, the trustees of the First Baptist Church of Merrifield."[30]

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[28] "G.A.L. Merrifield Dies," *Evening Star,* January 8, 1926, Newspapers.com.

[29] Dobbins, "Freedmen of Northern VA."

[30] Dobbins, "Freedmen of Northern VA."

Freedman's Village, Arlington County, Virginia[31]

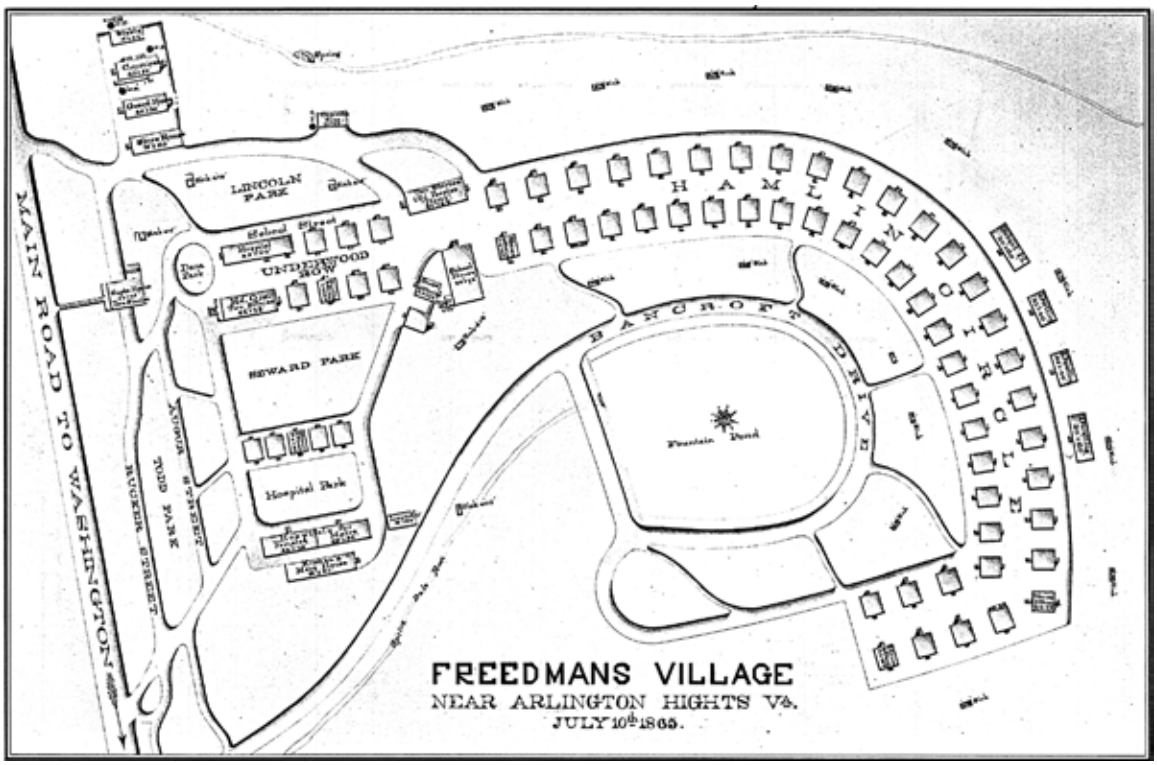


Figure 41: "Genl. Plan No. 9, Freedmans Village"
Library of Congress

The Freedman's Village was established in 1863 on the Custis family's Arlington Estate, the former home of Robert E. Lee. The site was selected by "Lieutenant Colonel Elias M. Greene, and Danforth B. Nichols of the American Missionary Association. . .for a model community for emancipated and fugitive slaves." In part, the purpose of the village was to house large numbers of formerly enslaved people who had migrated to Washington City during the war. Initially, 100 people were settled there, in "50 frame dwellings each divided down the middle for occupancy by two families." The 1865 plan for the village showed "a hospital, kitchen/mess hall, school house, 'old people's home' and laundry, amongst other structures, neatly arranged around a central pond."[32] Several government farms were operated nearby at which able-bodied men were required to work, while others worked as "military laborers" for the duration of the war. Women were expected to work in the government industrial school "tailor shops," where 1,000 garments were reportedly

[31] John Liebertz, "A Guide to the African American Heritage of Arlington County," 5–10, *Arlington Historical Society,* https://projects.arlingtonva.us/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2016/09/A-Guide-to-the-African-American-Heritage-of-Arlington-County-Virginia.pdf.

[32] "Freedman's Village," *Arlington House, The Robert E. Lee Memorial,* accessed December 10, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/arho/learn/historyculture/emancipation.htm.

produced each month. Although the Freedman's Village was intended to be a temporary settlement, by 1888, twenty-five years after its establishment, the community included "124 dwellings, 3 shops, 2 churches, 1 school, and 170 families totaling a population of 763. There were two justices of the peace, one constable, and two special policemen." The village remained in place until 1900.[33]

Broad Branch, Washington County, District of Columbia[34]

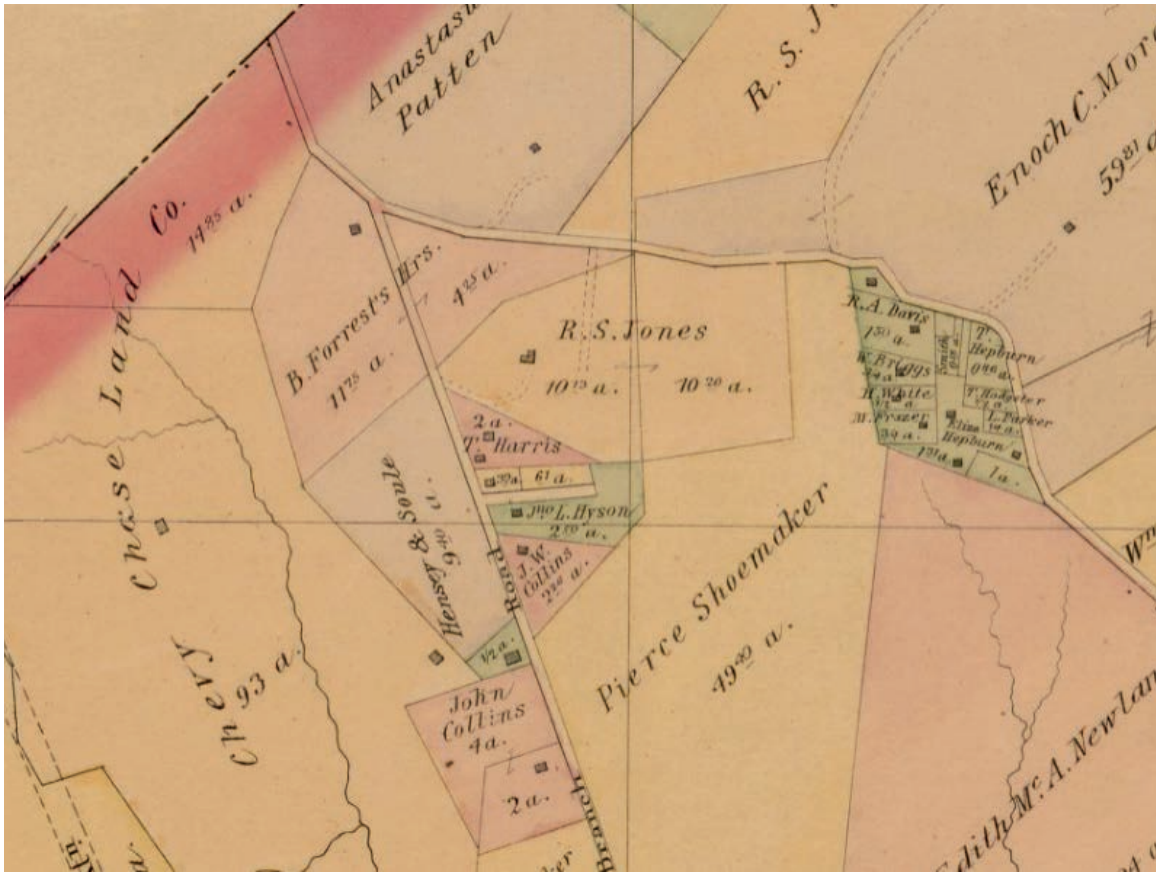


Figure 42: 1891 map detail of Broad Branch and Fort Reno settlements
Library of Congress

The Broad Branch settlement grew from the purchase of land by Mary Ann and Thomas Harris, who were both free before the war. Mary Ann Plummer Harris was the granddaughter of George Pointer, a formerly enslaved worker and later free employee with the Patowmack Navigation Company. Sometime in the 1850s, Thomas and Mary Ann Harris

[33] Liebertz, "A Guide to the African American Heritage of Arlington County," 5–10.

[34] Torrey and Green, "Free Black People of Washington County, DC George Pointer and His Descendants."

purchased a two-acre lot from "free black neighbors named Milburn." Thomas Harris worked variously as a "laborer, gardener, and farmer," while his wife was "occasionally described as a seamstress."

In 1866, twenty-six students from the Broad Branch area and the Fort Reno Black community began classes in a school located "at the intersection of Broad Branch and 'Old Military' Roads, less than a mile from the Harris farm." The school was known variously as the "Old Military Road school" or the "Grant Road Colored School." Lorenzo and Mary Ann Harris, aged eleven and eight years old in 1866, would have attended the school.

Young Mary Ann Harris married Armistead Morten, a shoemaker from Virginia. The Morten's settled on part of the Harris tract, which was subdivided into four half-acre parcels "to accommodate Mary Harris; her two sons, Joseph and Lewis; her daughter Mary Ann and husband Armistead Morten; and John A. Morten, their first son, and his wife Annie. Each family built its own home on the subdivided property."[35]

Rural Town Communities

It appears that rural town communities were more likely to form in counties with smaller Black populations (see Appendix D on Washington and Frederick Counties in Maryland). This may be due, in part, to the smaller farms overall that were less dependent on enslaved labor and therefore less likely to sell off land post-emancipation.[36] Rural towns, located within agricultural districts, perhaps also offered wider employment opportunities for both men and women, including farm labor and domestic work, but also skilled occupations such as carpenters, barbers, and blacksmiths. In Charles Town, West Virginia, African Americans in 1880 worked predominantly as laborers and servants, but also as hotel cooks, coopers (barrel makers), and plasterers. In Washington County, Maryland, rural towns adjoining the C&O Canal—Hancock, Clear Spring, Williamsport, and Sharpsburg—offered canal-related work. Point of Rocks in Frederick County, Maryland, offered work on the B&O Railroad.[37]

Like communities in the rural districts, town communities clustered around free Black property owners. These men and women often provided land for churches and schools, often serving as trustees, ministers, and teachers. In many cases, these town institutions served Black families living nearby on scattered farmsteads and tenancies. Many Freedmen's Bureau schools were placed in centralized rural town locations in order to serve the largest number of students.

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[35] Torrey and Green, "Free Black People of Washington County, DC George Pointer and His Descendants."

[36] This statement has not been fully researched.

[37] 1880 US Population Census; Wallace, "African-American Emancipation and Community in Frederick and Washington Counties of Western Maryland"; Margaret Coleman, "Boyds/White Grounds Historic District," MIHP #M:18-8-1.

The following are some examples of historic rural town communities, as documented in Prince George's and Washington Counties in Maryland, Jefferson County in West Virginia, and Fairfax and Loudoun Counties in Virginia.

Bladensburg, Prince George's County, Maryland[38]

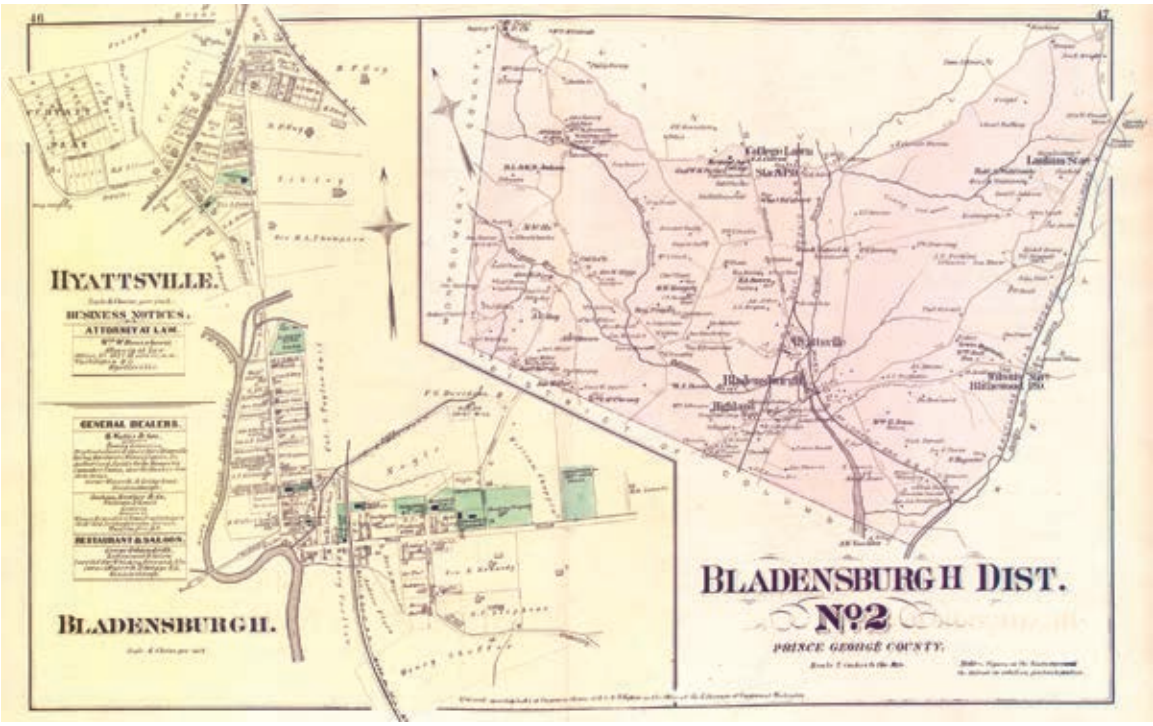


Figure 43: 1879 atlas map of Bladensburgh
Johns Hopkins University Sheridan Libraries

The town of Bladensburg was established on the Eastern Branch of the Anacostia River in 1742 and became a tobacco inspection station in 1747. Though by the 1850s the town had faded with Maryland's tobacco industry, it would begin to revive through a connection with the Alexandria Branch of the B&O Railroad.

As early as 1790, the town of Bladensburg had a small free Black population, including Mrs. Margaret Adams, "an old black woman who keeps the best house in the town," noted as President George Washington's favorite inn. Though the town also had enslaved African Americans in its population, the Black population was noted as "smaller in proportion to whites than in other sections of the county."

[38] The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, "African-American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland," 87–89.

In April 1867, the Freedmen's Bureau opened a school in Bladensburg. The lumber for the school had been furnished by the Bureau. At that time, it was one of only two schools for Black scholars in Prince George's County.[39] Sallie Cadwallader, a Quaker teacher sent from Philadelphia, taught in the school through 1868.

As a town community, Black residents of Bladensburg were largely located on the southwest edge of town, on the east side of the Anacostia River. There an African Methodist Episcopal Church was constructed to accommodate an already historic congregation called "Dent's Chapel, whose members had worshipped in a loft above a carpenter's shop." In 1866, Sarah Miranda Plummer, formerly enslaved by the Calvert family, established the St. Paul's Baptist Church congregation, holding services in her own home for eight years. The congregation purchased the former Presbyterian Church building in 1873, eventually building a new church around the old one after a fire in 1908 (still extant). As the community grew through the 1880s and 1890s, white families moved away, selling "their fine older homes to the families of their former employees."[40]

[39] Report of Major G. E. Henry to Lt. Col. William Rodgers, October 22, 1866 (1867?), as cited in "Postbellum Archeological Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland" (The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Prince George's County Planning Department, 2010), 103, accessed December 28, 2020, http://mncppcapps.org/planning/publications/BookDetail.cfm?item_id=217&Category_id=3.

[40] The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, "African-American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland," 87–89.

Hancock, Washington County, Maryland [41]



Figure 44: 1877 atlas map, detail of Hancock
Johns Hopkins University Sheridan Libraries

In 1870, the Black population in the town of Hancock numbered 115 men, women, and children, 13 percent of the total town population. Hancock was then a busy canal and mill town and offered significant job opportunities outside of farm work. Ten Black residents listed their occupation in 1870 as boatman, while twelve worked as farm laborers. There were also two barbers and two hostlers catering to the needs of travelers on the National Pike, Hancock's main street. The town's Black population lived on the east side of town, where the Methodist Episcopal Church was located. Hancock's Freedmen's Bureau–sponsored school apparently operated in the church building until the county purchased a lot on the east end of town in 1884 and built a school.

[41] Wallace, "African-American Emancipation and Community in Frederick and Washington Counties of Western Maryland."

Harpers Ferry, Jefferson County, West Virginia [42]



Figure 45: Harpers Ferry, circa 1880, showing Lockwood House on the hilltop where Rev. Nathan Brackett's school began
HF-78, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park

Harpers Ferry, part of Confederate Virginia until July 1863, was occupied by Union troops through much of the Civil War. It was a magnet for enslaved people in the region, seeking their freedom behind Union lines. Estimates for the Black population of Harpers Ferry during the war ranged from 500 to 700 people.[43] In 1864, a mission school operated by Willard and Ellen Wheeler served as many as forty-nine Black children in the day school and fifty-nine adults in the evening. A second mission school, opened by the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Society in 1865, served "about eighty" day students and forty-five

[42] GWWO, "Lockwood House, Historic Structure Report" Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, National Capital Region, National Park Service, June 2006.

[43] John Edmund Stealey, III, "The Freedmen's Bureau in West Virginia," *West Virginia History,* 39, Nos. 2 and 3, January–April 1978, 106.

night students.[44] Rev. Nathan Brackett, who oversaw the school, noted that he "found a colored population poor and helpless, surrounded by white people desperately hostile to their improvement."[45]

Undeterred, the Free Will Baptist missionaries established a school and church for the freedmen in and around Harpers Ferry in the former federal arsenal building known as the Lockwood House. In 1869, a chapel was opened in Anthony Hall, part of Storer College, and in 1896, a dedicated church building was constructed across the street from the college campus.[46]

In 1880, Harpers Ferry's African American population was listed at more than 700 men, women, and children. This number included at least thirteen students attending Storer College, the Normal school (i.e., a training school for teachers) established by the Freewill Baptist Mission to train Black teachers for schools in the region. William Lovett, listed as operating a boarding house in 1880, boarded teachers during the school year and began welcoming summer tourists to Lockwood House (then part of Storer College) in 1875. Thomas Lovett established the well-known Hilltop House hotel in 1889. Other Black residents of Harpers Ferry found employment at the local papermill, in the skilled trades, as hotel waiters and cooks, farm laborers, and domestic service.

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[44] S.J. Foster, "Letter from West Virginia," Dec. 16, 1865, in Wayne E. Reilly, ed. *Sarah Jane Foster, Teacher of the Freedmen* (Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 2001), 34.

[45] "Superintendent's Report," June 28, 1866, "Home Mission Society 1860–1880," Freewill Baptist Collection, Muskie Archives, Bates College, Lewiston, ME.

[46] "Jefferson County West Virginia African American Heritage Trail," *Jefferson County Black History Preservation Society,* http://www.jcblackhistory.org/tour.

Falls Church/Tinner Hill, Fairfax County, Virginia [47]

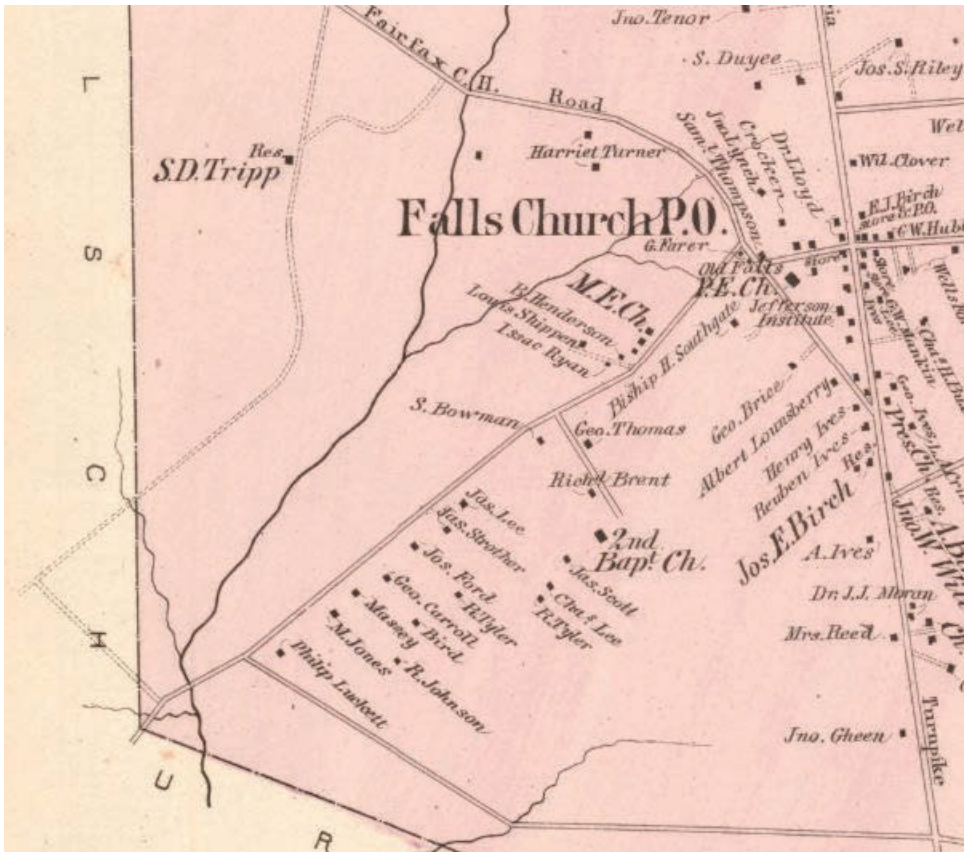


Figure 46: 1878 atlas of fifteen miles around Washington, showing Falls Church and Tinners Hill
Library of Congress

Falls Church was not a platted town, but functioned as a village center for surrounding plantations. After emancipation, several formerly enslaved men, including George Thomas, Charley Tinner, Frederick Foote, Sr. and George Brice, along with Charles and James Lee, both free before the war, purchased land on the Falls Church periphery known later as Tinner's Hill. Charles Lee purchased land in 1866 and was soon joined by his brother James Lee. The Lees purchased tracts in a subdivision of land called Southgate, from land speculator John C. Crocker, a retired Union Colonel. James Lee is said to have sold his crops at the Liberty Street Market in Washington, DC.[48]

> After emancipation, Frederick Foote Sr. earned money by offering a laundry service for Union soldiers and working on the C&O Canal. In 1864, he purchased twenty-eight acres from the family that had formerly enslaved him. His

[47] Dobbins, "Freedmen of Northern Virginia; Independence through landownership, Black communities and the Northern Virginia Baptist Association."

[48] Dobbins, citing Avonjeannette (Lee) Hill, interviewed by Marion Dobbins, Hayden Lane, Annandale, VA, September 20, 2013.

son, Frederick Foote Jr., operated a store in Falls Church, located on the corner of Broad and South Washington Streets. In 1880, Foote Jr. "was the first African American elected to the town council," serving until his death in 1889.

Freedmen's Bureau records show a school established at Falls Church as early as November 1866.[49] In 1870, Robert Johnson, a veteran of the US Colored Troops (USCT), was ordained to minister in the Baptist faith and established the Second Baptist Church in Falls Church. In 1872, the first church building was constructed through the efforts of "Thomas Green, Bill Stewart, Nathan Rummels, Stephen Bowman, Moses Jones, Alonzo Massey, Rueben Tyler, Sallie Byrd, Albert Dixon and others." The church reportedly also served as a school.[50] Additionally, the community had an Odd Fellows lodge called Mount Ephraim (#523) as early as 1873, along with a second lodge called Hopewell (#1700), formed in 1875.[51]

[49] "10th Sub-District Superintendent's Monthly School Report," June 1867, Records of the Field Offices for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, Subordinate Field Offices, Alexandria, School Reports, https://sova.si.edu/details/NMAAHC.FB.M1913?s=0&n=10&t=C&q=&i=0.

[50] "The History of Second Baptist Church," accessed December 11, 2020, https://sbcfallschurch.org/history. This church building was replaced in 1921.

[51] Brooks, *The Official History,* 125, 134. Brooks also notes another Hopewell lodge (#3510) formed in Falls Church in 1892.

Waterford, Loudoun County, Virginia

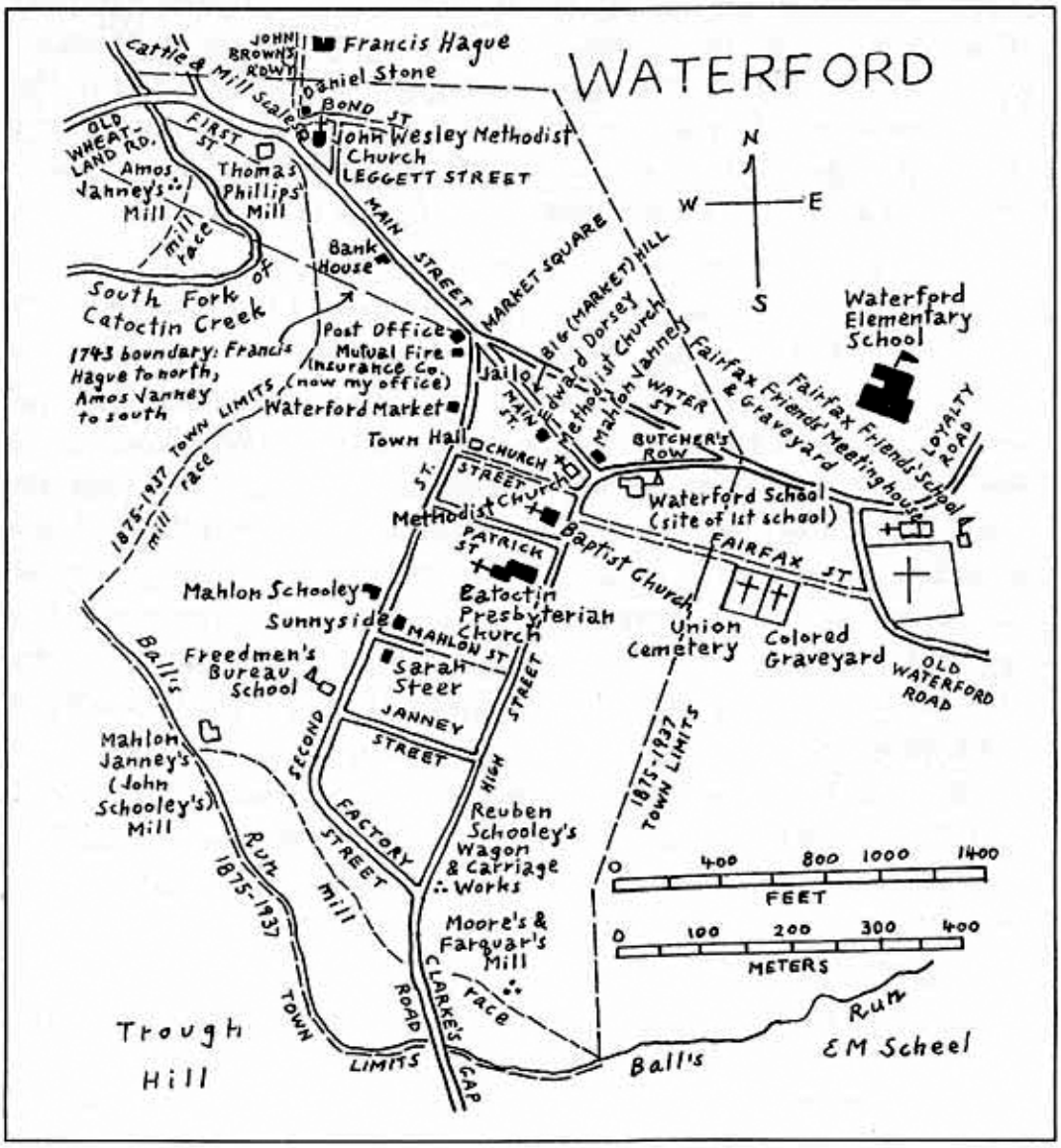


Figure 47: Eugene Scheel Map of Waterford, Virginia
Courtesy Eugene Scheel

The land on which the town of Waterford, Virginia, grew was initially settled by Quaker migrants from southeastern Pennsylvania. The Quakers' well-known opposition to slavery provided a haven for free African Americans. By 1820, as many as ten Black families lived in the village of Waterford, and by 1860, that number had grown to twenty-one families.[52] In 1865, Sarah Steer, a Quaker living in Waterford, began teaching Black students in her home.

[52] Bronwen and John Souders, "Waterford's African-American Experience & Timeline," accessed December 11, 2020, https://www.waterfordhistory.org/history/waterford-african-american.

In 1866, the Freedmen's Bureau provided aid to build a schoolhouse, after Black trustees for the school purchased a lot on Second Street.[53] In April 1867, Sarah Steer, who continued as the school's teacher, submitted her monthly report to the Freedmen's Bureau, noting that she had thirty-six students after twenty-one "of my large Scholars have left school to work." Ms. Steer additionally noted that fifty dollars had been donated "to be applied to erection of School House to be used for Church and School."[54] The Second Street School still stands in Waterford.

In 1885, the "Methodist Episcopal Church (Colored) of Waterford" advertised for help from the citizens of Loudoun to build a church: "As we have no place now that we can call a house of worship, and the building we usually occupy [the small schoolhouse on Second Street] does not accommodate the congregation. We therefore ask the good people of Waterford and Loudoun County to help us in this good cause."[55] It was six years later, in 1891, that the congregation achieved their dream with the construction of the John Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church, located on Bond Street (still extant).

The Waterford Black community formed a Grand United Order of Odd Fellows lodge in 1885. The Waterford lodge (#2621) built their hall in 1893 (still extant). The building reportedly hosted community events, in addition to lodge meetings.[56]

Scattered Farmsteads

Many rural African American families in the Potomac region occupied farmsteads, often as tenants, which were not physically located within a Black community. Land ownership, often the core of emerging rural Black communities, in fact represented a very small percentage of the population. In Virginia, only one in thirty-four rural Black families owned the land on which they lived; in the District of Columbia, the ratio was one in thirty (24 owners out of 724 families). Maryland families fared better, with a ratio of one in ten families owning land.[57] Most families occupied tenancies, often on the farms of their former enslavers. In the southern counties of Maryland, including Prince George's County, "wage tenancy and sharecropping" dominated the land-labor relationship for rural Blacks.[58]

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[53] Deborah A. Lee, "An Introduction to Loudoun's African American Communities," *Friends of the Thomas Balch Library,* http://balchfriends.org/tour.

[54] "Monthly School Report," April 1867, Records of the Field Offices for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–72, Subordinate Field Offices, Alexandria, School Reports, https://sova.si.edu/details/NMAAHC.FB.M1913?s=0&n=10&t=C&q=&i=0.

[55] As cited Bronwen and John Souders, "Faith and Family, Waterford's African-American Experience," accessed December 11, 2020, https://www.waterfordhistory.org/history/waterford-afr-amer-faith#joh.

[56] Brooks, *The Official History,* 180; Deborah A. Lee, "An Introduction to Loudoun's African American Communities," *Friends of the Thomas Balch Library,* http://balchfriends.org/tour.

[57] Schweninger, *Black Property Owners in the South,* 153.

[58] McDaniel, *Hearth & Home,* 132.

Though many of the tenanted farmsteads, and occasionally owner-occupied farmsteads, were physically isolated from clustered or town communities, families often maintained community links through attendance at nearby churches and schools. Often a church and/or school building was constructed in a centralized location within an area with a larger, though scattered, Black farming population.

Queen Anne District, Prince George's County, Maryland

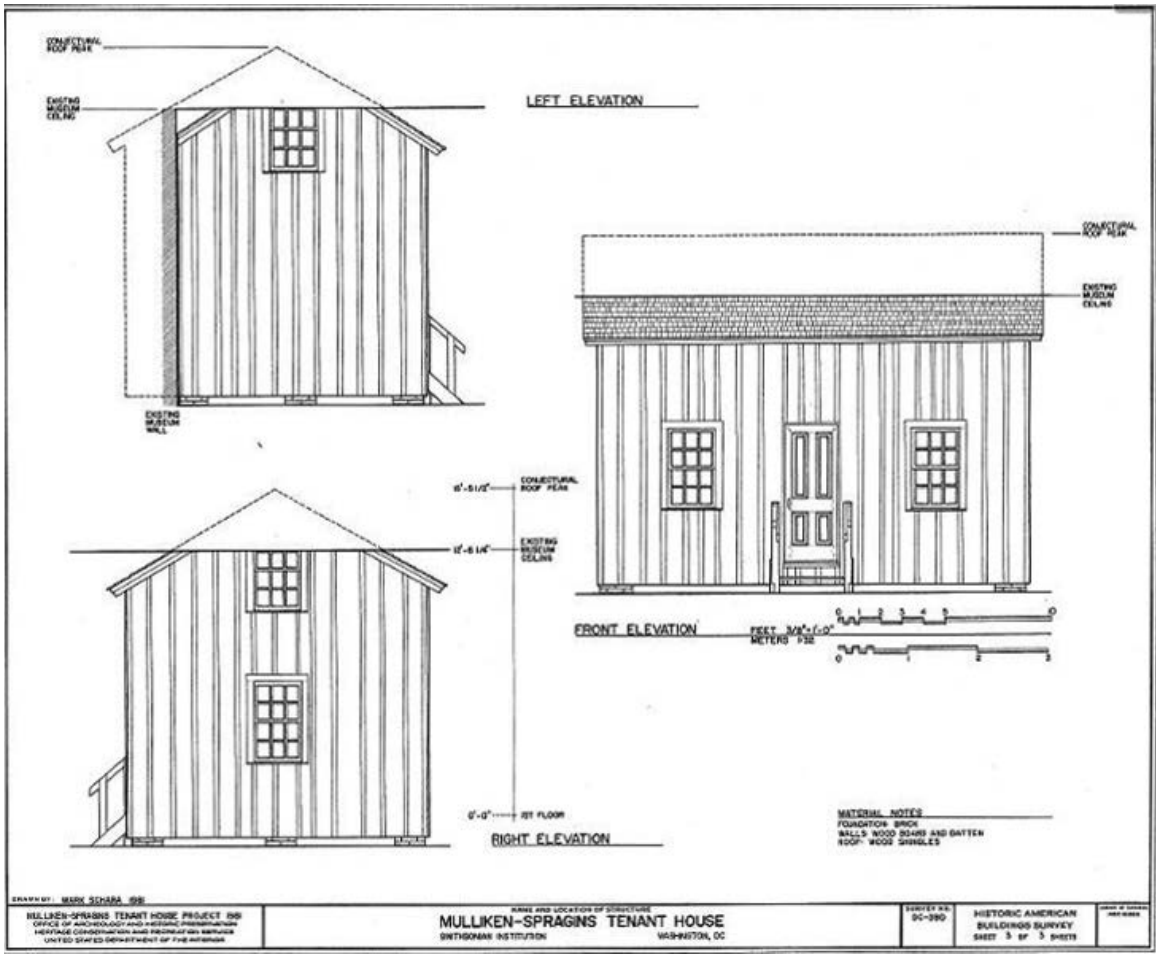


Figure 48: HABS drawing of the Mulliken-Spragins Tenant House
Library of Congress

In the opening chapter of *Hearth & Home: Preserving a People's Culture,* George W. McDaniel detailed the history of the farm tenant house then (1982) on exhibit in the Smithsonian Institution's "Hall of Everyday Life in the American Past." The small house was called the Mulliken-Spragins Tenant House, after the names of the farm's white owners. The "shack," built probably in the 1880s, was removed from a farm near Mitchellville

in Prince George's County, Maryland, and had been one of three tenant houses on the farm occupied by Black sharecroppers. "The principal institutions," wrote McDaniel, "that linked residents of this house to their community were church and school."[59]

The Mt. Nebo AME Church and cemetery were not far from the farm. The nearest Black schoolhouse, called the Queen Anne School, stood near the Mt. Nebo Church. In the closest town, Mitchellville, was the Carroll Chapel ME Church, a railroad station, and a "cluster of stores where resident families purchased goods."[60]

The Queen Anne School was constructed in 1875 and appears to be the earliest school available to Black students in the area. The Mt. Nebo AME Church was built in 1877 to replace an earlier church building. The one-acre lot was carved from the Plummer's *Poplar Ridge* plantation and sold to Black trustees Richard Wood, George W. Larkins, and Wilson Turner. In 1880, Wood and Turner were listed as farmers and may have owned their own plot of land. However, many of the African American residents of Queen Anne District (7th Election District) were listed as laborers (likely farm labor), including "[George] Washington Larkins."[61]

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[59] McDaniel, *Hearth & Home,* 21.

[60] McDaniel, *Hearth & Home,* 21.

[61] "African American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland," 212; 1880 US Population Census, Ancestry.com.

Burkittsville/Coatsville Area, Frederick County, Maryland [62]

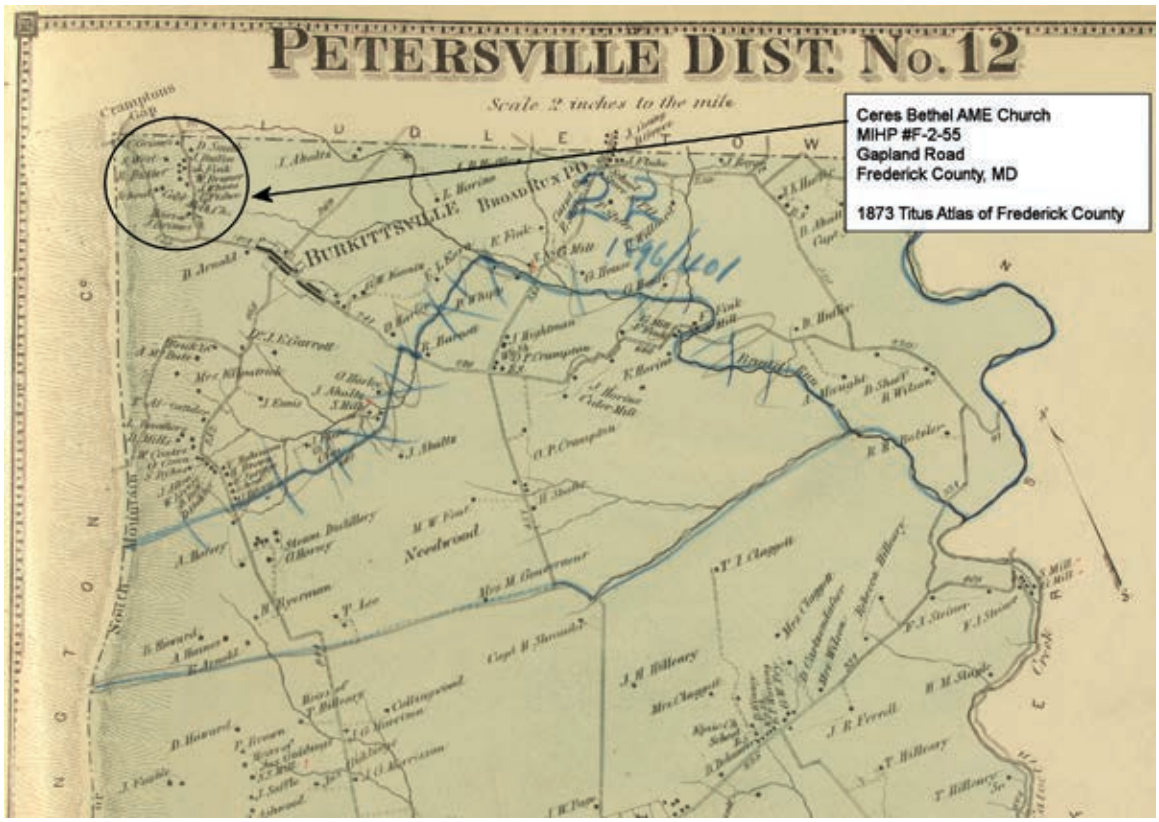


Figure 49: 1873 Atlas map of Frederick Co. District 12
Johns Hopkins University Sheridan Libraries

The Petersville District, Election District No. 12, included the towns of Petersville, Berlin (today's Brunswick), Knoxville, and Burkittsville. The land between Petersville and Burkittsville was largely taken up by the Lee family farms (on the former *Needwood* tract), including the Horsey Distillery, and the Hilleary family farms on the northern part of the 6,300-acre *Merryland* tract. Relatively large enslaved populations lived and worked on these farms, including thirty enslaved people held by John Lee and twenty-five held by Thomas Lee. Forty enslaved workers were held on the Horsey estate, and twenty-four were held by the Hilleary family. There were other large slaveholders, of course, and many with fewer enslaved laborers, including Emanuel Fink, who held nine enslaved people in 1860.[63] At the time of emancipation in Maryland (1864), many of these formerly enslaved people remained in the district as nominally paid laborers or tenant farmers.

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[62] Edie Wallace, "Ceres Bethel AME Church," National Register of Historic Places nomination, 2015.

[63] *1860 US Federal Census—Slave Schedules* (online database; Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2010).

The large enslaved population of the Petersville District prompted the establishment of an AME congregation in the Burkittsville area as early as 1838 or 1839, by Rev. Thomas Henry. In 1858, David and Peter Jones, and Herley Lisles, trustees for the congregation, purchased a one-acre parcel "for the benefit of a religious society composed of colored people called African Methodist Episcopal Church."[64] A church building was constructed sometime before 1867, when the "Bowie List" of Confederate burials on the mountain (after the 1862 Battle of South Mountain) described one burial "150 yards north of [the] African Church."[65] A Freedmen's Bureau school was listed for Burkittsville as early as June 1866, likely located in the mountain church.[66] In 1870, a new church was constructed and the old building continued in use as a school. Both buildings served the scattered Black community of the Burkittsville/Coatsville area.

In 1872, Emanuel Fink gave to Matilda Jones (formerly enslaved by Fink) a lot of one and a half acres adjoining the church property, on which a house was already standing.[67] Jones, her daughter Emma (Jones) Bruner and husband Noah Bruner, and their daughter Annie already shared a household in 1870, according to the census record. In 1882, Noah Bruner bought two acres adjoining the Jones land from Emanuel Fink.

The Holland family lived along the rural stretch of the Burkittsville Road (Route 17) known as Coatsville, about two miles from the mountain church. Edward Israel Holland, born in 1832, was a distiller at the Horsey Distillery. While Edward Holland attended the Petersville AME Church, his son Luther Dorsey Holland, Luther's wife Anna Rebecca (Brooks) Holland, and their children walked to the Ceres Bethel AME Church for services, to attend Sunday school, and for activities with the youth club called "Christian Endeavor."[68]

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[64] Frederick County Deed Book (FC DB) BGF 1, page 617.

[65] *A Descriptive List of the Burial Places of Confederate Soldiers, Who Fell in the Battles of Antietam, South Mountain, Monocacy and Other Points in the State of Maryland* (Hagerstown, MD: Free Press, 1869), 19, accessed May 25, 2015, http://www.whilbr.org/confederateSoldiers/index.aspx.

[66] Office of the Assistant Commissioner, Records of the Field Offices for Maryland and Delaware, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, https://edan.si.edu/slideshow/viewer/?eadrefid=NMAAHC.FB.M1906_ref33.

[67] No deed was recorded for this conveyance; ref. in AF 11, page 158. Emma Jones Bruner's obituary noted: "The old homestead, which was erected by the late Emanuel Fink to whom she and her mother belonged, is still standing and is the oldest homestead on the famous South Mountain battlefield" (*The Daily News,* Frederick, MD, October 24, 1912).

[68] Katherine Mullen, "All but Abandoned, Historic Church Deteriorates," February 14, 2008, *Gazett.net,* accessed November 23, 2014 (no longer available online); Madeleine Butler, personal communication, March 2015. Both are as cited in Edie Wallace, "Ceres Bethel AME Church," National Register of Historic Places nomination, MIHP #F-2-55.

Mount Vernon/Woodlawn Area, Fairfax County, Virginia

A scattered community of free African Americans grew in area around the Mount Vernon estate after the 1799 manumission by will of the enslaved people held by President George Washington.[69] Most stayed as paid laborers on the various farms that made up the Washington estate in Fairfax County. Through the first half of the nineteenth century, a group of farms was purchased by Quakers from the North, seeking to establish an agricultural community based on free labor in the South. Among those men were Chalkley Gillingham and Jonathan Roberts from New Jersey, who purchased the Vernondale farm at Woodlawn and Cedar Grove farm.

Although the effects of the Civil War as it unfolded in Fairfax County were devastating, the Mount Vernon area slowly recovered. The African American community gained its own space for worship and education after their August 1866 purchase of a one-acre parcel from the Gillingham family. William Holland, John Green, William Franklin Moore, James Dent, and Stephen Blair purchased the land in trust for the Woodlawn Colored Meeting and School Association, reportedly "the first African American church and school property officially recorded at the Fairfax County Courthouse."[70] Freedmen's Bureau records show that the Woodlawn school was established with the help of the Bureau in October 1866.[71]

In 1870, most Black residents of the Mount Vernon District were tenant farm hands (including William Holland, Albert [John?] Green, and James Dent) or domestic servants. A few were listed as tenant farmers. Fewer still owned land: William Jasper was listed as a farmer with $300 in real estate; George Williams owned $760 worth of real estate, though he was listed as a farm hand living with Swedish farmer Peter Andrew; Alexander Page was a blacksmith with $500 in real estate; and Porter Smith and William Ford were both farmers with plots of land both valued at $1,000.[72]

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[69] Hellman and McCoy, "Soil Tilled by Free Men." George Washington's Last Will and Testament directed the enslaved be freed after the death of his wife, Martha. Martha Washington freed the people by deed in 1801.

[70] Hellman and McCoy, "Soil Tilled by Free Men." "These men all had strong links to the local free community. John Green's mother, for example, had been emancipated by one of Washington's neighbors."

[71] "10th Sub-District Superintendent's Monthly School Report," June 1867, Records of the Field Offices for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, Subordinate Field Offices, Alexandria, School Reports, https://sova.si.edu/details/NMAAHC.FB.M1913?s=0&n=10&t=C&q=&i=0.

[72] 1870 US Population Census, Fairfax County, Virginia, Mount Vernon District.

Community Cultural Institutions

Churches

Black churches, which blossomed in the post-emancipation period, played a central role in strengthening the family, establishing schools, and providing aid, often initially with the help of the Freedmen's Bureau. But while the help of the Freedmen's Bureau was vital, its success depended largely on the emerging Black religious institutions as an organizational foundation of the African American community. In his ground-breaking 1899 study of the Philadelphia Black community, W.E.B. Du Bois described "The Negro church" as "the peculiar and characteristic product of the transplanted African," which preserved the "many functions of tribal organization, and. . .many of the family functions": "Its tribal functions are shown in its religious activity, its social authority and general guiding and co-ordinating work; its family functions are shown by the fact that the church is a centre of social life and inter course; acts as newspaper and intelligence bureau, is the centre of amusements—indeed, is the world in which the Negro moves and acts. So far-reaching are these functions of the church that its organization is almost political."[73] Thus the church was a foundational structure within African American communities, both urban and rural.

Fully independent African American churches were largely an outgrowth of emancipation.[74] Before emancipation, formal church attendance was typically limited to the established white church of the slaveholder. Methodist (then known as Methodist Episcopal) and Baptist denominations were preferred by African Americans both slave and free, according to historian Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, because the "clergy within these denominations actively promoted the idea that all Christians were equal in the sight of God." These same white churches, however, still "preached a message of strict obedience" and disallowed independent worship for fear "they would ultimately plot rebellion against their owners."[75]

The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church grew out of the discontent of northern African Americans within the early Methodist Episcopal (ME) Church. Though vocal in its opposition to slavery, the general membership was not prevented from owning slaves. Black members split from the ME church over the issue of slavery around 1794.[76]

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[73] Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro,* Locations 4293–99.

[74] The text on the significance of independent black churches is taken from Nicodemus NHL Update, draft, written by Edith Wallace, 2012.

[75] Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, "An Introduction to the Church in the Southern Black Community," May 2001, *Library of Congress, Documenting the American South,* accessed December 28, 2020, http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/intro.html.

[76] Rev. Thomas Henry, *From Slavery to Salvation,* ed. Jean Libby (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1994), 73.

Of those who remained with the ME Church, some formed their own all-Black churches, which were nonetheless administered by white church leadership. The Asbury Methodist Episcopal Church of Hagerstown, Maryland, was established in 1818 as an all-Black congregation with their own church building located just one block west of the white Methodist Church to which they were administratively attached.[77]

With emancipation in the South and the Border States, independent Black sects and churches grew in numbers—the most abundant being the AME Church, the AME Zion Church, the Colored Methodist Episcopal, and the Baptists. It was these churches that became the center of the rural Black community, notes Gail Lowe, a historian with the Smithsonian Institution's Anacostia Museum in Washington DC: "Churches doubled as school houses, recreation centers and lecture halls. They provided safe meeting places for community discussions of common problems. Church congregations supported insurance programs, employment centers and community development projects."[78] In his survey of upper Montgomery County, Maryland, communities, George McDaniel observed that "church leaders were often leaders of other community institutions, such as lodges and schools," thus spreading the church values throughout the community.[79]

Church trustees, at least initially, generally included the landowning members of the community. Sometimes a trustee was the owner of the lot on which the church was built. In many cases, it was a sympathetic white landowner who conveyed the church lot. Typically, the trustees' names appear on the deed of conveyance as the owner of record. The church building often was the first institutional building constructed, though congregations would meet in members' houses prior to church construction. The building was generally quite simple in design, with log or frame construction, scaled to fit the smaller rural population and often built by community members themselves. Few of these early churches survive—Tolson's Chapel in Sharpsburg, Washington County, Maryland, is a relatively rare survivor—a log construction built in 1866.[80]

Most of the original churches were remodeled or replaced in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century as the community grew in size and economic stability. These later buildings, as McDaniel notes, were more likely to be constructed "by hired professional carpenters, rather than by volunteer labor." McDaniel offers two examples in upper Montgomery County, Maryland: the Sugarland and Martinsburg churches were both initially established in the 1870s, but new churches were constructed "in 1893 and 1903

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[77] Patricia Schooley, "Asbury United Methodist Church, circa 1879, Hagerstown, MD," *Washington County Historical Trust,* accessed May 22, 2020, http://washingtoncountyhistoricaltrust.org/124-asbury-united-methodist-church-circa-1879-hagerstown-md.

[78] As cited in Fleur Paysour, "Historian's Work Shows Importance of Churches in African American Culture" (originally published in *Research Reports,* No. 93, Summer 1998), http://www.si.edu/opa/researchreports/9893/church.htm, accessed November 2002.

[79] McDaniel, "Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County," 32.

[80] Paula S. Reed & Assoc., "Tolson's Chapel," National Register of Historic Places nomination, 2005.

respectively, both by Scott Bell, a white carpenter from Poolesville."[81] In Loudoun County, the Bowmantown community built the log Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church in 1875 but replaced it in 1887 with a larger frame building.[82] The First Baptist Church of Manassas, Virginia, was built in 1879, on a lot donated by a supportive white landowner, Isaac Baldwin, and was replaced in 1905 with a larger, two-story frame church.[83]



Figure 50: 1905 First Baptist Church of Manassas
Photo by the author, 2021

[81] McDaniel, "Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County," 34.

[82] Lee, "An Introduction to Loudoun's African American Communities," 4.

[83] "Historical Highlights," *First Baptist Church Manassas,* accessed May 25, 2020, https://www.fbcmanassas.org/historical. The church was expanded with a second sanctuary in 1989.

Some Black churches included an adjoining or nearby cemetery, while others did not. This was common also among white churches; however, for African Americans, who were often barred from burial in private or municipal cemeteries, the provision for a dedicated burial ground was important. In his 1907 report entitled "Economic Co-operation among Negro Americans," W.E.B. Du Bois noted that African American burial societies existed even before emancipation. The practice expanded greatly through the second half of the nineteenth century with the incorporation of Black cemetery associations and churches. Du Bois estimated a minimum of five hundred Black-owned cemeteries at the time of his writing (1907) and suggested "perhaps twice this number."[84] Two examples are found in the case studies for the Sharpsburg community in Maryland, where the Tolson's Chapel congregation purchased additional land adjoining the chapel in 1883 as a cemetery, and in Manassas, Virginia, where community members formed the Rose Hill Cemetery Association in 1887 (see Chapters Four and Five).



Figure 51: Tolson's Chapel Cemetery
Photo by the author, 2017

[84] W.E.B. DuBois, *Economic Co-operation among Negro Americans* (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1907; electronic ed., 2000), 25, 131–34, *Documenting the American South,* accessed December 11, 2020, https://docsouth.unc.edu/church/dubois07/dubois.html#dub54.



Figure 52: Rose Hill Cemetery
Photo by the author, 2021

Schools

Education, like religion, was a central force within African Americans communities. Church and school were historically closely related, as many enslaved and free Blacks learned to read from the Bible, often surreptitiously. Following emancipation, education was not only a source of pride but also the key to economic growth. In the rural counties of the Potomac region, determination to acquire an education was crucial, as the demands of agricultural labor, for both young and old, allowed little time to attend classes. This was made doubly difficult by the relatively few and scattered schools—both Freedmen's Bureau and county-run—that were made available to rural African Americans throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.

The Freedmen's Bureau's help in establishing schools was perhaps its greatest contribution to the future of African Americans, though it was the people's resolve that made the early school programs successful. While the Bureau did provide materials to build some schools, many more were housed in church buildings offered by the Black community. Likewise, religious missionary societies and associations played an important initial

role in Black education by providing teachers—primarily white northerners but some Black teachers as well. However, Black community members often paid these teachers' salaries, provided room and board, and paid tuition to attend the schools.[85] Some schools, like the Free Will Baptist Mission school in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, known as the Curtis School, were entirely sponsored by the missionary society. In Lincoln and Waterford, Loudoun County, Virginia, local Friends (Quakers) actively aided Black education. The Second Street School in Waterford was started in the home of Sally Steer, a member of the Waterford Friends Meeting, and supported by the Friends Association of Philadelphia.[86]

While the Freedmen's Bureau's involvement in establishing schools was significant in many rural areas, in reality their aid spanned only two to five years. Publicly funded education for all children (Black and white) began largely as an outgrowth of Reconstruction in Virginia, Maryland, and West Virginia. These programs, however, focused primarily on white education, with scant attention or funding directed toward African Americans. It was clear in all three states that school facilities would be separated by race. Maryland and Virginia established separate schools for African Americans in the founding legislation for their public education systems, in 1865 in Maryland and 1869 in Virginia, while in West Virginia, the separation of schools was codified in the 1872 constitution.[87] Through much of the Reconstruction period, states were lax in enforcing public education for African Americans, leaving the responsibility to the Freedmen's Bureau and missionary societies. It was not until 1872 in Maryland that the legislature mandated one Black school for each election district. In Virginia, it was in 1881 during the Readjuster period that the number of publicly funded Black schools dramatically increased. The West Virginia legislature codified primary public schools for African Americans until 1901, though three post-secondary teacher's colleges (Normal schools) were established in the state between 1867 and 1895.[88] Publicly funded secondary schools for African Americans did not appear in the three states until after the turn of the twentieth century. For some,

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[85] Text paraphrased from Nicodemus NHL Update, draft, written by Edith Wallace (Paula S. Reed & Associates Inc.), 2012.

[86] Lee, "An Introduction to Loudoun County's African American Communities."

[87] "State Department of Education/Origin," *Maryland Manual Online,* https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/13sdoe/html/sdoef.html; *The Constitution of Virginia: Framed by the Convention which met in Richmond, Virginia, December 3, 1867. Passed April 17, 1868* (Richmond: Printed at the Office of the New Nation, 1868), *HathiTrust Digital Library,* https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/010446672/Home; Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction," 154.

[88] "Archive: Education," *Jefferson County Black History Preservation Society,* accessed May 25, 2020, http://www.jcblackhistory.org/archive/archive-education; Carter G. Woodson, "Early Negro Education in West Virginia," *West Virginia Archives & History,* accessed May 25, 2020, http://www.wvculture.org/history/africanamericans/woodsoncarter02.html.

this vacuum was filled by private "industrial" schools, like the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth, opened in 1894 by Jennie Dean, or the St. Philips Parochial and Industrial School opened in Charles Town, West Virginia, in 1900.[89]

In the Potomac region, it appears the majority of schools were initially housed in Black churches, and for many of these buildings, the dual purpose continued for several decades before county school boards constructed dedicated school buildings. In 1881, historian J. Thomas Scharf reported twelve "colored schools" in Washington County, Maryland, but only three school buildings (out of 129 in the county) were dedicated to Black education; in Frederick County, of the twenty-four Black schools, only five were in county-built structures.[90] Tolson's Chapel, in Washington County, housed a Freedmen's Bureau school in 1868 and 1869, along with the county-run Sharpsburg Colored School through 1899. In Baden (Aquasco area), Prince George's County, Maryland, the St. Thomas ME Church was built in 1867 with the aid of the Freedmen's Bureau for use as both church and school, a dual use that continued until a dedicated school building was constructed in 1878. In Bowmantown, Loudoun County, Virginia, the Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church housed a school from 1875 through 1891.[91]

Some dedicated schoolhouses were constructed with Freedmen's Bureau aid and materials. The Sharpersville School, in the Accokeek area of Prince George's County, was a one-room, frame schoolhouse built in 1868 with the aid of the Freedmen's Bureau and continued in use as a county school until 1940. In 1866, the Freedmen's Bureau provided bricks from government buildings in Harpers Ferry for a schoolhouse in Shepherdstown, West Virginia, which continued to be in use until 1883.[92]

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[89] Stephen Johnson Lewis, *Undaunted Faith: The Story of Jennie Dean* (The Manassas Museum, Memorial Edition, 1994), 43; "Jefferson County West Virginia African American Heritage Trail," *Jefferson County Black History Preservation Society,* http://www.jcblackhistory.org/tour.

[90] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland, Volume II* (originally published 1882, reprint, Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1968), 976–77.

[91] Paula S. Reed & Assoc., "Tolson's Chapel," 11–12; "African American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland," 223; "Loudoun's African American Communities," 4.

[92] "African American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland," 229; "Jefferson County West Virginia African American Heritage Trail," *Jefferson County Black History Preservation Society,* http://www.jcblackhistory.org/tour.



Figure 53: Shepherdstown schoolhouse
Courtesy Jefferson Co. Black History Preservation Society



Figure 54: Black Swamp School
GoogleMaps 2018

The county-built rural schoolhouses were often one-room frame or brick buildings. Examples include the Black Swamp School (Figure 54) near Brandywine, Prince George's County, Maryland, which the county built in 1878. Occasionally, two-room buildings were constructed: the Charles Town District Colored Graded School (Figure 55)

in Charles Town, West Virginia, was a two-room brick building constructed circa 1870, and the Hopeland School (Figure 56) in Frederick County, Maryland, was a two-room frame building constructed around 1910.



Figure 55: Charles Town District School
Photo by the author, 2021



Figure 56: Hopeland School
"Hope Hill Colored School," MIHP #F-7-37, 1991

Mutual Aid or Benevolent Societies

Mutual aid within the African American community was a necessity borne of racial discrimination throughout the country, experienced by both enslaved and free, North and South. Whether along the Underground Railroad or through fraternal organizations and benevolent societies, the African American tradition of mutual aid maintained and supported the community through many decades of neglect by the larger American culture.[93]

The tradition of community aid began in the late eighteenth century with Prince Hall, a free Black man living in Boston, Massachusetts. Hall was the first Black Freemason in America, became master of African Lodge #1 in Boston in July 1776, and in 1796 established a lodge-sponsored school for Boston's Black children.[94] Benevolent societies such as the Prince Hall Freemasons became integral to the social network of northern free Blacks. Social historian John Hope Franklin identified as many as thirty-five societies in Baltimore by 1835 "composed of young free Negro men," including the Friendship Benevolent Society for Social Relief, the Star in the East Association, and the Daughters of Jerusalem.[95]

The Grand United Order of Odd Fellows (GUOOF) was organized in 1843 from a Black New York literary society, the Philomathean Institute, who "saw the need for societies of mutual aid and protection in case of sickness and distress."[96] Their charter, given by the English branch of Odd Fellows, had been denied by the American branch known as the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. The Philomathean Lodge No. 646 of New York City was followed by ones in Philadelphia and Hartford, Connecticut, in 1844, and by 1848 as many as eighteen lodges were established throughout the northeast and as far south as Alexandria, Virginia, and Baltimore, Maryland.[97]

Baltimore's relatively large free-Black population prior to the Civil War made possible the existence of such organizations in what was still a "slave state." Further south, African American societies were "frowned upon" or even illegal, though Franklin identified the Band Society of New Orleans organized in 1860.[98] In May 1861, the annual national meeting of the GUOOF was canceled, "considering the state of the country and our own peculiar position at present," noting that Maryland lodges were shut down "by enforcement of certain laws. . .against secret Societies among our people."[99] The Black Odd

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93 Text from Nicodemus NHL Update, draft, written by Edith Wallace, 2012.

94 "A Brief History of Prince Hall Freemasonry in Massachusetts," *The Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge, F. & A.M. of Massachusetts,* accessed December 29, 2020, https://www.princehall.org/history.

95 John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom,* 3rd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), 226.

96 Brooks, *The Official History,* 12.

97 Brooks, *The Official History,* 18–51.

98 Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom,* 227.

99 Brooks, *The Official History,* 85.

Fellows rebounded after the Civil War, adding hundreds of local lodges across the South and the western states and territories. By 1896, there were more than 2,000 lodges with nearly 119,000 members and 31,000 female members of the Household of Ruth.[100]

The Annual Report of the Order for 1867, is given here for comparison.

Whole number of	Members	3358
" "	Financial Members	2681
" "	Non-Financial Members	677
" "	Past Officers	960
" "	Brothers relieved	242
" "	Brothers buried	24
" "	Widows relieved	36
" "	Orphans relieved	17

Whole amount paid	for Sick	$3,921 43
" " "	for Funerals	1,769 70
" " "	to Widows	639 55
" " "	for Charity	746 85
" " "	Out	7,760 26
" "	Invested	4,573 88
Whole value of property		12,627 01
Balance in funds		10,334 11
Invested, value of property and in funds		27,534 98

October 14, 1867, Good Hope Lodge, No. 1122, was granted the dispensation for Salem Lodge, No. 1361, Darby, Pa.

November 11, 1867, Ohio Lodge, No. 1188 was granted the dispensation for Hutchison Lodge, No. 1362, Chicago, Ill.

December 9, 1867. Philomathean Lodge, No. 712, was granted the dispensation for Hudson City Lodge, No. 1363, Hudson, N. Y.

Figure 57: Annual Report of the Order for 1867
Brooks, The Official History of the G.U.O. of O.F. in America, page 101

The "Odd Fellowship," wrote Grand Secretary Charles Brooks in 1902, "is an institution formed by good men for the advancement of the principles of benevolence and charity."[101] Functionally this was achieved by members establishing "a fund for the relief of the members when sick, lame, or disabled, and for insuring a sum of money to assist in defraying the expenses of burials, or to assist in defraying the expenses of the burial of the wife or child of a member."[102] This objective, as well as the local lodge or hall focus, was

[100] Brooks, *The Official History,* 271.

[101] Brooks, *The Official History,* 221.

[102] Brooks, *The Official History,* 225.

shared by the many other Black organizations formed during and after Reconstruction, as reported by Du Bois in 1906: "From early times the precarious economic condition of the free Negroes led to many mutual aid organizations. They were very simple in form: an initiation fee of small amount was required, and small regular payments; in case of sickness, a weekly stipend was paid, and in case of death the members were assessed to pay for the funeral and help the widow. Confined to a few members, all personally known to each other, such societies were successful from the beginning."[103]

While Du Bois described the Odd Fellows as the "most powerful and flourishing secret order," he noted the important role of mutual aid supplied by other "secret societies, beneficial societies, insurance societies, cemeteries, building and loan associations, labor unions, homes of various sorts and political clubs."[104] Within the Potomac region, other societies included the Grand United Order of the Galilean Fisherman and the Freemasons.



Figure 58: Abraham Hall, restored
HABS MD-1043–1, Library of Congress

[103] Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro,* Locations 4676–81.

[104] Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro,* Locations 4691–93.



Figure 59: Charles Town Fisherman's Hall (2021) and the Star Lodge, home of the Star Lodge Freemasons and the Queen of the Valley Odd Fellows (2011)
Photos by the author

Lodge halls were typically two-story frame buildings with a gable-front entrance, often built later, between the late 1880s and the 1920s. They were community buildings, used for multiple purposes beyond meeting houses, many doubling as school buildings, theater and lecture halls, as well as dance halls.[105] Most lodge halls fell out of use in the second half of the twentieth century, but a surprising number of buildings remain: Abraham Hall (Figure 58), built in 1889 in Rossville, Prince George's County, Maryland; Galilean Fisherman's Hall (1885) and the Star Lodge No. 1 Freemason's Hall in Charles Town, West Virginia (Figure 59); Odd Fellows Hall (Stevens Lodge No. 1435), constructed in 1892 on Columbia Pike, Arlington County, Virginia; and the Odd Fellows lodge in Waterford, Loudoun County, built in 1893.[106]

Some associations operated more directly as life insurance collectives that also established cemeteries for their members. The need for such burial grounds, many founded by free Blacks during the time of slavery, grew through the second half of the nineteenth

[105] McDaniel, "Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County," 41.

[106] "African American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland," 55; "Jefferson County West Virginia African American Heritage Trail," *Jefferson County Black History Preservation Society,* http://www.jcblackhistory.org/tour; Lee, "An Introduction to Loudoun's African American Communities," 11. The 1839 John Locke stone house in Charles Town, West Virginia, was sold to "Littleton Page, George W. Tabb, and William Myers, Trustees of Star Lodge No. 1, Ancient York Free & Accepted Masons Colored at Charlestown" and "George W. Green, Lewis Rutherford, and Robert Ford Trustees of Queen of the Valley Lodge No. 1558 Independent Order of Odd Fellows Colored at Charlestown" in 1885 (Jefferson County DB O, page 139). The building is still owned by the Star Lodge Masons.

century as segregation of both church and municipal cemeteries became the standard. The Beneficial Society of Laboring Sons of Frederick established the Laboring Sons Cemetery in 1851: "[B]y 1851 Laboring Sons had accumulated enough funds from member dues to purchase an open Frederick City lot. In 1852 about 1/4 of the lot was subdivided into 12' x 16' burial lots marked by numbered white marble corner posts. Lots were assigned to members who had paid all their dues and individual ownership was recorded on a plat map. The remaining ground was also sold as burial plots with the proceeds added to Society funds."[107] The Laboring Sons Cemetery eventually included approximately 1,500 burials of African Americans from across Frederick County, including four USCT soldiers.

The Greenmount Cemetery, also located in Frederick, Maryland, was established by the Working Men's Association of Frederick County, a breakaway group formed in 1862 after "an internal disagreement" within the Laboring Sons.[108] A lot was purchased for the Greenmount Cemetery in 1880 and began taking burials; however, by 1920, the association was defunct and the lot sold to the Frederick City Hospital Association. Many of the Greenmount burials were moved to Fairview Cemetery, a new segregated burial ground established in 1923 by the Fairview Cemetery Association.[109]

The Harmony Cemetery, now Harmony Memorial Park in the Landover area of Prince George's County, Maryland, has a history dating back to the 1820s in the District of Columbia:

> Harmony Memorial Park is a very large (historically African-American) cemetery, and contains approximately 64,000 graves. The Colombian Harmony Society was founded in 1825 in Washington, DC, by a group of free Negroes, with its major objective to establish a dignified burial place for Blacks. In 1829 the society purchased a tract of seven lots at 5th Street and Boundary Street (now Florida Avenue) in the District of Columbia. The cemetery which the society established there was known as "Harmoneon." In 1859 it was moved to a new site on Rhode Island Avenue, and the name was changed to "Harmony Cemetery." The Rhode Island Avenue site was used for another century, when the cemetery was filled almost to capacity, and the society began to look for another location.[110]

The cemetery was moved to its Sheriff Road location in Prince George's County in 1960.

In Fairfax County, Virginia, the Jermantown Cemetery was founded in 1868 by the Burial Sons and Daughters of Benevolence of Fairfax Court House. The Clifton Union Cemetery, also in Fairfax County, was established in 1899 as a "burying place for colored

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[107] The Catoctin Center for Regional Studies, "Laboring Sons Cemetery," MIHP #FHD-1301, 2009.

[108] "Laboring Sons Cemetery," MIHP #FHD-1301.

[109] Edie Wallace, "Fairview Cemetery," MIHP #F-3-238, 2013.

[110] "African American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland," 208.

people." More than one hundred burials are located there, though many are unmarked.[111] In Loudoun County, a cemetery survey lists seven Black "community" cemeteries, though no information is given on the associations that may have established those cemeteries.[112]

Rural African American Lifeways

The Dwelling House

Rural dwellings constructed by African Americans in and around the rural communities of the Potomac region following emancipation were often small, log buildings typical for the region's laboring poor. Reconstruction-period houses identified by George McDaniel in Prince George's and Montgomery Counties and by Edith Wallace in Frederick and Washington Counties were primarily one-and-a-half-story log dwellings, similar to those previously occupied by enslaved people in the region. McDaniel and Wallace both noted the "one up-one down" room plan of most slave housing, while free Black landowners and tenants often constructed houses with a plan consisting of two rooms on the first and second floors.[113] McDaniel's upper Montgomery County survey describes houses that were generally typical of the Potomac region: "These earlier houses were log dwellings.... They stood on stone piers and had wooden floors. The walls were of hewn, heartwood pine, chestnut, or oak, and were joined at the corner by V-notches. Their houses also had glazed windows and wood burning stoves, indicating a moderate degree of surplus capital with which to purchase improvements for the house."[114]

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[111] "Fairfax County Cemetery Survey," Jermantown Cemetery #FX015, Clifton Union Cemetery #FX075, *Fairfax County, Virginia,* accessed May 27, 2020, https://www.fairfaxcounty.gov/library_cemeteries/Cemetery.aspx?number=FX075.

[112] History Matters LLC, "Loudoun County African-American Historic Architectural Resources Survey" (Leesburg, VA: Loudoun County Board of Supervisors and the Black History Committee of the Friends of the Thomas Balch Library, 2004), 126.

[113] McDaniel, *Hearth & Home, 192–94;* McDaniel, "Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County," 25; Wallace, "Reclaiming Forgotten History," 57.

[114] McDaniel, "Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County," 25.



Figure 60: Bene Hallman House, circa 1880, Mount Ephraim, Frederick County, Maryland
MIHP #F-7-1-4



Figure 61: Beatrice Scipio House, circa 1870, Murphy's Corner, Loudoun County, Virginia
VDHR #053-1060

Other examples in Maryland include the "Oakley Cabin" in the Olney area, Montgomery County, a former slave quarter later occupied by Black tenants on the Oakley Farm, and the Mulliken-Spragins Tenant House from Mitchellville, Prince George's County.[115] In Virginia, the James Robinson House (no longer extant) was another example of the common house plan.[116]



Figure 62: James Robinson House
Library of Congress

[115] The Oakley Cabin is restored and the central exhibit of the Oakley Cabin African American Museum and Park; see https://www.montgomeryparks.org/parks-and-trails/oakley-cabin-african-american-museum-park. The Mulliken-Spragins Tenant House is on display in the Folk Life Hall of the National Museum of American History, https://www.loc.gov/item/dc0164.

[116] See https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2018671067. The James Robinson House was destroyed by arson in 1993.



Figure 63: "George Tinner House"
Courtesy Tinner Hill Heritage Foundation, Tinner Family Collection, *100 Years Black Falls Church,*
http://100yearsblackfallschurch.org/items/show/177



Figure 64: Possible tenant house, Woodlawn Farm
Woodlawn Cultural Landscape Historic District, DHR#029-5181

As economic conditions for some families improved, additions of rooms or second floors to original small, three- or four-room log houses are most common. In some cases, entirely new homes were built, usually of frame construction. These were often in the common vernacular form—a two-story, two- or three-bay, "L" shaped dwelling—found throughout rural Virginia, Maryland, and West Virginia. In Washington County, Black stonemason Robert W. Anderson built a substantial two-story stone house about 1890 for his growing family (Figure 65). Dwellings located on farmsteads (owned or tenanted) were accompanied by typical domestic and agricultural outbuildings, including a privy, out-kitchen, smokehouse, animal pens, and small barns, as well as kitchen gardens, small orchards, pastures, and crop fields.



Figure 65: Robert W. Anderson House
Photo by the author, 2003



Figure 66: Griffith Farmstead
Photo by the author, 2003

Kinship and Family Structure

For enslaved African Americans, lack of control over family relationships was a daily reality. Yet those kinship ties, whether severed by the auction block or estate divisions, proved to be a human connection unbreakable by time or distance. With emancipation, families began the process of reconnection. The Freedmen's Bureau aided Black families by helping to legalize marriages, to reacquire apprenticed children, and to find lost relatives.[117] In reviewing the Freedmen's Bureau records from Kentucky, Victor Howard found "substantial evidence of the black family's unity and solidarity as well as deep affection and concern for its members": "The average freedman knew his family history and family tree and obviously valued blood relationships. The history of litigation relating to apprentices' indentures reveals the strength of the extended family as a powerful force in maintaining the identity and resilience of the black community."[118] The extended fight over child

[117] From the NARA descriptive pamphlet for M1902, in "Records of the Field Offices for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1870/Historical Note," *Smithsonian Institution Virtual Archives,* accessed May 28, 2020, https://sova.si.edu/record/NMAAHC.FB.M1902.

[118] Victor B. Howard, *Black Liberation in Kentucky* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2010), 128.

apprenticeships in Maryland highlights the familial bond among freedpeople identified by Howard in Kentucky. That strong bond of kinship, maintained by African Americans in slavery despite the odds against them, was strengthened during the hardships of the period of Reconstruction.[119]

As noted by McDaniel in his survey of Maryland's upper Montgomery County Black communities, "the community itself [was] an extended family."[120] Lots were subdivided as children grew to adulthood and started their own families. Cousins purchased or tenanted nearby parcels. Others were linked by marriage, creating ties to other communities. In Montgomery County, notes McDaniel, "there are early family connections between Big Woods, Mt. Ephraim, White Grounds, and Jonesville."[121] In Washington County, Maryland, the community in Sharpsburg was closely tied by kinship to the Red Hill community (see the Maryland case studies in Chapter Five). Batestown and Hickory Ridge, in Prince William County, Virginia, were largely kinship communities themselves, but also linked between the two by marriage (see the Virginia case studies in Chapter Four).

Occupations

Richard Paul Fuke, in his 1988 article "Planters, Apprenticeship, and Forced Labor," summarized the varying analyses of African American motivations concerning post-emancipation labor in the South: "[I]t seems evident that blacks' response to emancipation was a reaction to *both* freedom and compulsion. Scholars who have taken this middle road suggest that the actions of rural blacks resembled those of a peasant-like society in search of whatever autonomy it could find amidst the opposing forces of the free market and regulated labor. Essentially, they say, blacks pursued pragmatic goals shaped by a combination of their own priorities and those of their employers."[122] The priorities for newly emancipated African Americans focused on "family autonomy" and independent subsistence on the one hand, and the need to earn cash wages on the other.

Employers still held the upper hand over Black laborers in various ways, including long-term contracts, wage fixing, and debt. Historian Eric Foner notes, however, that Blacks leveraged their freedom in every way they could: "Those who could rent or purchase land did so; those who could not sought modes of labor that secured the highest degree of personal independence."[123] This was true in Maryland, according to historian Barbara Jeanne Fields, where African Americans responded by "cultivating their own

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[119] Text in this paragraph is paraphrased from the Nicodemus NHL Update, draft manuscript.

[120] McDaniel, "Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County," 23.

[121] McDaniel, "Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County," 23.

[122] Richard Paul Fuke, "Planters, Apprenticeship, and Forced Labor," *Agricultural History,* Vol. 62, No. 4 (Fall 1988), 58, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3743375.

[123] As cited in Fuke, "Planters, Apprenticeship, and Forced Labor," 58, fn. 2.

gardens, working for wages just long enough to earn a family subsistence, and refusing to establish themselves on a permanent basis with a single employer."[124] Still, Fuke asserts, "blacks failed to shake either the determination of planters to maintain general control of the rural economy or the reluctance of white reformers to support more than minimal changes in basic labor-management relations."[125]

Immediately following emancipation in the Potomac region, the majority of rural African American men (and boys) were employed as farm laborers and women in domestic service. Freedmen's Bureau labor contracts out of the Alexandria field office for 1866 and 1867 show many northern Virginia freedpeople finding employment as laborers, farm hands, farmers, or house servants, both in northern Virginia (primarily Fauquier, Loudoun, and Stafford counties) and Maryland (Howard, Prince George's, and Montgomery counties in particular).[126] By the 1870 census, little had changed. In the Dumfries District of Prince William County, Virginia, the majority of African American men listed their occupations as laborers or farm laborers. Two men were listed as farmers, both of whom were among the five landowners (the other three were women) out of the twenty-six total Black households. Only two men listed non-agricultural occupations, one a blacksmith and the other a "boatman." Most married women remained at home as a "house keeper," an occupation viewed by some historians as symbolic of "family autonomy." The younger, usually unmarried women were occupied as domestic servants, often living in the home of their white employers.[127]

In the more diversified economy of Maryland's northwestern Washington County, farm work and domestic service still prevailed in 1870, but a significant number of Black men listed their occupation as day laborer. Being a day laborer likely involved farm work, but also railroad, mill, and iron or limekiln work. Only four Black landowners were identified in District 1 (surrounding Sharpsburg), and all were day laborers living in the Red Hill community near the Antietam Iron Works. Of the 726 African American men and women working outside of the home throughout Washington County, most were day laborers, but twenty-two were boatmen and two were lock tenders on the C&O Canal. Other occupations included skilled labor such as barber, mason, "steam mill" engineer, restaurant cook, and hostler.[128]

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[124] As cited in Fuke, "Planters, Apprenticeship, and Forced Labor," 58, fn. 2.

[125] Fuke, "Planters, Apprenticeship, and Forced Labor," 59.

[126] "Records of the Field Offices for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872/Subordinate Field Offices/Alexandria (Superintendent)/Labor Contracts," *Smithsonian Online Virtual Archives,* https://sova.si.edu/record/NMAAHC.FB.M1913?s=0&n=10&t=C&q=&i=0.

[127] 1870 US Population Census.

[128] Wallace, "African American Emancipation and Community in Frederick and Washington Counties of Western Maryland," 15; 1870 US Population Census.

In southern Maryland's Prince George's County, the vast majority of African American men residing in the rural Aquasco Township listed their occupation as farm hand, while the women remained at home "keeping house" or were employed as domestic servants or cooks. Of the twenty-one men who listed their occupation as farmer, only three owned the land they farmed, while the remaining eighteen likely farmed as tenants or on shares. Five people listed other skilled occupations, including two carpenters, two school teachers, and a "shoe cobbler."[129]

Black land ownership, seen as the key to economic independence, improved through the three decades after the 1870 census, according to Loren Schweninger, author of *Black Property Owners in the South*. This was the result of a combination of circumstances Schweninger described as unique to the "Rural Upper South," including the Potomac region:

> [T]he long tradition of black proprietorship going back to before 1800; the increasing availability of mortgage money; the growth of mutual benefit and insurance societies such as the Knights of Pythias, True Reformers, and the Order of St. Luke; the ideas of enterprise and self-sufficiency promoted at Hampton Institute [and other industrial schools in the region]; and the efforts of black leaders—John Mercer Langston, editor John Mitchell, and banker Maggie Walker—in promoting property ownership.[130]

In Virginia, Black property ownership increased from 1 percent of households in 1870 to 59 percent in 1900; Maryland's Black landowners increased from 3.5 percent in 1870 to 56 percent of households in 1900.[131]

The "path to land ownership" in rural Fairfax County, Virginia, according to historian Scott E. Casper, was a familiar one in which Blacks "worked their way from farm laborers to 'farmers.'" In the Mount Vernon area of Fairfax County, more than half of the Black landowners listed on the 1900 census had been landless farm laborers in 1880.[132] Christopher Columbus Hall, who lived in the Lincolnville area of Fairfax County, was a tenant farm laborer on the 1870 census but moved quickly to landownership by 1872. Hall was able to purchase twenty-six acres and exploited the urban market trade in nearby Washington, DC, where he sold milk and fresh produce.[133]

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[129] 1870 US Population Census.

[130] Schweninger, *Black Property Owners,* 173.

[131] Schweninger, *Black Property Owners,* 174. These statistics are for the black populations of the whole state of Virginia and Maryland, not just the Potomac region. No statistics were given for West Virginia.

[132] Scott E. Casper, "Black Landowners in George Washington's Neighborhood, 1870–1930," in Reid and Bennett, *Beyond Forty Acres,* 43.

[133] Nan Netherton and Donald Sweig, *Fairfax County, Virginia; A History* (Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, Fairfax, VA, 1978), 450.

The agricultural economic base of the Potomac region was changing through the second half of the nineteenth century as farmers, finding grains less profitable, added production geared to supply nearby urban markets, including dairy, fruits, and vegetables. The typically smaller tracts owned by African American farmers were often market garden or "truck" farms, producing milk, butter, eggs, meat, fruit, and vegetables. Not all were as successful as Hall, however. Many Black landowners and tenants used their gardens to supply their families, while they (or their sons) continued to work outside the house. In Fairfax County, William and Henrietta Boston purchased fifteen acres in 1889, but supplemented their farm income with Henrietta's two jobs as a domestic cook and William's job at a nearby C&O Canal stone quarry.[134] In the 1870 census for the Dumfries District of Prince William County, Virginia, nearly all of the older adult men listed their occupation as farmers, while the younger men were generally listed as laborers (some as young as ten to fourteen). In the Sandy Spring District of Montgomery County, Maryland, Arnold Waters described himself as a "small farmer," a term used repeatedly by African Americans in the district, while his three oldest sons were farm laborers. Several women were occupied outside the house as "domestic cook."[135] Out of the entire Black population of Jefferson County, West Virginia—a total of 4,045 men, women, and children—only eleven men identified themselves as "Farmer" (two were brothers in the same household), while one man in the Charles Town District listed as a gardener. Most men listed occupations such as farm hand or laborer—both often identified as servants in a white household.

Non-agricultural occupations after 1870 and into the 1880s appear limited, though as noted above in the discussion of "day labor," some likely fell under the umbrella of "laborer." In the Dumfries District in 1880, three men listed their respective occupations as sailor, teacher, and blacksmith. James C. Muschett (a "mulatto" though listed as white in 1870) was a successful merchant outside of the town of Dumfries in 1880. In Montgomery County's Sandy Spring area, non-agricultural employment included well digger, miller, teacher, shoemaker, hotel cook, blacksmith, fencer, coachman, carpenter, and huckster. Rural town dwellers found greater opportunities. In Charles Town, Jefferson County, West Virginia, African Americans worked in skilled positions such as plasterer, carpenter, cooper, blacksmith, cigar maker, and barber. Others worked as hotel cook, waiter, bartender, teacher, minister, shingle maker, and rock blaster. A few men worked for the railroad, and one, John T. Marker, operated a store. Still, many men and women continued as laborers and domestic servants, particularly in the rural districts, and most married women remained at home "keeping house."[136]

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[134] Netherton and Sweig, *Fairfax County, Virginia; A History,* 454.

[135] 1880 US Population Census.

[136] 1880 US Population Census.

By 1900, more Blacks owned land, though they did not necessarily identify as farmers. The variety of occupations available to rural African Americans also appears to have expanded. From just five Black landowners in the Dumfries District in 1870, the number had risen to thirty-eight (plus twelve in "Dumfries Town") in 1900, including farmers, miners (Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine), day laborers, fishermen, laundresses, and a boarding house owner.[137] In the Falls Church District of Fairfax County, few Blacks worked in agriculture or even lived on a farm. Most worked as day laborers or in service-industry jobs, and about half owned their homes.[138]

Civic Engagement and Justice

The degree to which rural African Americans engaged in, or were able to engage in, civic activities appears to have varied widely within the Potomac region. Civic engagement, for the purposes of this report, includes voter registration and participation in elections, involvement in local or state government, and participation in court processes as witnesses or on juries. Some things, like taxes and trading licenses, were required activities regardless of race.[139]

Perhaps the most consistent civic engagement was participation in the voting franchise. Margaret Law Callcott tabulated the percentage of eligible Black men in Maryland who were registered to vote between 1882 and 1912. Across the counties, excluding the city of Baltimore, Black voter registration ranged from 85 percent in 1882 to 100 percent in 1900.[140] In Virginia, poll taxes were imposed beginning in 1876, which effectively reduced African American voter registrations across the state by 10 percent.[141] In Falls Church, Virginia, the town boundary was adjusted in 1879 to exclude the "colored section" from town elections (Figure 67). "It was just a case of simple gerrymandering," recalled E.B. Henderson, a descendant of Frederick Foote Jr., whose election to the Falls Church town council from 1881 to 1889 proved that the gerrymander failed to produce the full desired effect.[142] In Alexandria, despite efforts to prevent Black voting as early as March 1867, Black men were active participants in Radical Republican clubs, including the Rev.

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[137] See the Chapter Four case study of Batestown/Hickory Ridge for more detail on employment.

[138] 1900 US Population Census.

[139] Primary source materials for these kinds of civic activities can be difficult to find. Few poll books and local election results have been preserved. Anecdotal information can be gleaned from newspapers, where available.

[140] Margaret Law Callcott, *The Negro in Maryland Politics, 1870–1912* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969), 142, Table 11. The percentage registered fell to 88 percent by 1912.

[141] "African Americans and Politics in Virginia (1865–1902)," *Encylopedia Virginia,* accessed August 2, 2021, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/african_americans_and_politics_in_virginia_1865-1902.

[142] Netherton and Sweig, *Fairfax County, Virginia; A History,* 456–58.

Marshall D. Williams, who brought his orientation to engage in civic activities to his Manassas congregation and the surrounding community. (see the case study on Manassas in Chapter Four).

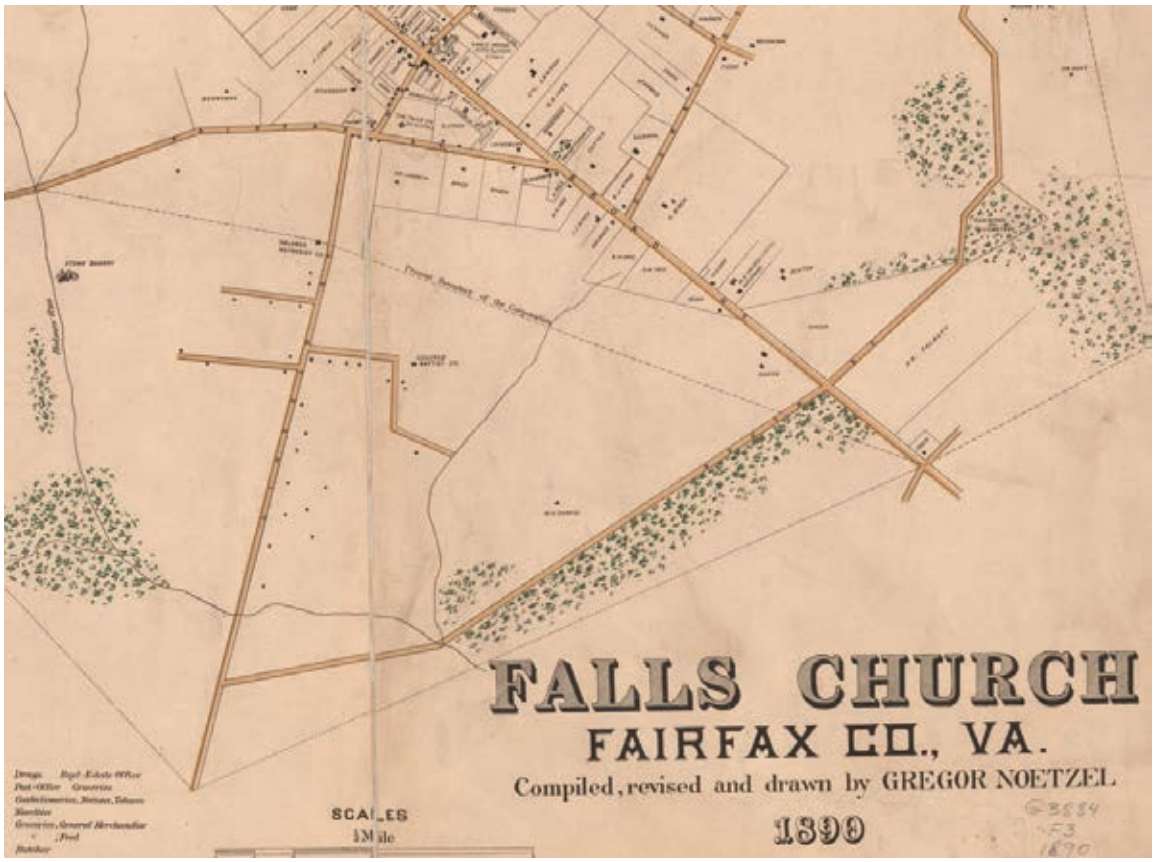


Figure 67: 1890 Noetzel map of Falls Church showing the adjusted boundary
Library of Congress

The issue of justice, or injustice, refers to how African Americans in rural jurisdictions were treated within the legal system, by local sheriffs, justices, and juries (who were almost invariably white) and their fellow citizens.[143] These cases range from local petty larceny, assault, or murder, to widely publicized cases of lynching. Many local interactions with the courts involved civil cases initiated by African Americans themselves. Melissa Milewski found "1,377 civil cases with black litigants across eight southern state supreme courts between 1865 and 1950."[144] Certainly, a much larger number of civil cases never

[143] Court records may be difficult to access or destroyed. Anecdotal information can be gleaned from newspapers, where available.

[144] Melissa Milewski, "Rethinking the Role of the Courts in the Lives of Black Southerners," accessed December 13, 2020, https://www.oah.org/tah/issues/2017/november/rethinking-the-role-of-the-courts-in-the-lives-of-black-southerners/#fn12.

reached the state level. While one-third of the cases analyzed by Milewski were brought "against other African Americans; in the other two-thirds, the cases took place against whites," and many were successful in gaining satisfaction.[145] As has been demonstrated in Chapter Two, and by the several state and national reports used as sources, African Americans rarely, if ever, saw white mobs brought to justice for lynching murders.

Conclusion

The following chapters will provide rural community case studies that will flesh out the community structures and lifeways identified in this chapter. While the kinds of primary source information available for each community may vary, each case study will provide details about the foundations and growth of various rural African American communities in the region, based primarily on census and land records. Available information concerning the establishment and evolution of churches and schools, benevolent societies, civic engagement, and justice will provide site-specific details that may guide interpretation of the rural African American experience in the Potomac region during Reconstruction and the decades that followed, up until the turn of the twentieth century.

[145] Milewski, "Rethinking the Role of the Courts."

CHAPTER FOUR

Case Studies in Northern Virginia

You do your part here, and I will do mine in the world.

Jane (Jennie) Serepta Dean, circa 1900[1]

Introduction

Throughout much of the Civil War, the northern Virginia counties that bordered the District of Columbia saw an influx of African Americans seeking freedom behind the Union forts protecting the Federal City. The city of Alexandria's African American population surged after 1860, from less than 1,400 to more than 5,000 by 1870. Such large numbers drew attention and aid from the federal agency known as the Freedmen's Bureau during the period of Reconstruction. From their office in Alexandria, Freedmen's Bureau officers helped establish schools, oversaw labor contracts, mediated disputes, and disbursed rations, attempting to help freed African Americans become self-sufficient. The region assigned as Subdistrict 10, which oversaw schools, included the counties of Alexandria, Fairfax, Loudoun, Fauquier, and Prince William. Following the demise of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1872, and the discontinuation of Congress's reconstruction policies in 1876, Virginia state and county governments enacted their own policies toward African American citizens. The actions of government officials and private citizens, whether with good intentions or bad, fostered racial segregation long before the era of Jim Crow. African Americans responded by nurturing their own communities and institutions, which carried residents through the economic obstacles and personal difficulties of the late nineteenth century in Virginia.

This chapter uses case studies to examine the experiences of African Americans during the period of Reconstruction and the decades that followed to 1900, in several rural communities located in Prince William County, Virginia.

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[1] As cited in Laura Ann Peake, "The Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth, 1894–1916" (1995), 28, *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects,* College of William & Mary *ScholarWorks,* Paper 1539625943, https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-44ct-vp36, citing "Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth, 1912–13 Catalog" (Manassas, VA: Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth, 1912).

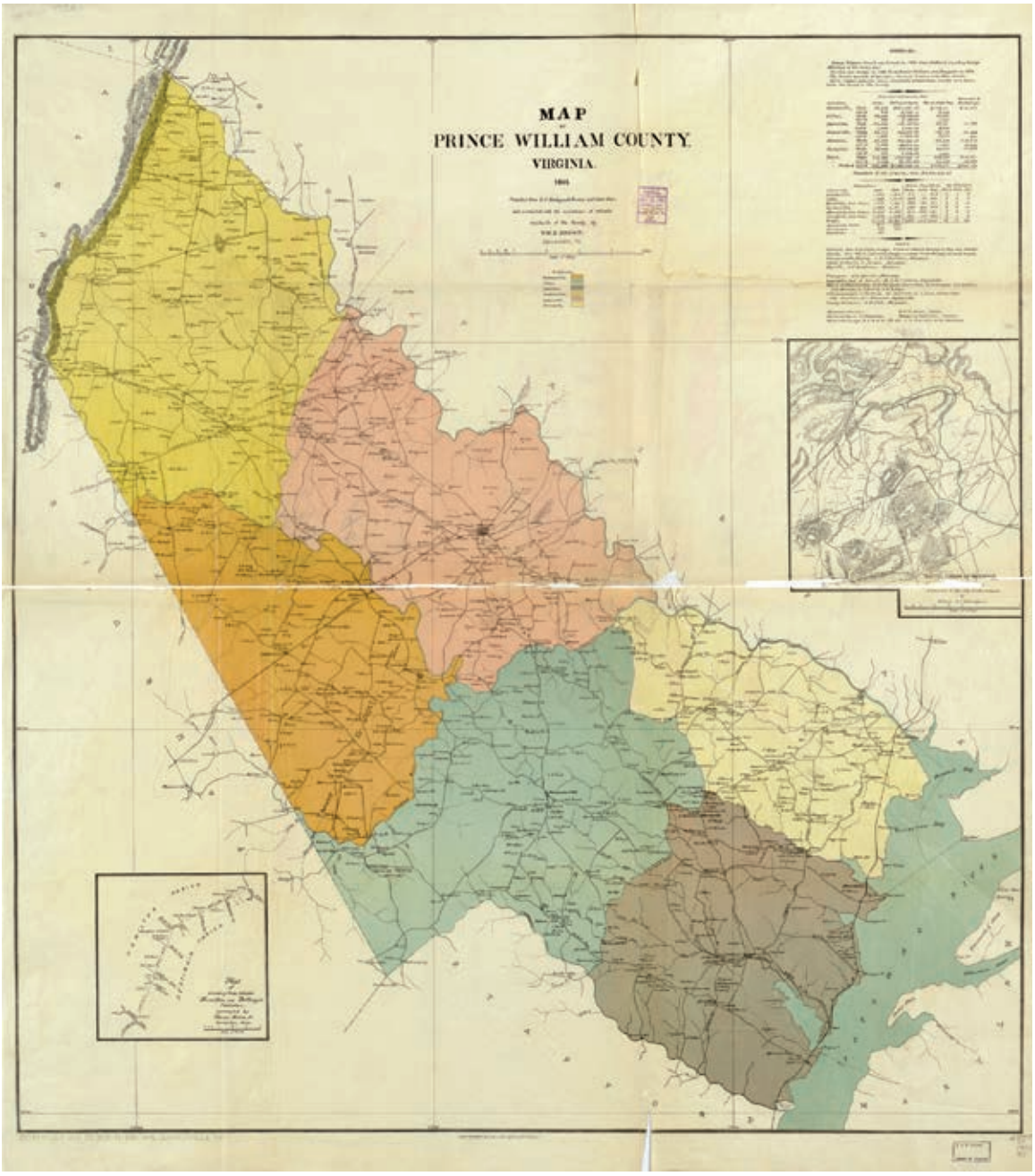


Figure 68: 1901 William Brown map of Prince William County
Library of Congress

The two clustered communities known as Batestown and Hickory Ridge, sometimes referred to collectively as the Cabin Branch community, were both located largely within the boundaries of today's Prince William Forest Park and are no longer extant communities. Government records, including federal census and Freedmen's Bureau records, county tax, license, deed, and estate records, as well as church, family, lodge, and local histories, help provide an image of the two communities as they grew and as residents

overcame economic and social obstacles and, in some cases, thrived from 1865 to 1900. The picture is incomplete, however, with gaps to fill and the years through the early twentieth century still to be added.[2]

The rural town community in Manassas and associated scattered farmsteads in the surrounding area provide additional insight into rural African American life in northern Virginia throughout the late nineteenth century. This case study examines the African American Liberty Street community that grew on the south edge of Manassas and the outlying Black farmsteads, including the Robinson House located on Manassas National Battlefield. Manassas also provides an opportunity to analyze the process of establishing an industrial school (here the Manassas Industrial School established by Jane "Jennie" Dean) and its role within the local Black community. Government records, newspaper articles, and prepared historical reports provide the bulk of the information from which this case study is constructed.

Prince William County is blessed with several robust online databases. The Clerk of the Circuit Court's "Records for Occasional Users" (https://www4.pwcgov.org/Web) provides access to historic land records and a wide variety of court records. The Prince William County Library maintains the RELIC Digital Archive, which includes church, school, and early court records, historic newspapers, and maps ranging from 1759 to 2000. Relevant federal records are also available online, including the federal population and agriculture census schedules (Ancestry.com), and the records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, now digitized and available on the Smithsonian Online Virtual Archive through the National Museum of African American History and Culture (https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/collection). Previously prepared National Park Service reports played an important role in providing foundational information and some details from which to build these community histories.

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[2] For the archeological discussion of the two communities, see John Bedell, *"Few Know that Such a Place Exists," The Land and People in the Prince William Forest Park* (Washington, DC: National Capital Region, National Park Service, 2004).

Case Study: Batestown and Hickory Ridge, *Clustered Communities*

Introduction



Figure 69: 1901 William Brown map showing detail of Dumfries District
Library of Congress

This case study details the development of the community structure and post-1865 lifeways of Batestown and Hickory Ridge, two *clustered communities* located in the Dumfries Magisterial District in Prince William County.[3] While the two communities did appear as clusters of African American households in the census record from 1860 to 1900, their properties were in fact somewhat scattered, often interspersed with white-owned farms. Some of these farms offered tenancies for Black laborers; occasionally the tenancies were based on crop shares. In the Dumfries District, a significant number of white landowners were originally from northern states, perhaps providing a greater opportunity for Blacks to purchase land. Over time, the two communities became more cohesive with more Black land ownership, kinship tenancies and subdivisions, and an increasing sense of identity through community institutions.



Figure 70: 1983 USGS map of Dumfries district
USGS.gov

The land on which the two communities grew, today mostly located within Prince William Forest Park, is situated on the ridges formed by Cabin Branch, Quantico Creek, and the South Fork of Quantico Creek. The Batestown community grew on the east side of

[3] Clustered communities tended to be centralized, though often scattered farmsteads and tenancies were associated with a nearby clustered community.

Quantico Creek along Cabin Branch, out of the land ownership of the Mackey/Bates families that dates back to the early nineteenth century. The Hickory Ridge community grew along the Gallows or Hickory Ridge, south to the South Fork of Quantico Creek, from the Williams family land purchases that began around 1850. Separated only by the Quantico Creek valley, the two communities shared church, school, and lodge buildings for many years and are sometimes described collectively as the Cabin Branch community.[4] Their stories provide a window into the rural African American experience during Reconstruction and the decades that followed in northern Virginia.

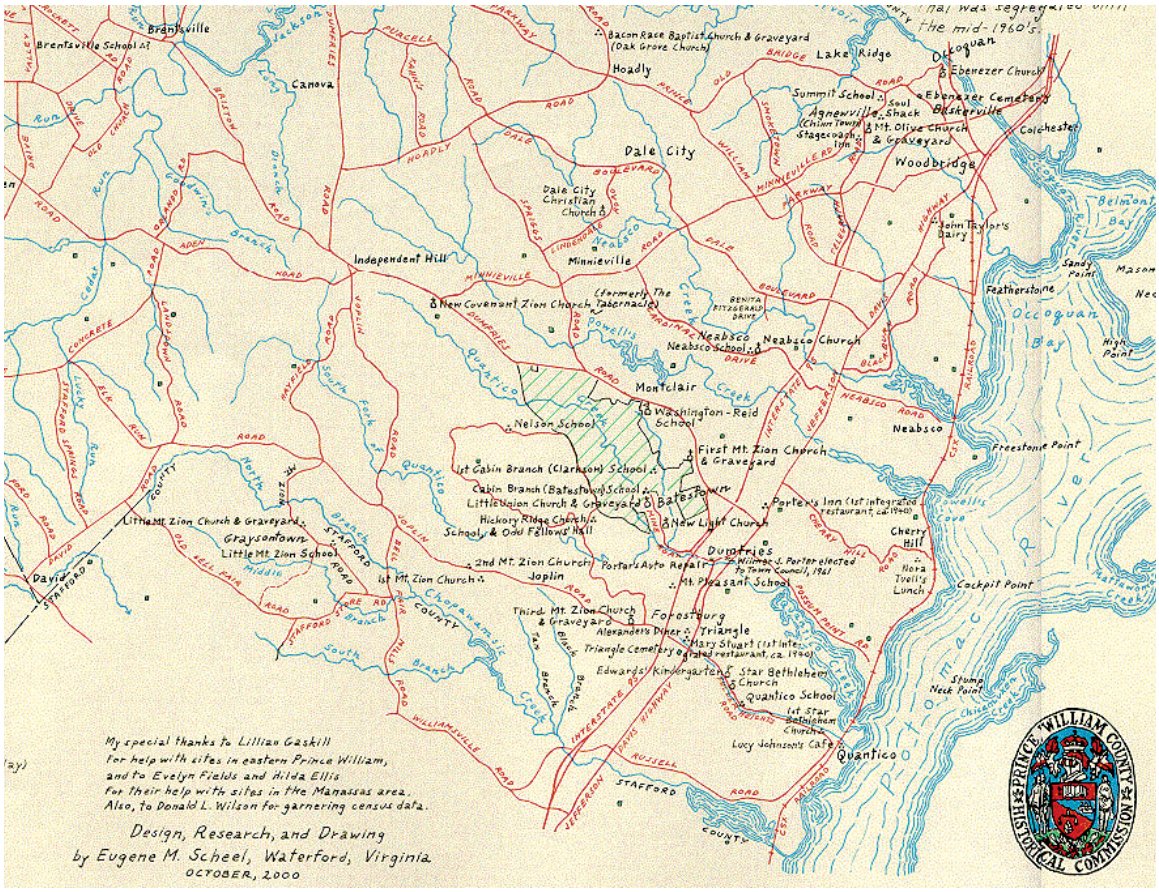


Figure 71: Dumfries area detail from "African American Heritage Map"
Courtesy Eugene Scheel

[4] "Hickory Ridge, Joplin & Batestown," *Prince William Forest Park Virginia,* accessed October 11, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/prwi/learn/historyculture/hickory-ridge-joplin-and-batestown.htm. See also Bedell, "*Few Know That Such a Place Exists.*"

African Americans in Dumfries District before 1865

The US Population Census for 1810—the earliest population census schedule available in Virginia—listed 178 free Black men, women, and children living in the Dumfries District. Nineteen of those people lived in white households, while the remaining 159 presumably rented or owned the dwellings in which they lived. A significantly larger number of enslaved individuals (1,309 total) were housed on white-owned plantations or in the town of Dumfries. John Tayloe alone held 212 enslaved people on his 2,000-acre plantation that straddled the north fork to Cabin Branch and down to the south fork of Quantico Creek.

Among the free Blacks living in their own households in 1810 were George Mackey and Sally Bates, son and daughter of Nancy Mackey. The story of Nancy Mackey and her children is noteworthy in the history of Dumfries District. Nancy was a free "mulatto" woman living in Prince William County possibly as early as 1780.[5] She was the unofficial consort of prominent Dumfries merchant John Gibson, with whom she apparently had seven children. Though Nancy Mackey pre-deceased John Gibson, when he wrote his will in 1806, he devised a tract of land on Cabin Branch (at least 116 acres) to Richard, Sally, George, Peggy, John, Mary, and Thomas, "children of Nancy Mackey decd." The land was intended to support the then motherless children until Thomas reached the age of twenty-one. Gibson specified that "the law of descents and distribution" should apply as if "the seven devisees had been born Brothers & Sisters of the whole blood in lawful wedlock." He additionally directed that the three youngest children, John, Mary, and Thomas, were to be "educated and maintained" from the proceeds of the farm.[6] Thomas was named the final inheritor of the Cabin Branch farm, while the others were devised "the residue of my land in Prince William County not already devised to Thomas Mackey lying on Cabin Branch and purchased by me from John Tayloe Esq. to be equally divided between them."[7]

This remarkable bequest belied the reality of life for free African Americans in the Dumfries District through the first half of the nineteenth century. Nancy Mackey was a free woman of color at the time of her death, but she likely had been at least indentured to John Gibson as a younger woman. Though her service record does not appear in the Prince

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[5] 1780 is the approximate date of birth of her daughter Sally (Mackey) Bates (later Kendall).

[6] John Gibson Last Will and Testament, Prince William Co. "Loose Papers," Book 1196, page 28. The devised tract was roughly described as beginning at Hardings Spring, down to Cabin Branch, along Cabin Branch to the mouth of Spring Branch and up Spring Branch to the beginning. Gibson devised his household furniture and provided horses, cows, calves, hogs, and seven enslaved men and women to work the land—all of which was to be divided among the devisees at Thomas's maturity. John Gibson was born in Dumfries, Scotland. He came to Virginia as a tobacco merchant, trading with the John Glassford Company of Scotland. Gibson did not marry and apparently had no other children.

[7] The land was part of a 724-acre tract located along Cabin Branch and the north fork of Quantico Creek, which Gibson purchased from John Tayloe in 1794. (Tayloe to Gibson, Prince William Co. Deed Book Y, page 359.) The additional acreage was outlined in a codicil dated July 1807, which substituted the Cabin Branch land, probably about 400 acres, for an earlier devise of 5,000 acres of land in Harrison County, Kentucky.

William County court records, the indentured service of Verlinda McKee (possibly Nancy's sister?) was noted in 1805.[8] The record describes a request by the nineteen-year-old daughter of Verlinda McKee to be certified as "free" (required by Virginia law), noting her mother was "a free mulatto woman who served her time with the said [James] Gwatkin."[9] Gwatkin (or Gwatkins, pronounced "Watkins"), like Gibson, was a Scottish tobacco merchant in Dumfries, Virginia, and the two men were closely associated.

By 1860, fewer than 150 free African Americans lived in the Dumfries District. Most households remained tenants and some (fifteen in all) continued to live in white households as domestic servants or farm laborers. The majority of adult males over the age of sixteen worked as farmers or farm laborers, four were boatmen, including Marshall Dean, Samuel and Joseph Grayson, and William McKee. Thomas Cole was a blacksmith, an occupation he held as early as 1843.[10] Women's occupations were not noted in the 1860 census. Seven free Blacks owned their house or farm, including Fanny McKee, the widow of Thomas Mackey (McKee), and Henry Cole, whose wife Betsy Bates was the daughter of Sally Mackey.[11]

Beginning in 1863, Black men were permitted and encouraged to serve in the Union army during the Civil War, though largely limited to the regiments of the US Colored Troops. Among the Black men of Dumfries District, there appear to be two who may have answered the call to service, though neither can be positively confirmed. James Howard, who served in the 23rd Regiment, Co. K, USCT, was listed on his military record as born in Maryland. Howard enlisted at age nineteen as a substitute in June 1864 in Washington, DC. He was listed among the prisoner parolees in Annapolis in November/December 1864. Howard was later injured at Petersburg and admitted to the military hospital in Alexandria in April 1865, but deserted later that year.[12] A James Howard, age thirty-two, was listed in the Dumfries District in 1870, with a young wife (age twenty-three) and two children. Though his age does not line up, as a deserter, it is possible he was covering his identity. The muster roll for an unidentified USCT regiment listed George Williams, age twenty-four

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[8] The Mackey name appears variously as Mackey, McKee, McGee, and McKey.

[9] Prince William County Order Book 1804–1806, August 5, 1805 Court, pages 204–5, in Joan W. Peters, *Slave & Free Negro Records from the Prince William County Court Minute & Order Books: 1752–1763; 1766–1769; 1804–1806; 1812–1814; 1833–1865: A Source Book for African American Family History Research, Part 1* (Broad Run, VA: Albemarle Research, n.d.), 12.

[10] Prince William County Court Minute Book 1843–1846, April 1, 1844 Court, pages 86–87, in Peters, *Slave & Free Negro Records,* 35.

[11] Because the Slave Schedule of the 1860 census listed only by county (not districts), it is not known how many of the 2,356 enslaved people in Prince William County were located in the Dumfries District.

[12] "Fold3 Military Records Database," https://www.fold3.com/image/307187884. James Howard does not appear in later censuses for the area.

and born in Virginia, who joined as a substitute in Baltimore, Maryland. Nothing else is known about this George Williams; however, George E. Williams, son of Zeal Williams, would have been twenty-four in 1864.

Community Growth, 1865–1900

Between 1860 and 1870, Prince William County's total population actually fell by over a thousand people. It appears that many of those leaving the county were among the 2,300 formerly enslaved individuals enumerated in 1860, who were free after 1865. In 1870, there were just 1,830 African Americans living in Prince William County.[13] Of those individuals, 166 lived in the Dumfries District, while only twelve lived in the town of Dumfries.[14] In the rural district, twenty-two Black families lived as tenants, while the number of landowners fell from seven in 1860 to five in 1870. Many of these people had been free before the war and living in the district, but a few new surnames appeared while others disappeared. Much like the African American households in 1860, 1870 households typically numbered from six to as many as ten family members, often including children from other families.

By 1900, the rural part of Dumfries District, outside of Dumfries town, included 363 African American men, women, and children in sixty-three households (fifteen in white households). While a few of those households were scattered homesteads or tenant houses on white-owned land, the majority were in the Batestown/Hickory Ridge areas—as many as 150 in each by the turn of the twentieth century.[15] From the seven Black landowners in the Dumfries District of 1860, by 1900 there were fifty. Black-owned land in both the Batestown and Hickory Ridge communities covered several hundred acres on which family members and friends set up houses and tenant houses and worked on farms, in the Cabin Branch Mine, and on the railroad, among other employments. Though separated by Quantico Creek, the two communities shared many activities through the decades, including work, worship, and education, appearing to be largely independent within the context of the post-1865 Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction periods in Virginia.

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[13] *1870 Census: Volume 1, The Statistics of the Population of the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1872), Tables 2 and 3, "Library," *United States Census Bureau,* accessed October 1, 2019, https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1872/dec/1870a.html.

[14] All census information for individuals in the Dumfries District of Prince William County (1810 through 1900) is taken from the Ancestry.com US Population Census database.

[15] "Hickory Ridge, Joplin & Batestown," *Prince William Forest Park Virginia,* accessed October 11, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/prwi/learn/historyculture/hickory-ridge-joplin-and-batestown.htm.

Batestown Foundations and Growth through 1900

The core of the Batestown community had its roots in the Gibson/Mackey land, largely through the tracts owned by Henry Cole and Fanny McKee in 1860.[16] They were unusually large properties under Black ownership at the time. The 116-acre farm held by Fanny McKee, widow of Thomas McKee, had been in the family since Gibson's devise in 1806. It apparently passed to their son William McKee, later in 1860.[17] Adjoining the McKee property was the farm owned by Henry and Betsy Cole. Betsy (Bates) Cole was the daughter of Sally (Mackey) Bates and granddaughter of Nancy Mackey. By 1850, the Coles had assembled two of the Gibson/Mackey lots through inheritance and purchase, a total of 154 acres. It was by far the most valuable Black-owned farm in the district in 1860 at $815, according to the census that year.[18] While the Coles' farm was comparable in size and value with many of the white farms in the district, several of their white neighbors still held large "plantation" farms, with some worth thousands of dollars.

The Batestown community initially grew beyond the Gibson/Mackey land through tenancies, but also with new purchases from white landowners. Some sales came from speculators (or westward migrants) who lived outside of Virginia. Floyd Tucker of Fairfield, Connecticut, sold several tracts to Jesse Bates in the 1850s.[19] Jesse and his wife Phebe occupied their farm of forty-eight acres, while Jesse's older brother Robert Bates was a tenant on the farm. In 1872, Henry Cole enlarged his farm to 166 acres with a purchase

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[16] By 1819, the large tract devised by Gibson to the six older Mackey siblings was divided into six lots, ranging from seventy-three acres to eighty-eight acres. Four of the siblings sold their inherited lots of land: Lot 2 in 1819, Richard Mackey of Alexandria to Wm. A.G. Dade (Prince William County (PWC) Deed Book (DB) 7, page 310); Lot 1 in 1820, Peggy Mackey to John Gibson, Jr. (DB 7, page 288); Lot 5 in 1821, John McGee [*sic*] (alias John Gibson) to Benjamin Dean (DB 7, page 523); and Lot 3 in 1822, George Mackey of Washington, DC, to Wm. A.G. Dade (DB 8, page 425). All of the purchasers, Dade, Gibson Jr., and Dean, were prominent white men and slaveholders. Mary Mackey, the sixth sibling, is lost in the record, her whereabouts and/or married name unknown. Sally (Mackey) Bates retained her share of the tract (Lot 4 or 6), but apparently there was trouble in the Bates family. In a final codicil dated July 1807, Gibson secured his bequest to Sally Bates, his only married heir: "I add as a Codicil this my wish and desire that that part of my Estate devised to Sally Mackey now Sally Bates, the wife of John Bates, be vested in my Executors aforesaid for the use and benefit of the said Sally and of her children exclusively."

[17] PWC Loose Papers, Book 109, page 108, Delinquent Tax List.

[18] Court commissioners Thornton and Williams to Henry Cole, 1832, PWC DB 16, page 84; Hiscon to Cole, DB 21, page 97. Schweninger cites the average rural black property in the Upper South region (including Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia) was $477. Schweninger, *Black Property Owners in the South,* 75.

[19] Floyd Tucker to Jesse Bates, PWC DB 23, page 360A. Jesse Bates was the son of Betsey Bates, and grandson of Cyrus Bates. Betsey Bates, born circa 1800, was the likely mother of William (b. 1822), Robert (b. 1831), Jesse (b. 1835), Richard (b. 1836), Mary (b. 1837), and Henry (b. 1841). Betsey Bates was listed as a single mother on the census from 1830 through 1870, and may have been the daughter of Cyrus Bates, who was listed with his own household in 1810 next to John and Sally (Mackey) Bates. John and Sally Bates were listed on the 1810 census with seven children, including likely Robert (b. 1795), Richard (b. circa 1807), Jesse (b. 1808), and Betsy (later Cole; b. 1812), who appear variously in the 1830 to 1860 censuses (two other children were probably females who married unknowns). The overlap of given names among the two Bates families implies that John and Cyrus Bates were probably brothers.

from Elizabeth C. Williams of San Francisco.[20] Other sales came from local men or their widows, who found their large landholdings impractical during the financial downturns of the 1870s. In 1876, Jesse Bates enlarged his farm to 138 acres through the purchase of three additional tracts from several white landowners, including former county judge John C. Weedon.[21]

Black purchasers often tenanted their land for many years before acquiring it. In 1872, John W. Chapman, a prominent landowner in the district, sold ten acres to Charles Burke, located on the Dumfries Road adjoining "Henry Coles corner."[22] Burke was probably already renting the small Chapman parcel in 1870 when the census listed him as a farm laborer in the Batestown area. In the 1870s, John (Jack) Thomas and his wife Mary (Bates) apparently tenanted a small tract adjoining Mary's brother Jesse Bates. Thomas and two of his sons finally purchased the thirty-one-acre farmstead from Edwin Nelson, the stepson of Weedon, in 1883.[23]

Another period of growth came in the 1880s and 1890s as the children of what were often very large families matured, married, and settled within the community to raise their own children. It may be that those who managed to assemble larger tracts of land, like Henry Cole and Jesse Bates, did so with later subdivision in mind. The division of Henry Cole's 166-acre property in 1882 among his nine heirs dramatically increased the number of Black landowners in the Batestown area (Figure 72). While Betsy Cole retained a larger, 75-acre dower lot, the remaining nine lots measured from 14.5 to 18.75 acres.[24]

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[20] PWC DB 29, page 105.

[21] Weedon to Bates, 1876, PWC DB 32, page 110A; Ella Dora Clark to Bates, 1876, PWC DB 32, page 111. The sale from the R.W. Clark heirs to Jesse Bates does not appear to be recorded, but may be the fifty-one acres fronting on the Dumfries Road later divided among six of his nine children (PWC Loose Papers, Book 1202, page 245). See PWC DB 34, page 427 for reference to the sale.

[22] PWC DB 29, page 102.

[23] PWC DB 34, page 427. Oddly, the 1860 census listed John Thomas as a landowner, while the 1870 census showed him as a renter. An 1876 deed to Jesse Bates (PWC DB 32, page 11) described his land on the east (north) side of the north fork of Quantico Run adjoining Jack Thomas; in 1912, "Jack Thomas, alias John Thomas, in his own right and as sole heir at law of John Thomas, Jr.," Mary (his wife), and Wileman Thomas sold the mineral rights on the property to the Cabin Branch Mining Company (DB 63, page 96A).

[24] PWC DB 34, page 481. Ten years later, in 1891, Thomas and Nancy (Cole) Williams sold her Lot 8 to Lawson Bates and John Tuell. PWC DB 41, page 195.

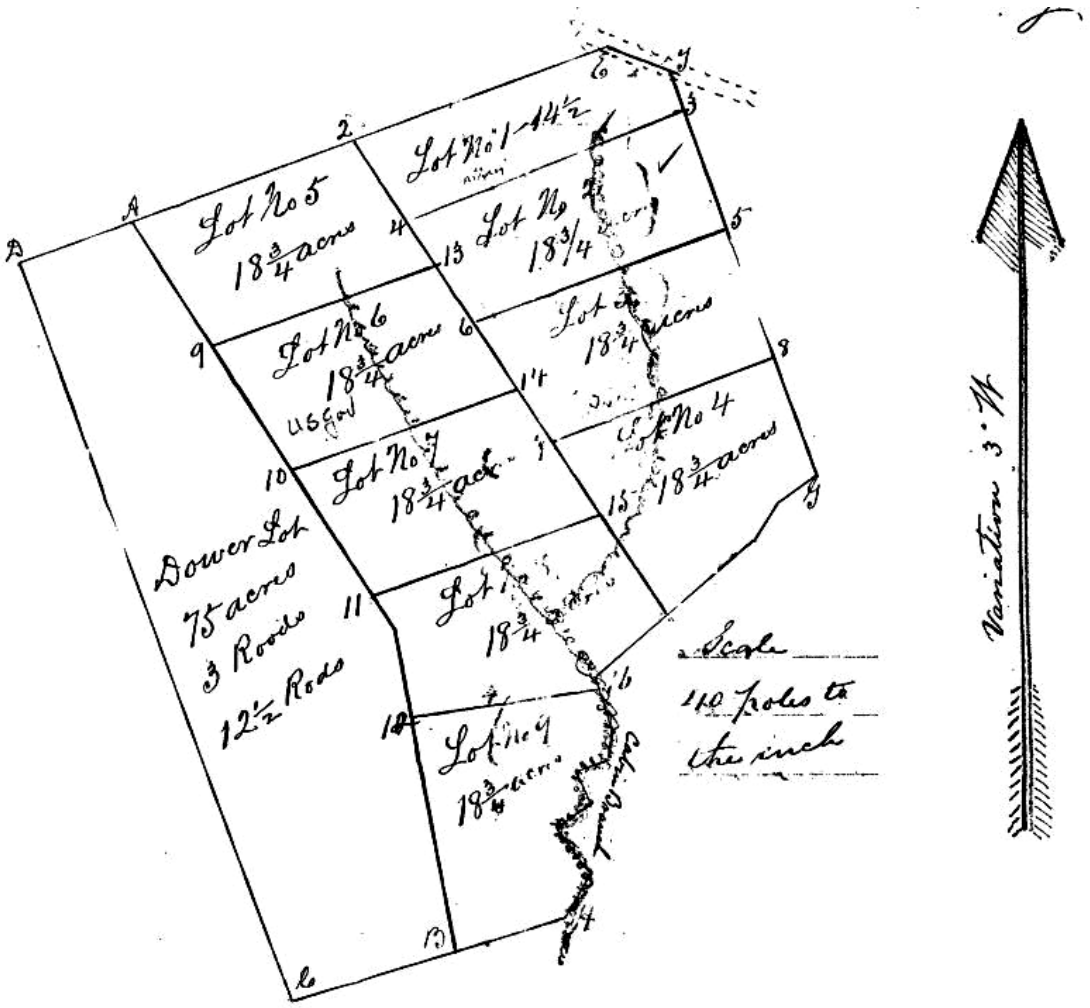


Figure 72: Plat of the Henry Cole Division
PWC DB 34, page 481

Similarly, when Jesse Bates died in 1878, he left his wife Phebe with nine children still at home on his 138-acre farm along Dumfries Road. In 1902, the heirs, who still owned the land jointly, sold the mineral and mining rights on part of the land to the Cabin Branch Mine. The remaining acreage was later divided among the nine heirs (Archie, Noah, Mary Johnson, Thomas, Robert, Jesse, Hezekiah, Fanny, and Thosby).[25] Two years before the final division, Jesse Bates Jr. had already declared a "homestead exemption" on his future six-and-a-half-acre inheritance, which included a two-story house valued at $1,000, two horses, three hogs, a wagon and buggy, farm equipment, and household furniture.[26]

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[25] Bates heirs to Louis F. Deterick (Cabin Branch Mine), PWC DB 50, page 319; Jesse Bates Division of Property, Loose Papers Book 1202, page 245.

[26] PWC DB 52, page 85.

Hickory Ridge Foundations and Growth through 1900

In 1850, fifty-year-old Oliver Alexander Williams was farming fifty-five improved acres of land, historically part of the same expansive John Tayloe plantation from which the Gibson/Mackey lots were carved. Williams's farm was located on the Gallows or Hickory Ridge above Quantico Creek, opposite the emerging Batestown settlement.[27] "Alexd" (Alexander) Williams, commonly known as Olley or Ollie, was described on the 1850 census as a "farmer" rather than a tenant, though he apparently did not yet own the land he was farming. Olley Williams was among the earliest free-Black residents of the Hickory Ridge community, a tenant cluster primarily composed of the Williams and Cole families on and around the Washington Norville (formerly Tayloe) plantation. The census taker in 1850 listed nine African American households in succession. Four were Williams family siblings (John, Thomas, Mary, and Zela [Zeal]), all tenants except John Williams, who owned land valued at $200. Thomas Cole, George Cole, Thornton and Sally (Bates) Kendall (her second husband), and Jesse Cole also headed tenant households, and finally, Alexander (Olley) Williams, was the "farmer."[28] Most had growing families, the largest being Olley and Betsy Williams' nine children.

The 1850 agriculture census showed that both Black tenants and landowners of Hickory Ridge had relatively large farms, with significant amounts of improved acreage. Olley Williams, probably a tenant, had one hundred acres total, with fifty-five improved acres; John Williams, who owned his land, had seventy-nine acres total, seventy of which were improved; Thomas Williams, also a tenant, had one hundred acres with fifty improved; and Mary Williams (later Mary Thomas), a tenant, had ninety acres with thirty improved. "Zellah" (Zeal) Williams was listed with zero land, but had livestock, made butter, and cultivated corn and oats, indicating perhaps a share tenancy. Ten years later, Olley Williams farmed sixty-three acres, which he owned according to the 1860 agriculture census. No deed was located for any of Olley Williams's land purchases, but later transactions indicate that the land was located on "Quantico Run."[29] It was this land and the land later purchased by Zeal Williams on which the Hickory Ridge community grew after the Civil War.

Like Batestown, sales from white property owners of land previously tenanted by the Black purchaser played an important role in the growth of Hickory Ridge. In 1869, Zeal Williams bought 110 acres from Edith A. (Cannon) Norville, the widow of Washington

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[27] Tayloe sold farms in 1795 to Daniel Carr (350 acres, "south side of the North fork of Quantico Run," extract in Loose Papers, 1026/436) and Luke Cannon (300 acres, "south side of the South fork of Quantico Run," extract in Loose Papers, 1026/436), which were later combined under Washington Norville (Bedell, *Few Know,* 89).

[28] Henry Cole was listed with fifty acres improved and twenty-six unimproved (recorded prior to his 1850 purchase of Lot 5).

[29] 1875, Ollie Williams to Thomas M. Williams, PWC DB 30, page 121.

Norville.[30] Beginning in 1873, George E. Williams, listed as a tenant on his father-in-law Olley Williams's farm in 1870, assembled his twenty-seven-acre tract on Ridge Road through purchases from his father Zeal Williams and white landowner John W. Chapman.[31]

The Hickory Ridge population expanded through the last decades of the nineteenth century, as the children of early residents became adults and began raising their own families. Some of the early larger farms were divided among the siblings, creating smaller farmsteads. In 1875, Olley Williams divided his farm between two of his children when he sold forty acres to his son Thomas M. Williams and, later the same year, sold the remaining tract to James Hammon (Hammond), who had likely recently married Olley's daughter Elizabeth.[32] Williams, who was nearly eighty years old by 1880, moved to live with his oldest son Olley A. Williams (Jr.) in the Rock Hill District of Stafford County.[33] Similarly, Zeal Williams began his subdivision before his death, selling a small tract to his son George E. Williams in 1873 (see above), while another son Andrew Williams remained a tenant on the family farm. After Zeal Williams's death in 1888, the subdivision of his farm was officially surveyed in 1889 (Figure 73). Lot 1, likely the home farm, was given to his daughter, Jane (Williams) Lewis, who was living with him in 1880. George E. Williams received Lot 3, part of which had already been conveyed to him in 1873, and Lot 4 was surveyed for Sarah (Williams) Tuel, who was by then a resident of Washington, DC, with her husband Moore Tuel. The survey plat showed Andrew William's thirty-five-acre Lot 2, on which he had likely been living for more than twenty years.[34] **Subdivisions were also granted to non-family-members. In 1888, George E. Williams sold all but his "home lot" to Martha Kendall.**[35] George and Martha Kendall were probably tenants on the Williams farm as early as 1880, when they were listed on the census beside George E. Williams.

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[30] PWC DB 27, page 272; Edith Norville was widow of Washington Norville and the daughter of Luke Cannon. She inherited Lot 3 in the division of Cannon's estate in 1838 (PWC Loose Papers 1026, page 436). Zeal Williams was listed on the 1860 census as a forty-three-year-old farmer, with his wife Catherine (Kendall, daughter of Thornton and Sallie [Bates] Kendall), with four children, George, Jane, Andrew, and Sarah.

[31] Zeal Williams to George E. Williams, 1873, PWC DB 29, page 381; John W. Chapman to George E. Williams, 1876, PWC DB 32, page 313. The land was part of the former Cannon/Norville estate. Chapman also owned and sold land in the Batestown area.

[32] Olley Williams to Thomas Williams, 1875, PWC DB 30, page 121, forty acres; Olley Williams to James Hammon, 1875, PWC DB 30, page 485, thirty-eight acres. By 1880, it appears that James Hammond's wife had passed away. Hammond was listed on the 1880 census in the Dumfries District as living with his fourteen-year-old daughter Elizabeth—the same name as Olley Williams's oldest daughter, who would have been thirty in 1870. Thomas M. Williams was married to Nancy Cole, daughter of Henry and Betsy (Bates) Cole.

[33] Olley Williams Sr. was deceased by 1881 when Hammon (Hammond) secured a mortgage on his thirty-eight acres, payable "to George E. Williams for the benefit of Olly Williams' heirs" (PWC DB 32, page 644).

[34] PWC DB 41, page 406.

[35] PWC DB 38, page 478. Williams sold the twenty-five acres purchased from John W. Chapman.

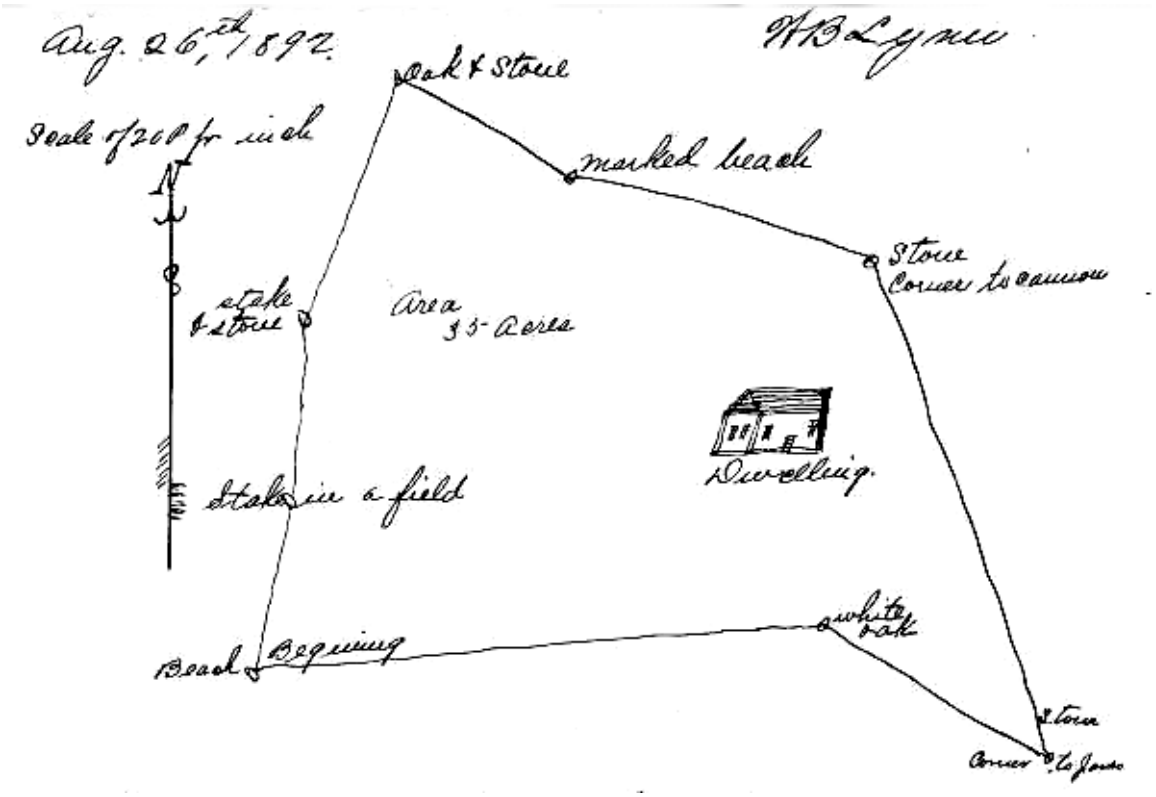


Figure 73: Plat of Andrew Williams tract
PWC DB 41, page 407.

Clearly, both Hickory Ridge and Batestown grew largely through kinship ties. But by 1900, numerous new African American surnames appeared in the census as the Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine, and the ensuing railroad attracted laborers to the area. Oscar Chinn came from Occoquan (there in 1880), Charles Taylor came from Fauquier County, and others may have come from tidewater counties. The majority of these new residents rented their homes or boarded with established Black families in the Hickory Ridge and Batestown communities. A few miners even purchased their homes. Still, the area remained largely agricultural, with nearly three quarters of African American landowners in the Dumfries District describing their occupation as "farmer" on the 1900 census.[36]

[36] Of the twenty-nine tenant households in the district, nineteen were headed by men occupied as miners. Thirty-one of the forty-two people boarding in households were also miners, while only six miners owned their home. Thirty-four of the fifty property owners were farmers.

Occupations

A search of the Freedmen's Bureau Alexandria District labor contracts did not reveal any that were implemented in the Dumfries District. However, there still might have been labor contracts between white employers and Black employees. In 1870, twenty-eight African Americans lived and worked in white households as domestic servants and laborers. John Williams, who worked in the Bausel household, was a long-term employee there, having been there since at least 1860 after apparently losing his land. The others were most often teenagers, whose salary likely helped their families in the district or elsewhere. This seems to be the case for twelve- and thirteen-year-olds Phillip and Margaret Tuell, who were both employed and boarded in white households in the Dumfries town where their mother Margaret lived (with no existing record of her occupation). A few of the live-in employees were older, ranging in age from forty-eight to eighty, who were likely enslaved prior to the war and possibly remained with their former enslavers as paid workers.

Not all who were employed as servants in the Dumfries District lived with their employer. Two of Henry and Betsy Cole's daughters, Julia (age forty) and Martha (age twenty-two), worked as domestic servants but continued to live on the family farm in the Batestown community. Another interesting exception on the 1870 census in the Dumfries District was twenty-seven-year-old George A. Washington, a Black laborer who lived in the household of Henry Fairfax. Fairfax was a twenty-two-year-old white laborer, who shared his household with other young white laborers in addition to Washington. It seems likely this group of young men was employed by their immediate neighbor (on the census), Edward M. Willis, a lumber merchant.

In the Dumfries District of 1870, African American women without exception occupied themselves with housekeeping, either in their own homes or as employed domestic servants. By far the majority of African American men living in the Hickory Ridge and Batestown communities, as well as the greater Dumfries District, were occupied as farmers or farm laborers. Only Samuel Marshall, a blacksmith, and Charles E. Porter, a boatman, identified their skill-specific occupations. Some who described themselves simply as "laborer," like George E. Williams and Jesse Bates, were probably occupied on their family farms but also hired out as laborers for cash.

By 1880, there were 334 African Americans living in the Dumfries District (including Dumfries town), thirty-seven of whom lived and worked in white households, most often listed as servants or occasionally as housekeepers or laborers. Women's occupations in 1880 were exclusively listed as either keeping house or working as a form of servant. Men's occupations remained focused on farming or unidentified labor. Three men, John Bell, Edward Henderson, and William Baits (Bates), were listed as "sailor," though they

were likely working on a fishing crew.[37] While Bell and Henderson lived in the Neabsco area east of the Hickory Ridge/Batestown communities, Baits appeared to be living in the Hickory Ridge area. Samuel Marshall, at age fifty-four, continued to work as a blacksmith, apparently without any assistants or apprentices.[38]



Figure 74: Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine Company Store, showing a gathering of Black miners
Courtesy NPS, Prince William Forest Park

[37] The "Instructions to Enumerators Concerning the Return of Occupations 1870, 1880, 1890, and 1900," gave the following instructions beginning in 1890: "For *fishermen* and *oystermen* describe the occupation as accurately as possible. Be careful to avoid the return of fisher-men on vessels as sailors. If they gain their living by fishing, they should be returned as 'fishermen,' and not as sailors." This admonition may have been in response to many reports of sailors in 1880 but few fishermen (https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/occupations/occupations-part-5.pdf).

[38] An 1875 Commissioner's Report detailed the shad seine operations on the Potomac River in Virginia, including one at Freestone Point, owned by Jacob Faunce, and one at High Point owned by "the John Gibson heirs." The Gibson heirs also owned the operation at Stony Point, with a boat running the Stony Point seine (9,600 feet long) that included three black cooks on its crew. United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries, *Report of the Commissioner, 1873–4 and 1874–5* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1876), 357, https://books.google.com/books?id=w7VUAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA355&lpg=PA355&dq=us+fish+commission+shad+hauls+on+stony+point+va&source=bl&ots=YtmBePonuC&sig=ACfU3U2yzW-mozjT72B978lS-fvktcCF-A&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwilsceOnJbqAhVDhHIEHazzA_AQ6AEwCXoECAoQAQ#v=onepage&q=us%20fish%20commission%20shad%20hauls%20on%20stony%20point%20va&f=false.

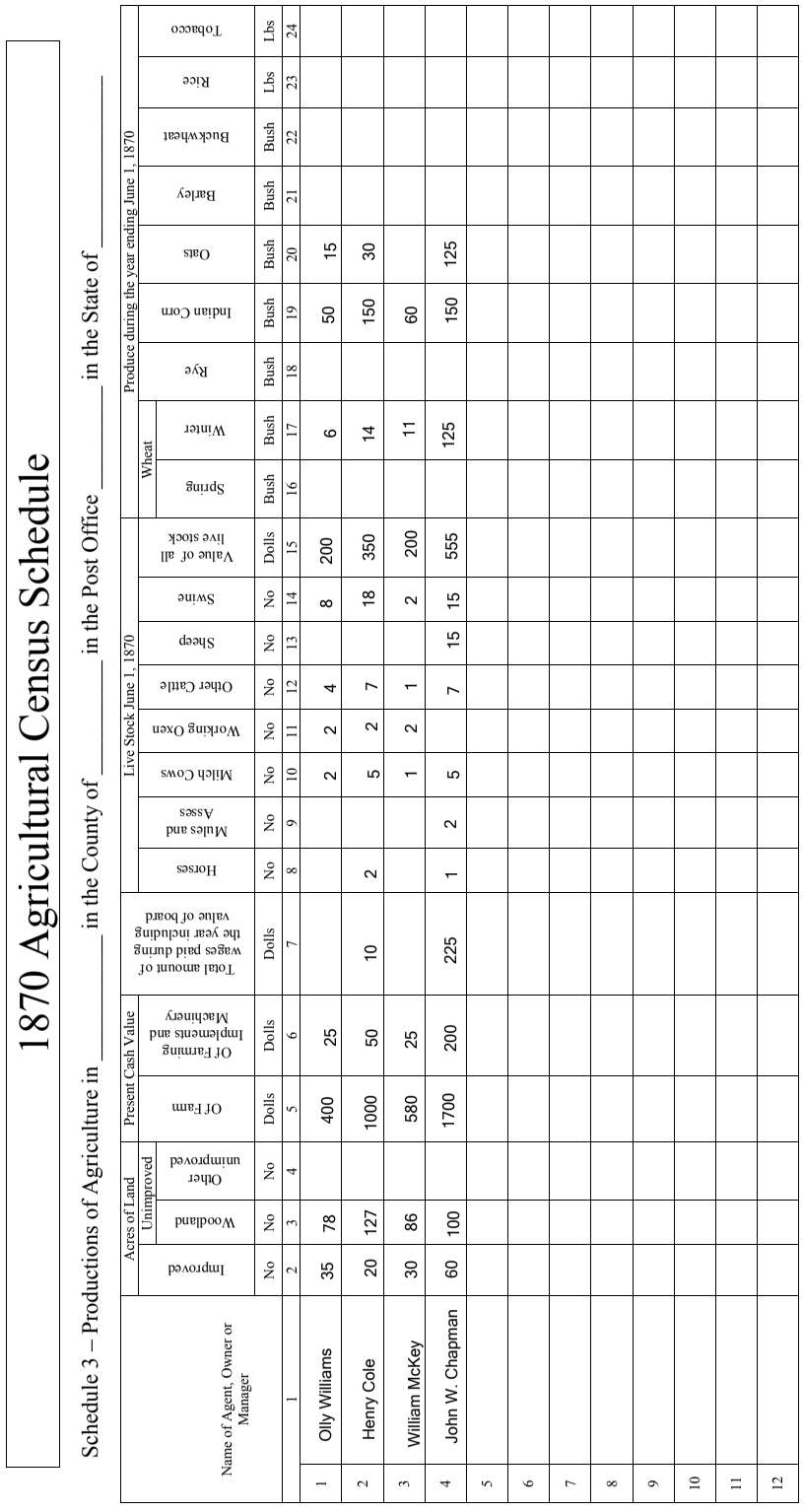
Twenty years later, the 1900 population census shows the employment landscape in the Hickory Ridge/Batestown area had changed, with more options for wage labor. While the number of African Americans in the Dumfries District (including town) had risen to 471 men, women, and children, domestic service declined to just fifteen working and living in white households. Women's occupations were listed only if they earned a wage for their work. Among the Hickory Ridge women in this category were Martha Kendall, who owned and operated a boarding house; Francis Burke, a "washerwoman"; and Ann Williams, who worked as a "miner." Working women in the Batestown area included Fanny Weller, who did "laundry," and Ann Morgan, who worked as a "railroad charwoman." While many male residents (fifty-eight) still worked in farming, sixty-eight were occupied as miners in the nearby Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine, which opened in 1889 (Figure 74). Three of those men described their jobs as "mining engineer." Ten men worked on the railroad—either the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad (RF&P) or the narrow-gauge line that ran from the mine to the docks at Possum Point where it joined the RF&P.[39] Seven men listed their occupation as "fisherman" in 1900, two of whom, George K. Davis and Esau Long, owned their home. Long lived next to Edward Henderson (sailor/fisherman in 1880), who now owned his own farm and boarded two other men working as fishermen. There was one preacher in 1900, Joseph T. Creek, a Native American born in Indian Territory who was boarding on the Mac McCoy farm (near William McKey, possibly an alternate spelling). One man worked in a sawmill, another worked in a restaurant, and sixteen men worked as day laborers. Thirty-four men listed their occupation specifically as "farmer," and all but two of them owned the land they worked; twenty-four men were farm laborers, many of them the sons of farmers.[40]

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[39] Ronald R. Turner, "American Agricultural Chemical Company & Cabin Branch Mining Company Workers, Dumfries, VA, 1910–1920," from "Sites & Structures," *Prince William County Virginia,* accessed October 11, 2019, https://www.pwcvirginia.com/sites-structures.htm.

[40] "Instructions to Enumerators Concerning the Return of Occupations 1870, 1880, 1890, and 1900" gave the following advice in 1900: "Do not confuse a *farmer* with a *farm laborer.* If a person works on a farm for a stated wage, even though he may be a son or other relative of the person who conducts the farm, he should be entered as a farm laborer, and not as a farmer. On the other hand, if a person owns or rents a farm, or operates it with or for another person, for a fixed share of the products, he should be entered as a *farmer,* and not as a farm laborer. Enter the older children of a farmer (who work on the farm) as farm laborers, except when a father and son (or sons) jointly operate the farm for fixed shares of the product."

Farm Production



1870 Agricultural Census Schedule

Schedule 3 – Productions of Agriculture in _____ in the County of _____ in the Post Office _____ in the State of _____

	Name of Agent, Owner or Manager	Acres of Land: Improved	Acres of Land: Unimproved: Woodland	Acres of Land: Unimproved: Other unimproved	Present Cash Value: Of Farm	Present Cash Value: Of Farming Implements and Machinery	Total amount of wages paid during the year including value of board	Live Stock June 1, 1870: Horses	Live Stock June 1, 1870: Mules and Asses	Live Stock June 1, 1870: Milch Cows	Live Stock June 1, 1870: Working Oxen	Live Stock June 1, 1870: Other Cattle	Live Stock June 1, 1870: Sheep	Live Stock June 1, 1870: Swine	Live Stock June 1, 1870: Value of all live stock	Produce during the year ending June 1, 1870: Wheat: Spring	Produce during the year ending June 1, 1870: Wheat: Winter	Produce during the year ending June 1, 1870: Rye	Produce during the year ending June 1, 1870: Indian Corn	Produce during the year ending June 1, 1870: Oats	Produce during the year ending June 1, 1870: Barley	Produce during the year ending June 1, 1870: Buckwheat	Produce during the year ending June 1, 1870: Rice	Produce during the year ending June 1, 1870: Tobacco
	1	No	No	No	Dolls	Dolls	Dolls	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Dolls	Bush	Bush	Bush	Bush	Bush	Bush	Bush	Bush	Lbs
		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1	Olly Williams	35	78		400	25				2	2	4		8	200		6		50	15				
2	Henry Cole	20	127		1000	50	10	2		5	2	7		18	350		14		150	30				
3	William McKey	30	86		580	25				1	2	1		2	200		11		60					
4	John W. Chapman	60	100		1700	200	225	1	2	5		7	15	15	555		125		150	125				
5																								
6																								
7																								
8																								
9																								
10																								
11																								
12																								

National Archives and Records Administration NARA's web site is www.archives.gov NA Form 14131f (6/03)

Figure 75: 1870 census form showing record for Williams, Cole, and McKey

The farm production detailed by the agriculture schedule of the 1870 census was limited to only those farms producing more than $500 worth of farm products. The farms of Olley Williams, Henry Cole, and William McKey were the only Black-owned farms in the Dumfries District that reached the $500 threshold and were therefore listed (Figure 75). The census, which enumerated the 1869 growing season (ending June 1, 1870), showed the three farms as having twenty to thirty-five acres "improved" for pasture, wheat, corn, and oat cultivation, while the remaining acreage remained wooded. Williams produced as much as a ton of hay, while McKey cultivated thirty bushels of Irish potatoes. All three also had livestock, including "milch" (or dairy) cows, cattle, and swine. Both Williams and Cole produced butter, but only Cole appears to have had enough other livestock for commercial production. Cole, whose farm was significantly higher in value, also showed higher yields from fewer cultivated acres. He was also the only Black farmer who paid wages in 1869, likely for one farm hand (son James E. Cole). The ten dollars he paid out was typical of the amount paid a farm laborer for one year, according to the Freedmen's Bureau labor contracts. All three men used oxen to work their fields, while only Cole owned horses.[41]

These farm statistics indicate that the Williams and McKey farms were likely only producing enough grains to feed their livestock, and enough livestock and other produce to perhaps feed their families. Henry Cole may have been able to sell some of his grain products, along with some dairy products and pork, in addition to feeding his family. By comparison, John W. Chapman, whose farm adjoined that of Henry Cole, had sixty acres in production with significantly higher yields of wheat and oats. Chapman paid out $200 in wages for the year, likely employing many of the nearby Black farm laborers.

By 1880, production on the small Black-owned farms was improving, though still largely subsistence-oriented. Betsy Cole, Henry's widow, was listed with fifty acres tilled or in pasture, with eighteen in active cultivation. She had two horses, seven swine, twenty-three poultry producing one hundred dozen eggs per year, and two dairy cows producing twenty-five pounds of butter annually. Cereal grains produced on the Cole farm included 5 bushels of buckwheat, 125 bushels of corn, 15 bushels of oats, 8 bushels of rye, and 23 bushels of wheat. The farm additionally produced 25 bushels of potatoes and 100 bushels of apples from 20 trees. With the exception of the eggs and apples (which may have gone to cider), it appears that the Cole farm was producing at subsistence levels by 1880.

William McKey's farm also had fifty acres tilled or in pasture, like the Cole farm, producing largely for subsistence stores. His two dairy cows produced twenty-five pounds of butter; he also had seven hogs and eight hens producing fifteen dozen eggs annually. The McKey farm appears to have had only seventeen acres under cultivation, producing 100 bushels of corn, twenty bushels of oats, and fifteen bushels of wheat on six acres. He

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[41] "US, Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850–1880" (online database; Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2010), accessed October 7, 2019, https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/nonpopcensus.

produced two bushels of dry beans (pulse) and fifty bushels of apples from ten trees. Similarly, Zeal Williams reported twenty-three acres tilled or in pasture, with two dairy cows producing fifty pounds of butter annually, four cattle, four swine, and twelve chickens producing fifty dozen eggs a year. His eleven cultivated acres produced fifty bushels of corn, twelve bushels of oats, and twelve of wheat. Interestingly, his sons George and Andrew Williams' smaller farms outproduced their father on corn, with George's five acres producing one hundred bushels and Andrew's three acres producing thirty-five bushels.

Alexander Cole, who farmed fifty improved acres on shares (probably closer to Neabsco), reported all of his production in corn and wheat. Cole produced fifteen bushels of corn and eighteen bushels of wheat, with an estimated value of fifty dollars for the year (1879), seemingly barely enough to maintain a living for his family of five. His neighbor George Long was renting a farm including twenty-five improved acres, on which he apparently produced nothing except four swine and six poultry. According to the population census record, George Long and two of his "adopted" sons, Tasker and Esau (Fisher), also worked as laborers to support the large family.

The small farms of the Hickory Ridge and Batestown areas generally produced subsistence stores with perhaps some surplus of butter, eggs, grain, or apples for sale. Though kitchen gardens were not recorded on the agriculture schedules, it is likely that every farm or household had one. Non-farm items were available from several general merchandise establishments. In a partnership that crossed the north fork valley, John (Jack) Thomas and George E. Williams established a store as early as 1873 when they were assessed for a school tax by the county on $50 in "stock goods." The partnership lasted at least through 1876, but by 1887 they were each taxed separately, indicating they likely had separate establishments.[42] In 1898, Jesse Bates was assessed for a "Retail Tobacco" license.[43] Then, in May 1899, Bates applied to operate an Ordinary "at his Store House near Cabin Branch Mine," licensed and taxed by the county.[44] Another source states that W.W. Payne operated a store in Hickory Ridge, though that may have been during the early decades of the twentieth century.[45]

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[42] PWC Loose Papers Book 1026, page 361; Loose Papers Book 1074, page 223.

[43] PWC Loose Papers Book 1090, page 66.

[44] PWC Clerks Loose Papers, Vol. IV, 320.

[45] "Hickory Ridge, Joplin & Batestown," *Prince William Forest Park Virginia,* accessed October 11, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/prwi/learn/historyculture/hickory-ridge-joplin-and-batestown.htm.

Churches

Little Union Baptist Church

There appear to have been no African American church buildings in the Dumfries District through the 1870s, though it is likely that mission congregations did exist. An informal history of the Little Union Baptist Church, later located in the Batestown area, states that the people of the area attended the Neabsco Baptist Church, about five miles east of Batestown or the Mount Zion Baptist Church near Joplin, about two miles south of Hickory Ridge.[46]

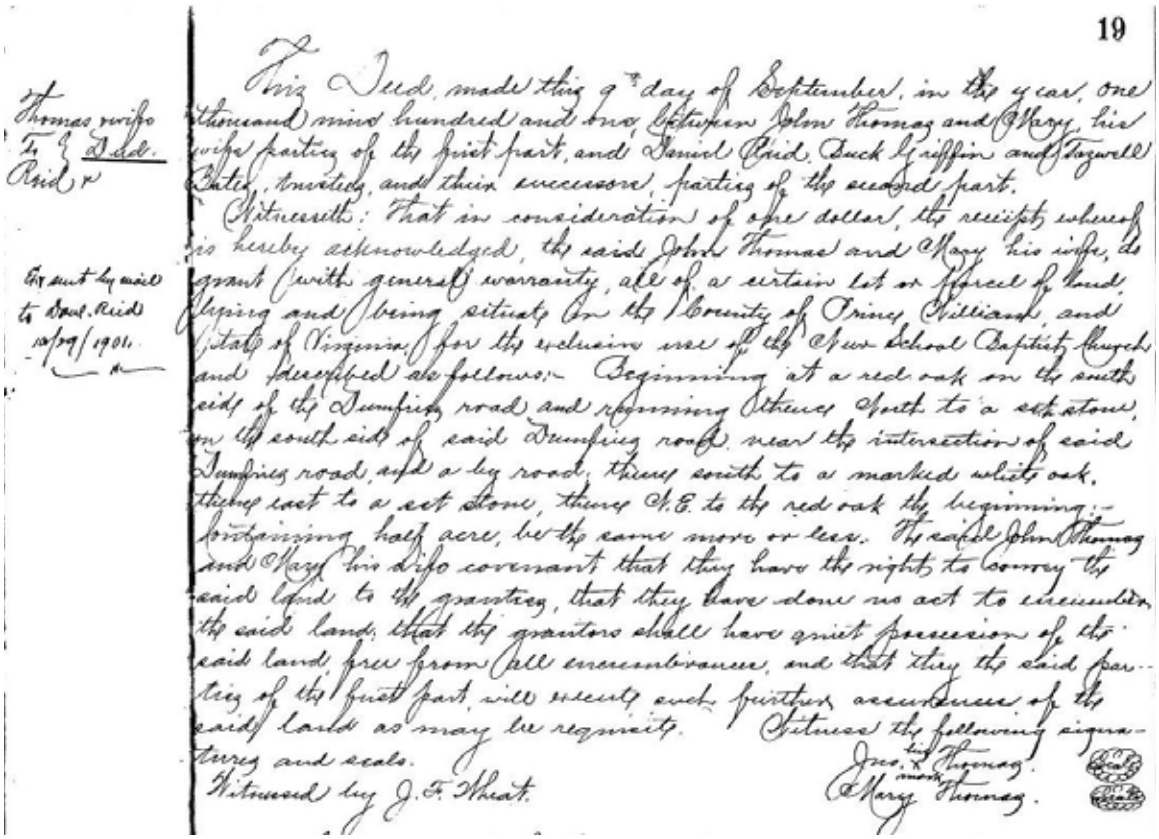


Figure 76: Neabsco Baptist Church, built in 1903
Courtesy Neabsco Baptist Church

The Neabsco Baptist Church began as a mission congregation of the Third Baptist Church of Alexandria about 1866. The Neabsco congregation was not officially housed until 1881, when Richard H. Shepherd sold the land for the "New School Baptist Church"

[46] "History of Little Union Baptist Church," *Little Union Gazette,* November 2019, accessed January 6, 2021, https://s3.amazonaws.com/media.cloversites.com/48/484ff1ca-07a1-4d71-8f6d-ad8d0d5e140a/documents/November_2019.pdf.

to Rev. John Bell and church trustees Charles Brink, Reuben Jackson, Charles W. Taylor, and Jackson Taylor. The church, which reportedly served also as a school, was constructed by George W. Thomas, a carpenter and member of the congregation.[47] It was likely sometime after the Neabsco church was built (1881) that a new mission congregation was formed in the Batestown area. In 1901, John (Jack) and Mary Thomas donated a half acre of land on Mine Road (Batestown Road) to the trustees of the "New School Baptist Church," including Daniel Reid, Buck Griffin, and Tazwell Bates (Figure 77). The church was renamed Little Union Baptist Church when the building was completed in 1903 (Figure 78).[48]



19

This Deed, made this 9th day of September, in the year one thousand nine hundred and two, between John Thomas and Mary, his wife, parties of the first part, and Daniel Reid, Buck Griffin and Tazwell Bates, trustees, and their successors, parties of the second part.

Witnesseth: That in consideration of one dollar, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, the said John Thomas and Mary his wife, do grant (with general warranty) all of a certain lot or parcel of land, lying and being situate in the County of Prince William, and State of Virginia, for the exclusive use of the New School Baptist Church and described as follows:- Beginning at a red oak on the south side of the Dumfries road and running thence South to a stone, on the south side of said Dumfries road, near the intersection of said Dumfries road, and a log road, thence south to a marked white oak, thence east to a set stone, thence N.E. to the red oak the beginning:- containing half acre, be the same more or less. The said John Thomas and Mary his wife covenant that they have the right to convey the said land to the grantees, that they have done no act to encumber the said land, that the grantees shall have quiet possession of the said land free from all encumbrances, and that they the said parties of the first part will execute such further assurance of the said land as may be required. Witness the following signatures and seals.

Witnessed by J. F. Wheat.

John T. Thomas (mark)

Mary Thomas

This deed by mail to Daniel Reid 10/09/1901

Figure 77: Thomas to Little Union Trustees deed
PWC DB 50, page 19

[47] "History of Neabsco Baptist Church," *Neabsco Baptist Church,* accessed September 20, 2019, https://neabscobaptist.org/history; PWC DB 33, page 143. The name "New School Baptist Church" refers to the sect of Baptists who split from the "Old School" Baptists, also known as Primitive Baptists, in the 1820s.

[48] PWC DB 50, page 19.

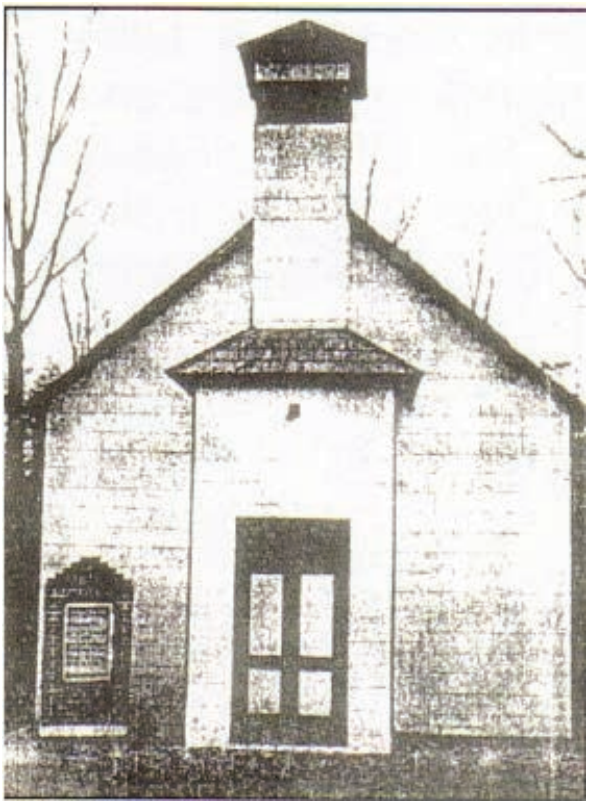


Figure 78: Little Union Baptist Church, after 1903
Courtesy Little Union Baptist Church

Mount Zion Baptist Church

The Mount Zion Baptist congregation reportedly constructed their first edifice in 1867 in the Rock Hill District of Stafford County, about fifteen miles southwest of Dumfries. Among the early members of the Rock Hill Mount Zion Baptist Church was Ollie (Alexander) Williams, son of Olley Williams, and his wife Sallie. According to the church history, around 1873 the membership split: "After years of on-going arguments between church factions, the first church building was mysteriously destroyed by fire. The membership split because they could not agree on a location in Stafford County to rebuild. Court arbitration named the new church First Mount Zion Baptist Church. After the split, Reverend Jacob Byrd remained as Pastor of First Mount Zion Baptist Church."[49] The other half of the split congregation, which kept the name Mount Zion Baptist Church, apparently

[49] "History," *First Mount Zion Baptist Church,* accessed September 20, 2019, https://firstmountzionbc.org/fmzbc-history. In 1880, Jacob Bird was still in Stafford County, listed as a "Farmer & Preacher."

moved to a location near Joplin in the Dumfries District after 1873. Sometime around 1900, the First Mount Zion Baptist Church moved from Stafford County to near Quantico. Members included Thomas and George E. Williams.[50]



Figure 79: First Mount Zion Baptist Church Members, circa 1900:
First Row: Samuel Bell, Beulah Grayson, Lewis Butler, Manora Grayson, Luch Grayson, Morgan Washington.
Second Row: James Minor, Manora Tuell, Marion Johnson, Margaret Grayson, Nobel Hill.
Third Row: Judith Toles, Lizzie Washington, Margaret Butler, Sarah Butler, Louisa Willis.
Fourth Row: Anna Washington, George Williams, James Butler, Oscar Butler, Peter Willis, Frank Grayson.
Courtesy First Mount Zion Baptist Church

[50] No church history could be located for the Mount Zion Baptist Church (now in Triangle, VA). "History," *First Mount Zion Baptist Church*. The church history notes that "[o]n June 27, 1925, George and Annie Washington deeded a $10.00 parcel of land to the trustees of First Mount Zion Baptist Church (Thomas E. Williams, George E. Williams, Hugh F. Jennings, and D. O. Butler) to be used solely as a cemetery." Presumably a church was already in place nearby before 1925. In 1947, the church property was purchased by the federal government as part of the Quantico Marine Base (only the cemetery remains intact). Some members rejoined the Mount Zion Baptist Church near Joplin (now in Triangle, VA). The new First Mount Zion Baptist Church was completed on Route 234 (Dumfries Road) in 1949 and replaced in 1981.

Schools

Freedmen's Bureau records for Prince William County show only one school in operation for the whole county from October 1867 through February 1869, when the records cease. The lone school was located in Manassas.[51] In December 1868, Sub-Assistant Commissioner W.C. Chase filed a report identifying the strong potential for a new school near Occoquan, just twelve miles from Dumfries. Chase noted there were as many as forty students ready to attend the school and that "they have already partly built a School House." Finally, Chase stated that a night school for adults was also needed and that "teachers of their own color. . .could organize schools in most locations by little exertion."[52] It is not known if this or any other Prince William County Freedmen's Bureau schools were established, as no other reports were found and reference to Prince William County (Manassas school) in the district superintendent summary reports ended in February 1869.

In 1869, Virginia passed a new state constitution, a requirement for Reconstruction and re-admittance into the Union. It provided for free public schools beginning in 1870, although the focus would be primarily on white schools. The Bureau anticipated the impending change in Virginia, its assistants and commissioners actively encouraging African Americans in their districts to take more responsibility for their educational facilities. In his October 1868 report, Assistant W.C. Chase noted that he was "constantly informing them that they will soon have to support their own schools." Chase added that education of African Americans ("and Poor Whites") "is barely tolerated" among the residents of his division, "and would not be if it were not from fear of punishment." Thus, during the 1870–71 school year in Prince William County, only five African American schools were established across the six districts, with two of those located in Manassas. The Dumfries District had one "colored" school, likely located in the town of Dumfries. The Dumfries school had thirty-two students enrolled, just over 50 percent of the estimated

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[51] "Virginia, Freedmen's Bureau Field Office Records, 1865–1872 / Alexandria Superintendent / Roll 50, School Reports, Apr 1867–Mar 1869," Image 108, 187, 247, 307, 337, 501, 585, 633, 731, 877–78, list of schools October 1868, 887–88, Nov. 1868 summary, *FamilySearch,* accessed October 8, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-6QBL-1W?wc=9LMP-L29%3A1078510502%2C1078511901&cc=1596147. See also "Records of the Field Offices for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872," Series, "Subordinate Field Offices," *National Museum of African American History and Culture,* accessed October 8, 2019, https://edan.si.edu/slideshow/viewer/?eadrefid=NMAAHC.FB.M1913_ref152.

[52] "Virginia, Freedmen's Bureau Field Office Records, 1865–1872 / Alexandria Superintendent / Roll 50, School Reports, Apr 1867–Mar 1869," Image 946, Dec. 1868, *FamilySearch,* accessed October 8, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-6QBL-1W?wc=9LMP-29%3A1078510502%2C1078511901&cc=1596147.

sixty school-aged Black children in the district.[53] In 1873, there were six Black schools operating in Prince William County, and by 1880 there were nine schools, though still only one school in the Dumfries District.

Although there was only one county-run African American school in the Dumfries District prior to 1889, it appears that some kind of school was operating in the rural Cabin Branch area by the late 1870s. As noted by Freedmen's Bureau official W.C. Chase in 1869, there were already adults in the area who were capable of teaching at least fundamental subjects. According to the 1880 census in the Dumfries District, twenty-eight adults were noted as able to read and/or write. Among those were George E., Thomas, and Andrew Williams (sons of Zeal Williams); Betsy (Bates) Cole; and Mary (Bates) Thomas. Mary Thomas, who is said to have written letters for people in her husband's store, was also remembered as a healer and midwife.[54] Given the apparent lack of any nearby school (or church) buildings through the 1870s, it is possible the Thomas store or home was used.[55] By 1880, the district had a resident school teacher, George Simes ("mulatto," age twenty-four), who lived in the Batestown area in the home of Thomas Brown.[56]

In 1889, the county School Board constructed a schoolhouse on the east side of Mine Road in the Batestown area, called Cabin Branch or Clarkson School.[57] Children from Hickory Ridge also attended the school. By 1900, a third of adults—many of them from the first generation of children educated following the Civil War—could at least read and some could write as well. Only one-third of the district's rural Black children were attending school, according to the 1900 census, while all Black children within the town of Dumfries were in school. Clearly, limited access to schools in the rural district remained a problem in the community.

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[53] *First Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Richmond: C.A. Schaffter, Supt of Public Printing, 1871), 168 and 184, *HathiTrust Digital Library,* https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000640946. Enrollment in the two white schools in the Dumfries District totaled 103 students, 49 percent of the total eligible white student population. The various districts in the county each had a district school board with authority over schools in the district, but were under the overarching authority of the County School Board. Dumfries Magisterial District school board records could not be located.

[54] "History," *Little Union Baptist Church,* accessed September 18, 2019, http://www.little-union.org/about-us/history.

[55] The Prince William Forest Park website notes that the Odd Fellows Hall was used as a school, however no date for construction of the hall has been found.

[56] Seven of the eight children actively "attending school" at the time of the 1880 census were in the John Thomas, James Davis, and William McKey households, listed on the same page as teacher George Simes. The thirty children who had "attended school" within the census year all appeared to be in the Hickory Ridge area and other scattered areas.

[57] Ronald Ray Turner, "The Old Cabin Branch School/Clarkson School," citing Lucy Walsh Phinney, *Yesterday's Schools,* "Sites & Structures," *Prince William County Virginia,* accessed October 11, 2019, https://www.pwcvirginia.com/sites-structures.htm; *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* (1889), 156, *HathiTrust Digital Library,* https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000640946.

Benevolent Societies

The African American men of the Hickory Ridge and Batestown area formed their own Odd Fellows Lodge (date unknown), under the auspices of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows in America, also known as the Black Odd Fellows.[58] The lodge building, built in the early twentieth century, was located on the Hickory Ridge side of Quantico Creek and served as a community gathering place. It reportedly housed a church as well as the Hickory Ridge School from the 1920s through 1936, when the students were consolidated back into the Cabin Branch (Clarkson) School.[59] The Odd Fellows were a service organization dedicated to supporting the poor and infirm, education, and "burial of the dead" in and around their community.

Another African American fraternal organization that appeared in the area was the Grand Fountain United Order of True Reformers (GFUOTR), initially chartered in Richmond, Virginia, in 1881. The organization offered a number of financial services to African Americans, including life insurance policies.[60] In the Dumfries District town of Potomac City, James H. Daggs purchased a life insurance policy valued at $500 in November 1889 (Figure 80). Daggs named his eight children, including Mary (Daggs) Bates, wife of Jesse Bates Jr., as beneficiaries. Daggs died the following year, and the heirs were forced to take the GFUOTR to Prince William County Court to obtain the insurance payoff.[61] Despite the Daggs family troubles, benevolent organizations such as the Grand Fountain United Order of True Reformers and the Odd Fellows were central to the African American culture of mutual support that was shaped through the trials of enslavement.

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[58] The Cabin Branch area Black Odd Fellows lodge does not appear in the 1902 *Official History and Manual of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows in America,"* by Charles Brooks, indicating the lodge likely formed after 1902.

[59] "Hickory Ridge, Joplin & Batestown," *Prince William Forest Park,* accessed October 11, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/prwi/learn/historyculture/hickory-ridge-joplin-and-batestown.htm; Lucy Walter Phinney, *Yesterday's Schools, 36.*

[60] Donna Tyler Hollie, "Grand Fountain of the United Order of True Reformers," *Encyclopedia Virginia, Virginia Humanities,* accessed October 11, 2019, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Grand_Fountain_of_the_United_Order_of_True_Reformers.

[61] PWC Loose Papers, Book 1033, page 191.



GRAND FOUNTAIN

United Order of True Reformers.

Class E No. 00 Circle No. 72

CERTIFICATE.

This Certificate certifies, That J. H. Daggs. of Potomac City State of Virginia is a member of Class E of the Endowment of the aforesaid Association, subject to the laws, rules and regulations of the same, which are contained in the application, which is the basis of this contract, as if it were present in this certificate.

Therefore, We promise to pay to the heirs, assigns or relatives of the deceased above named the whole assessment of the members of Class E, not exceeding $5000, which is the full face value of this Certificate; upon payment of said assessments or face value, the holder of this Certificate shall surrender it to the Association and release the Association from further obligations.

We further Agree, That the holder of this Certificate shall be an equal share-holder in the dividends or property of the Class Endowment Department of this Association, so long as said person is a member.

The holder of this Certificate is subject to the following conditions, requirements, and stipulations:

1st. To exempt the Association from the responsibility of death caused by war or rioting.
2d. Should death occur from epidemic of any kind, hold the Association responsible for one-tenth of the amount promised.
3d. Should death occur from marine explosions, underground work, or railroad accidents, wherein there is more than one person killed, hold the Association responsible for one-fourth of the assessments of the membership, or the face value of this Certificate.
4th. The failure to pay an assessment or quarterage, after thirty days' notice, shall cause this Certificate to become null and void and forfeit all claims on the Association.

Granted under the Seal of the Grand Fountain of the United Order of True Reformers this 1st day of Nov. 1889, at Richmond, State of Virginia.

Caused to be signed, Wm. H. Brown G. W. M.
Wm. P. Burrell G. W. Sec.

I, J. H. Daggs do hereby decree and sign all my claim above mentioned in this Certificate or Policy, at my death, to my Children.

Done at Potomac City Va., this 14 day of May. A. D. 1890

J. H. Daggs.

Figure 80: 1890 Grand Fountain certificate
PWC Loose Papers, Bk 1033, page 191

Civic Engagement

While the people of the Hickory Ridge and Batestown area communities were largely self-sufficient, they did participate in civic activities—to the extent that they were permitted in post–Civil War Virginia. In May 1869, during the brief reign of the Radical Republicans in Virginia, the newly appointed magistrate in the Dumfries District (District 1), Harvey Hyde, named six African American men to serve as jurors. The men included Henry Cole, Daniel Cole, Albert Cole, Jesse Bates, Robert Williams, and John Williams. One local white commentator described Harvey Hyde as a northern carpetbagger, a Union veteran, and a "preacher to the heathen."[62] The following month, Jesse Bates was appointed to the voter registration board for the district, along with Harvey Hyde and "a white Radical" named Verplanek. After complaining loudly about the carpetbagger preacher Hyde, the correspondent to the *Alexandria Gazette* noted that "Jesse Bates, the colored member of the board…is the only gentleman of the party."[63]

Voting rights were given to African American men in Virginia with the new constitution of 1869. In the 1870 census, thirty-three men aged twenty-one or older were eligible to vote. Twenty-nine African American residents of the Dumfries District, both freeholders (landowners) and nonfreeholders, voted in 1877 on "the Subscription to the Potomac and Manassas Rail Road Company…in the County of Prince William."[64] Though the district came out strongly in favor of the railroad, the county initiative was defeated.

African American residents actively participated in petitioning the county government as well. In 1888, Black residents in the Dumfries District signed two petitions: One was to add a road just over the district line in the Coles District. The other was a citizen's request for a referendum on whether to require "Liquor or no Liquor license" in the district. Signers to the referendum petition included Jesse Bates, William McKey, George E. Williams, John (Jack) Thomas, and numerous other members of the Bates and Williams families.[65] The referendum apparently did come to a vote which resulted in the affirmative for requiring liquor licenses. As a result, Jesse Bates paid $100 in 1899 and 1900 to obtain a liquor license for his Ordinary at "Cabin Branch."[66]

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[62] "Letter from Prince William County," *Alexandria Gazette,* May 6 and June 23, 1869, http://www.pwcvirginia.com/documents/PWC1865-1875NewspaperTranscripts.pdf, 50–51, 59.

[63] "Letter from Prince William County," *Alexandria Gazette,* June 23, 1869, http://www.pwcvirginia.com/documents/PWC1865-1875NewspaperTranscripts.pdf, 59.

[64] PWC Loose Papers, Book 1074, page 70.

[65] PWC Loose Papers, Book 1100, page 443.

[66] PWC Loose Papers, Book 1090, page 50, and Book 1090, page 66.

Others engaged in more mundane civic tasks. As early as 1870, both Zeal Williams and George Williams provided a cart and oxen to the appointed county road surveyor, for which each was paid $2.50 per day.[67] In 1877, Jack Thomas and Jesse Bates, both "freeholders" (landowners), were appointed by the County Court to appraise two stray hogs that wandered onto Zeal Williams's property.[68] Following the death of Betsy (Elizabeth) Cole, George Williams, Andrew Williams, and William McKey were appointed to appraise her personal property.[69]

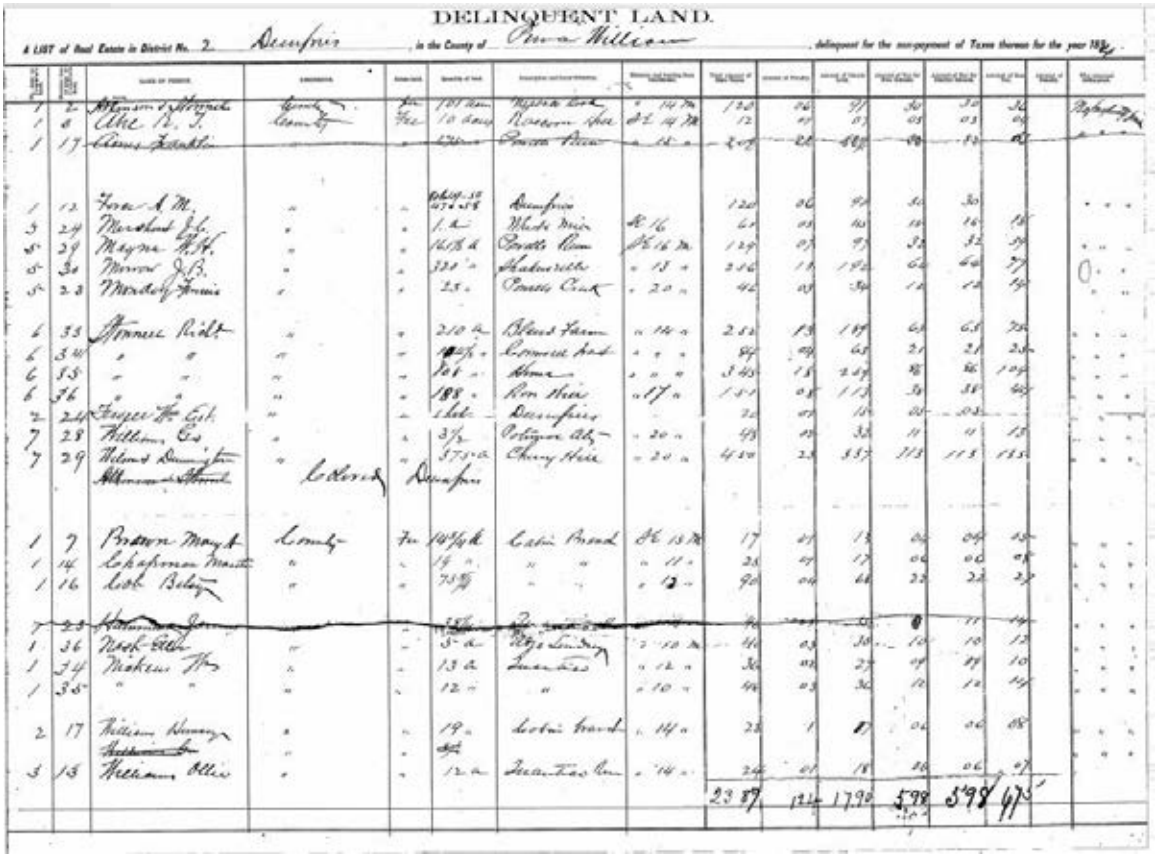

DELINQUENT LAND.

Figure 81: Delinquent Land, Dumfries, 1895
PWC Loose Papers Bk 1003, page 343

Landowners were assessed property taxes but often struggled with payment (Figure 81). In 1895, the list of delinquent "Colored" landowners in the Dumfries District included Mary A. Brown, Martin Chapman, Betsy Cole, and Hunsey(?) Williams on Cabin Branch,

[67] PWC Loose Papers, Book 1013, page 125.

[68] PWC Loose Papers, Book 1050, page 143.

[69] PWC Loose Papers, Book 1217, page 141.

along with James Hammond, Thomas Nickens, and Ollie (Olley) Williams on "Quantico Run."[70] The acreage amounts shown on this list range mostly between twelve to nineteen acres, probably more common than the large acreages owned by the Cole, Bates, and Williams families. That more of these small farms appear in the delinquent list likely speaks to the difficulty of raising cash for taxes with minimal acreage.

Justice

Available county court records show that African Americans in the Dumfries District were deposed as witnesses to alleged crimes; provided security for friends in need; and faced indictments for debts, assaults, and even murder.[71] After the radical year of 1869, there is no indication, however, that African American men were called for jury duty again. Thus any Black Prince William County residents accused of a crime would have likely faced an all-white jury and certainly a white judge.

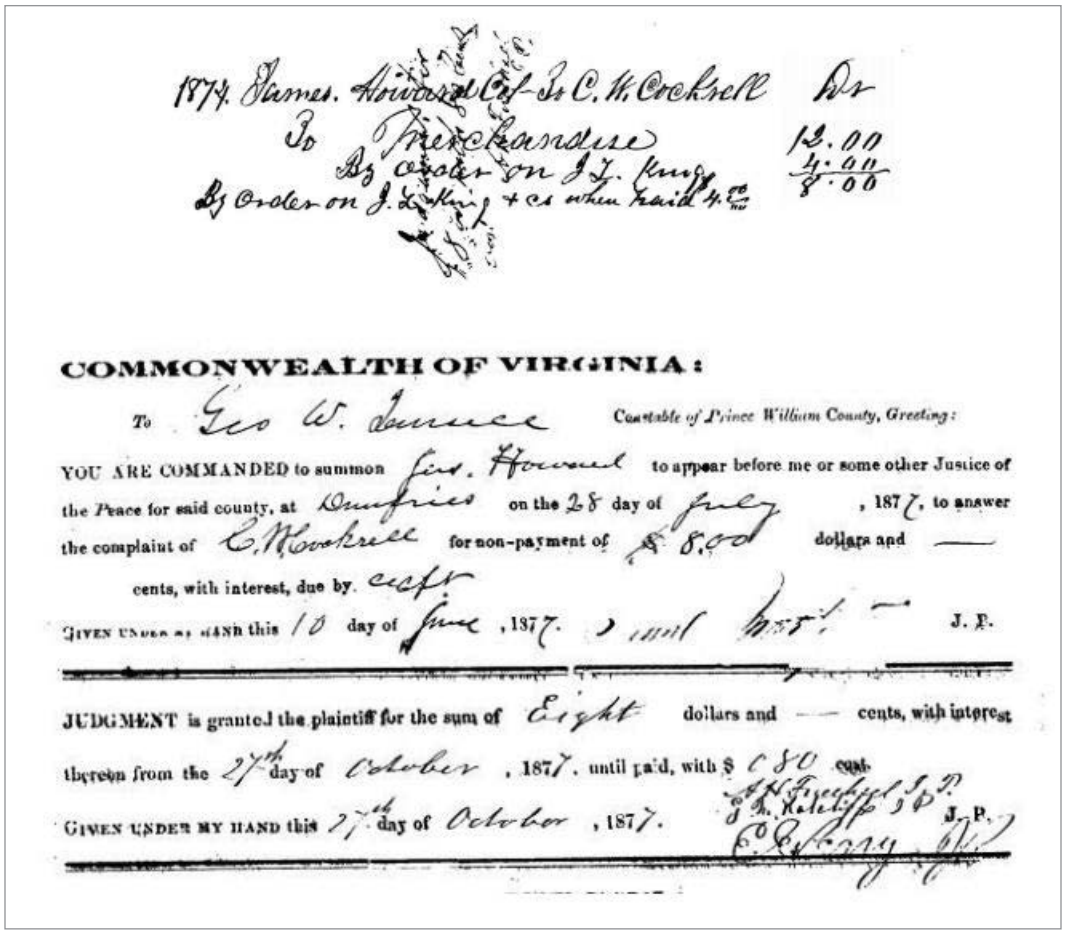
In August 1869, William Tuel (Tuell) Jr. was arraigned for shooting his father in the shoulder during an argument. The Tuel family lived in the town of Dumfries in 1860, where William Tuel Sr. owned a small piece of land and worked as a cooper. At that time, young William Jr. was a twenty-year-old farm laborer. He would have been twenty-nine at the time of his arraignment in 1869. Among the witnesses called were his father and mother, William Sr. and Margaret Tuel; his sister Jane; and Joseph Grayson, a young boatman and neighbor of Jesse Bates in 1860. Also called was David Garrison, a white Nokesville (P.O. or Post Office) area farm laborer (perhaps where Tuel Jr. was also employed). The Justice of the Peace was William Fraser, and the jury list (presumed) included twelve white men of the county. Although accused of a felonious attempt to "maim, disfigure, and kill" his father with a gun by George C. Round, "Attorney for the Commonwealth," Judge Fraser indicted William Tuel Jr. for a misdemeanor and remanded him to jail to await trial.[72]

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[70] PWC Loose Papers, Book 1003, page 343. A few of these landowners appear to be transient because they do not appear in the 1880 and/or 1900 census.

[71] https://www4.pwcgov.org/web provides free access to a searchable database of land records and "loose papers," including criminal court documents.

[72] PWC Loose Papers, Book 1062, page 210.



1874. James. Howard Col'd — To C. W. Cockrell Dr
To Merchandise 12.00
By order on J. J. King 4.00
By Order on J. J. King + Cs when paid 4. Cs 8.00

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA:

To Geo W. Bennett Constable of Prince William County, Greeting:

YOU ARE COMMANDED to summon Jas. Howard to appear before me or some other Justice of the Peace for said county, at Dumfries on the 28 day of July, 1877, to answer the complaint of C. Wockrell for non-payment of $ 8.00 dollars and —— cents, with interest, due by. cost

GIVEN UNDER MY HAND this 10 day of June, 1877. J. P.

JUDGMENT is granted the plaintiff for the sum of Eight dollars and —— cents, with interest thereon from the 27th day of October, 1877. until paid, with $ 0 80 cost.

GIVEN UNDER MY HAND this 27th day of October, 1877. J. P.

Figure 82: James Howard debt records
PWC Loose Papers, Bk 1061, page 926

In 1877, James Howard, identified as "Colored," was summoned to court to answer for a three-year-old debt of eight dollars, which he owed to C.W. Cockrell for "Merchandise" (Figure 82). Cockrell was awarded the eight dollars plus interest, and Howard additionally had to pay the court cost of eighty cents.[73] In 1893, it was William H. Cole, son of Albert Cole, who accused Neal Brown Watson of beating the elder Cole (age sixty by 1893) with a "weapon called a cedar pestle." Neal Brown Watson was the husband of Mary Cole, daughter of Henry and Betsy Cole. Watson faced an all-white jury of Manassas and Brentsville District men, who found him guilty of assault and battery and fined him five dollars.[74]

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[73] PWC Loose Papers, Book 1061, page 926.

[74] PWC Loose Papers, Book 1044, page 94, and Book 1091, page 649; Ronald Ray Turner, "Prince William County Virginia Marriages 1854–1938" (2002), 39, https://www.pwcvirginia.com/pwcvabookspublishedworks.htm. Neal Brown Watson, born in North Carolina, was already a widower in 1880 when he married thirty-five-year-old Mary Cole. By 1900, Watson was living alone in the Mount Vernon District of Fairfax County.

Epilogue

The small farms and farmsteads of the Batestown and Hickory Ridge communities were never highly productive. Most residents combined "'home work' (raising gardens, raising animals, or cutting trees) with 'out work'" to make ends meet.[75] After 1889, many found paid work at the Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine, but that opportunity passed with the closure of the mine in 1920 in the wake of a crash in the ore's market price and a subsequent worker strike.[76] By the time the Great Depression hit, Resettlement Administration officials visiting the area commented "that the submarginal agricultural land was not providing a decent standard of living to its inhabitants."[77] Based on this assessment, the Roosevelt administration decided to reclaim more than twenty thousand acres to create the Chopawamsic Recreational Demonstration Area. Many of the area's Black landowners did not welcome the federal intervention; as resident John Taylor recalled, "[N]o one really thought they were poor."[78] By 1935, however, with much of the land acquisition by the government completed, the historic Batestown and Hickory Ridge communities disappeared from the landscape.

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[75] Bedell, "Few Know That Such a Place Exists," 97.

[76] "Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine (1889–1920)," *Prince William Forest Park, National Park,* accessed December 16, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/prwi/learn/historyculture/cabin-branch-mine.htm.

[77] Susan Cary Strickland, "Prince William Forest Park, An Administrative History" (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, 1986), 9.

[78] As cited in Strickland, "Prince William Forest Park, An Administrative History," 12.

Case Study: Liberty Street, Manassas, *Rural Town Community*

Introduction

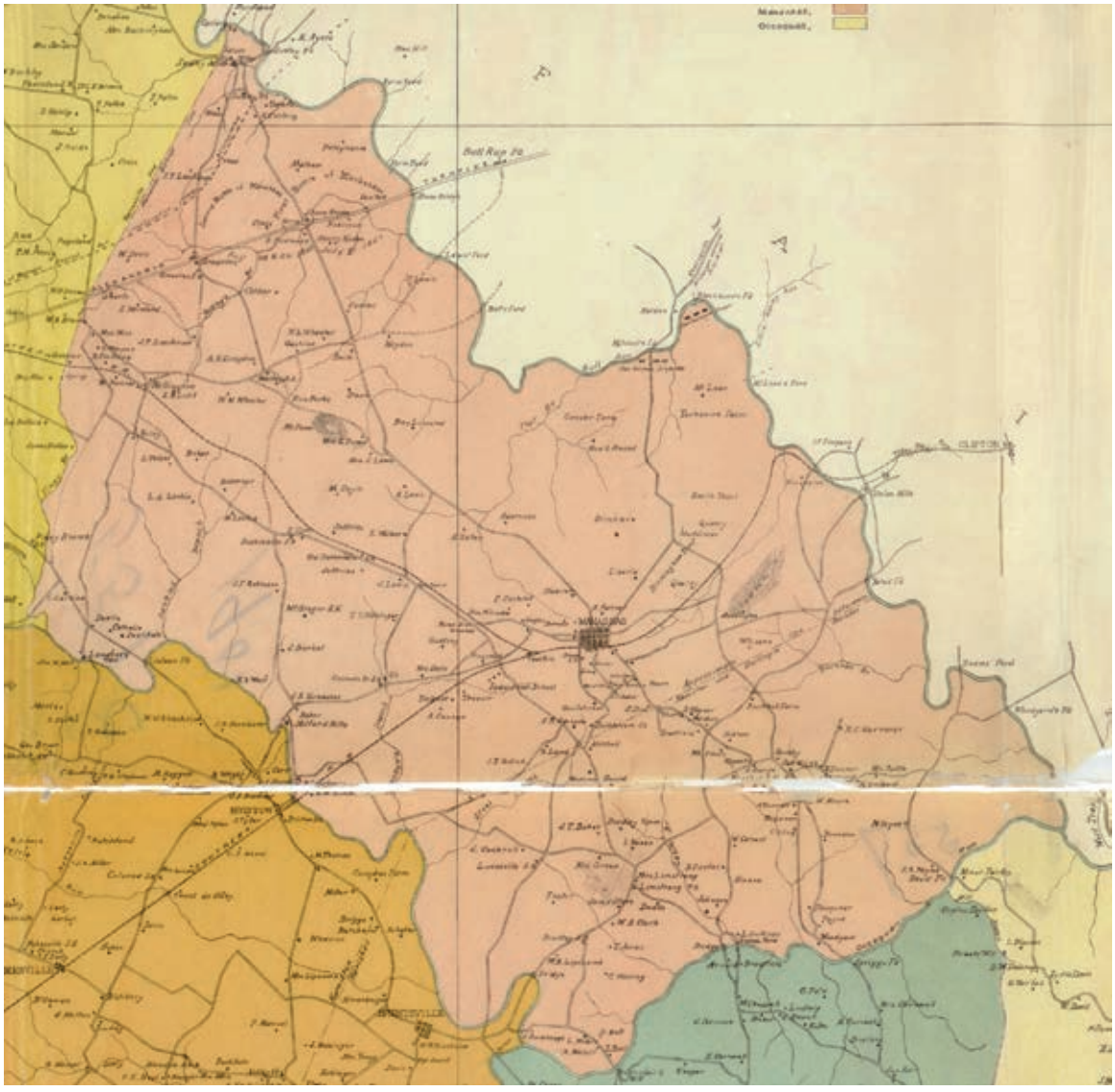


Figure 83: 1901 William Brown map of Prince William County, showing detail of Manassas District
Library of Congress

This case study examines the growth of the African American community in the town of Manassas, largely located along Liberty Street on the southern edge of old town Manassas, as well as several outlying farmsteads located in the area north of town where the two Manassas battles took place, along with the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth established west of town in 1893. While some of the outlying farmsteads, including the

James Robinson farm, developed before the Civil War, the Manassas town community was a postwar development relegated largely to the outer southern edge of the growing town of Manassas. Though limited by Virginia laws and societal norms in their interactions with white residents, members of the Black community played a role in the town's commercial activities and enlisted white support for their educational goals.

The Manassas District is located above the Occoquan River fall line, within the fertile Piedmont region of northern Virginia. The district boundaries are defined by Bull Run to the north and east, Piney Branch and Broad Run to the west, and the Occoquan River along the south. The relatively level landscape, geologically part of the northern Culpeper Basin, is underlain with rock and minerals conducive to farming, but also historically quarried for building stone, road gravel, and other industrial uses, along with agricultural lime.[79] The city of Manassas sits near the center of the historic district.

Manassas Area before 1865

Through the first decades of the nineteenth century, a large swath of rural Prince William County land north of the Potomac River district of Dumfries remained unidentified in the US census. In 1810, only the villages of Haymarket and Buckland were noted on the census outside of the Dumfries District. At that time, the majority of households in the northern section of the county were slaveholders, ranging from just one enslaved person to the larger holdings of forty-five to more than seventy-five individuals. Prominent Virginia families, including descendants of Robert "King" Carter, who at one time owned as much as 100,000 acres, built elegant mansion houses overlooking plantations worked by enslaved African Americans. By the nineteenth century, wheat, rather than tobacco, was the cash crop transported over crude roads to the river port at Dumfries.[80]

Around 1820, the county began to reorient around the centrally located Brentsville, platted in 1822, to which the county seat was moved from Dumfries. Construction of the Warrenton-Alexandria Turnpike also began in the 1820s, turning producers' sights toward the larger port city of Alexandria. Additionally, with the shift in agriculture to more generalized grain crops, the enslaved population in the county decreased from 4,704 enslaved people in the county in 1790 to 2,767 individuals in 1840. Over the same span of decades, the number of free Blacks living in the county rose from 167 to more than 500 men, women, and children in 1840.

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[79] K.Y. Lee, "Triassic-Jurassic Geology of the Northern Part of the Culpeper Basin, Virginia and Maryland," Open-File Report 79-1557, *USGS,* accessed December 31, 2020, https://pubs.er.usgs.gov/publication/ofr791557.

[80] Erika Kristine Martin Seibert, "Hidden in Plain View: African American Archaeological Landscapes at Manassas National Battlefield Park," Dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, 2010, 61 and 248.

By 1850, ten free African American households owned land in Prince William County, five of those valued at more than $500. Three of the five landowners gave their occupation in the census as "Farmer," including Houison Penn (Howison Pinn) and James Robinson.[81] Robinson was born in 1799, either free or soon freed, and by 1840 was the owner of 171 acres of farmland. His experience was not typical for most antebellum African Americans in Prince William County, particularly in the northern districts of the county. James Robinson purchased his land from John Lee in 1840 for nearly $500—money he apparently saved while working as a waiter in Thomas Hampton's Brentsville tavern.[82] Robinson was listed on the 1840 census as the only person in his household. At that time, his wife Susan and their children were enslaved on the farm of John Lee. In his 1848 will, Lee devised to James Robinson his enslaved family members—Sucky (probably Susan), their daughters Henny and Jemima, and Jemima's children Dianer and Pendleton. By 1849, he had constructed a house on his farm for his newly freed family, valued on the tax record at $100.[83] The reunited family was listed on the 1850 census (Figure 84), including Robinson (age fifty-five), Susan (age forty-five), Myma (Jemima, age twenty-six), son Tasco (sixteen), Henne (eleven), Bladen (six), and Jemima's two children Dinah (six) and Pendleton (two). Also listed in the household was Robinson's seventy-five-year-old mother Annah Robinson.[84]

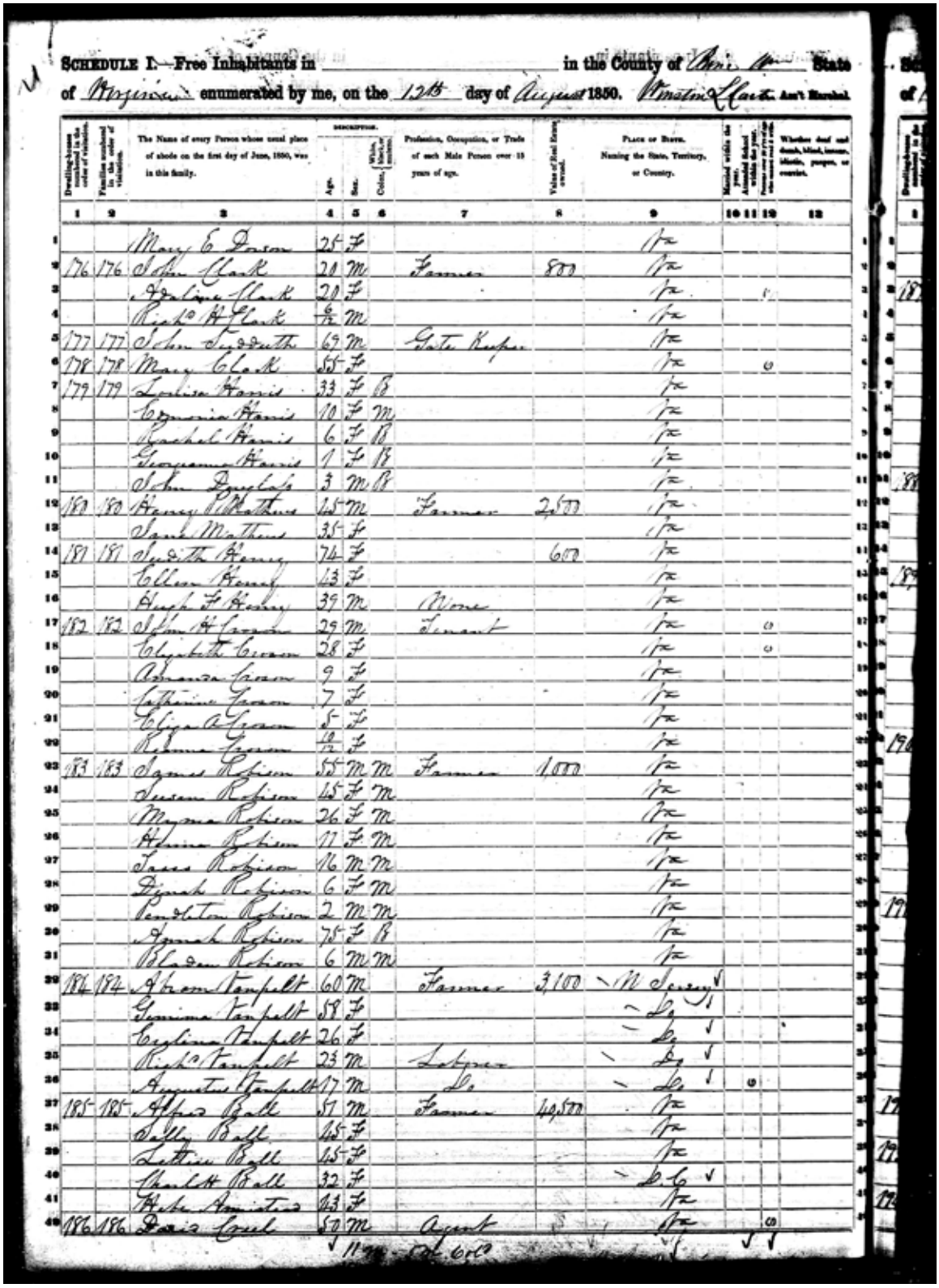
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[81] Howison (Howson, Houson, Harrison) Pinn (Penn) purchased a tract of 128 acres in 1846 at a public auction of the estate of James H. Hooe (PWC DB 21, page 5).

[82] Mia T. Parsons, ed., "Archeological Investigation of the Robinson House Site 44PW288," Manassas National Battlefield Park, 2001, 34, 39.

[83] Parsons, "Archeological Investigation of the Robinson House," 37, citing PWC Land Tax Records and PWC DB 16, page 223. In 1848, Robinson parceled out twenty-one acres and sold it to Thomas O. Clarke for $100 (Parsons, p. 37, citing PWC DB 20, page 107).

[84] Robinson also arranged to hire his son Tasco from Lee beginning in January 1847 (Parsons, "Archeological Investigation of the Robinson House," 40). In 1840, Lee, who was single (aged forty to fifty), held twenty-seven enslaved people.



SCHEDULE 1.—Free Inhabitants in _____ in the County of Chas. [illegible] State of Virginia enumerated by me, on the 12th day of August 1850. Winston Hart. Ass't Marshal.

Dwelling-houses numbered in the order of visitation.	Families numbered in the order of visitation.	The Name of every Person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1850, was in this family.	Age.	Sex.	Color, (black, or mulatto)	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each Male Person over 15 years of age.	Value of Real Estate owned.	Place of Birth. Naming the State, Territory, or Country.	Married within the year.	Attended School within the year.	Person over 20 yrs of age who cannot read and write.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
		Mary E Dawson	25	F				Va				
176	176	John Clark	20	M		Farmer	800	Va				
		Adaline Clark	20	F				Va				
		Richd H Clark	2/12	M				Va				
177	177	John Suddeth	69	M		Gate Keeper		Va				
178	178	Mary Clark	55	F				Va				
179	179	Lorina Harris	33	F	B			Va				
		Cyrenia Harris	10	F	M			Va				
		Rachel Harris	6	F	B			Va				
		Gregorius Harris	1	F	B			Va				
		John Douglass	3	M	B			Va				
180	180	Henry P Mathews	45	M		Farmer	2500	Va				
		Sarah Mathews	35	F				Va				
181	181	Judith Henry	74	F			600	Va				
		Ellen Henry	43	F				Va				
		Hugh F Henry	39	M		Miner		Va				
182	182	John H Graves	29	M		Tenant		Va				
		Elizabeth Graves	28	F				Va				
		Amanda Graves	9	F				Va				
		Catherine Graves	7	F				Va				
		Eliza A Graves	5	F				Va				
		Rebecca Graves	10/12	F				Va				
183	183	James Robison	55	M	M	Farmer	1000	Va				
		Susan Robison	45	F	M			Va				
		Myra Robison	26	F	M			Va				
		Alvira Robison	17	F	M			Va				
		James Robison	16	M	M			Va				
		Sarah Robison	6	F	M			Va				
		Pendleton Robison	2	M	M			Va				
		Sarah Robison	75	F	B			Va				
		Bladen Robison	6	M	M			Va				
184	184	Abram Campbell	60	M		Farmer	3100	N Jersey				
		Emma Campbell	58	F				do				
		Evelina Campbell	26	F				do				
		Richd Campbell	23	M		Lawyer		do				
		Augustus Campbell	17	M		do		do				
185	185	Alfred Ball	51	M		Farmer	4500	Va				
		Sally Ball	45	F				Va				
		Letitia Ball	15	F				Va				
		Charles H Ball	32	F				do				
		Kate Armistead	13	F				Va				
186	186	Davis Lovell	50	M		Agent		Va				

Figure 84: 1850 census record of James Robinson's family
Ancestry.com

The Robinson farm was well-placed for the development that was soon coming to the northeast section of the county. In the early 1850s, the Orange & Alexandria Railroad and Manassas Gap Railroad joined at a point called Manassas Junction, just a few miles south of Robinson's farm on the Warrenton Turnpike. The junction was located on a right-of-way passing through the land of Sanford Thurman, later inherited by William Sanford Fewell. Development around Manassas Junction began in 1852 when the railroad company built and leased out a warehouse where locals could purchase and sell goods and produce.[85]

By 1860, a small village was growing at the junction, called Tudor Hall or Manassas Station, and the Tudor Hall post office operated out of John Cannon's house of the same name.[86] Prominent white households in the Tudor Hall P.O. (Post Office) area in 1860 included William J. Weir, a Carter descendant and owner of the Liberia estate (valued at $48,000) north of the junction, with eighty enslaved people. Located south of the junction was Frances Thurman, widow of Sandford Thurman, who held seventeen enslaved men, women, and children; John B. Cannon, owner of the Tudor Hall farm with five enslaved adults; and Benjamin Johnson, neighbor to Thurman and Cannon, who held fourteen enslaved African Americans. Living nearby the Johnson, Thurman, and Cannon properties were the free Black families of Howison Pinn and Susan Cole. Pinn, who listed his occupation in 1860 as a farmer, owned land valued at more than $1,100.[87]

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[85] *Alexandria Gazette,* January 1, 1852, Newspapers.com.

[86] "Manassas Historic District," National Register nomination, 8.2.

[87] Howison Pinn's name was spelled differently in almost every historic document. Houson Pinn (aged fifty-one in 1860) is presumed to be the same man as Houison Penn (aged forty-five), who owned $500 worth of real estate in 1850.



Figure 85: "Fords on Occoquan and Bull Run," probably 1861
Library of Congress

In 1861, at the start of the American Civil War, Confederate troops occupied the area around the junction, building fortifications and establishing Camp Pickens at Manassas Station to protect the important northern Virginia transportation routes. Though the two battles known as First (July 1861) and Second (August 1862) Manassas (or Bull Run) took place several miles north of the junction (Robinson's farm being at the center), it was the railroads that attracted the attention of both the Confederate and Union armies. In March

1862, when the Confederates abandoned their fortifications at the junction to protect Richmond, they burned the buildings, rails, and rolling stock at Manassas Station to prevent their use by Union troops (Figure 86). Indeed, the area was briefly occupied by Union troops prior to the second Manassas engagement in August 1862, again over the same rural landscape to the north that had been devastated by battle just one year earlier.[88]



Figure 86: "Ruins at Manassas Junction, Va. after its evacuation by Confederates, March 1862"
Library of Congress

After his success in the Second Battle of Manassas, Confederate General Robert E. Lee initiated his Maryland Campaign, an invasion of Northern territory that culminated in the Battle of Antietam (or Sharpsburg) on September 17, 1862. Lee's retreat back into Virginia following the battle prompted President Abraham Lincoln to issue his Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the enslaved people in the rebellious Confederate states beginning on January 1, 1863. Many of northern Virginia's enslaved had already enacted their own freedom by seeking asylum behind the ring of Union forts protecting the federal city of Washington. When the US War Department began recruiting free and enslaved Black men to serve in the US Colored Troops (USCT) in 1863, men from the Manassas area and others who would later settle in the area answered the call.

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[88] "Manassas Historic District," National Register nomination, 8.2.

TO COLORED MEN!

FREEDOM,

Protection, Pay, and a Call to Military Duty!

On the 1st day of January, 1863, the President of the United States proclaimed FREEDOM to over THREE MILLIONS OF SLAVES. This decree is to be enforced by all the power of the Nation. On the 21st of July last he issued the following order:

PROTECTION OF COLORED TROOPS.

"WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, July 21.

"*General Order, No.* 233.

"The following order of the President is published for the information and government of all concerned:—

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 30.

"'It is the duty of every Government to give protection to its citizens, of whatever class, color, or condition, and especially to those who are duly organized as soldiers in the public service. The law of nations, and the usages and customs of war, as carried on by civilized powers, permit no distinction as to color in the treatment of prisoners of war as public enemies. To sell or enslave any captured person on account of his color, is a relapse into barbarism, and a crime against the civilization of the age.

'"The Government of the United States will give the same protection to all its soldiers, and if the enemy shall sell or enslave any one because of his color, the offense shall be punished by retaliation upon the enemy's prisoners in our possession. It is, therefore, ordered, for every soldier of the United States, killed in violation of the laws of war, a rebel soldier shall be executed; and for every one enslaved by the enemy, or sold into slavery, a rebel soldier shall be placed at hard labor on the public works, and continued at such labor until the other shall be released and receive the treatment due to prisoners of war.

'"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."'

'"By order of the Secretary of War.

'"E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant Adjutant General."'

That the President is in earnest the rebels soon began to find out, as witness the following order from his Secretary of War:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, August 8, 1863.

"SIR: Your letter of the 3d inst., calling the attention of this Department to the cases of Orin H. Brown, William H. Johnston, and Wm. Wilson, three colored men captured on the gunboat Isaac Smith, has received consideration. This Department has directed that three rebel prisoners of South Carolina, if there be any such in our possession, and if not, three others, be confined in close custody and held as hostages for Brown, Johnston and Wilson, and that the fact be communicated to the rebel authorities at Richmond.

"Very respectfully your obedient servant,

"EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

"The Hon. GIDEON WELLES, Secretary of the Navy."

And retaliation will be our practice now—man for man—to the bitter end.

LETTER OF CHARLES SUMNER,

Written with reference to the Convention held at Poughkeepsie, July 15th and 16th, 1863, to promote Colored Enlistments.

BOSTON, July 13th, 1863.

"I doubt if, in times past, our country could have expected from colored men any patriotic service. Such service is the return for protection. But now that protection has begun, the service should begin also. Nor should relative rights and duties be weighed with nicety. It is enough that our country, aroused at last to a sense of justice, seeks to enrol colored men among its defenders.

"If my counsels should reach such persons, I would say: enlist at once. Now is the day and now is the hour. Help to overcome your cruel enemies now battling against your country, and in this way you will surely overcome those other enemies hardly less cruel, here at home, who will still seek to degrade you. This is not the time to hesitate or to higgle. Do your duty to our country, and you will set an example of generous self-sacrifice which will conquer prejudice and open all hearts.

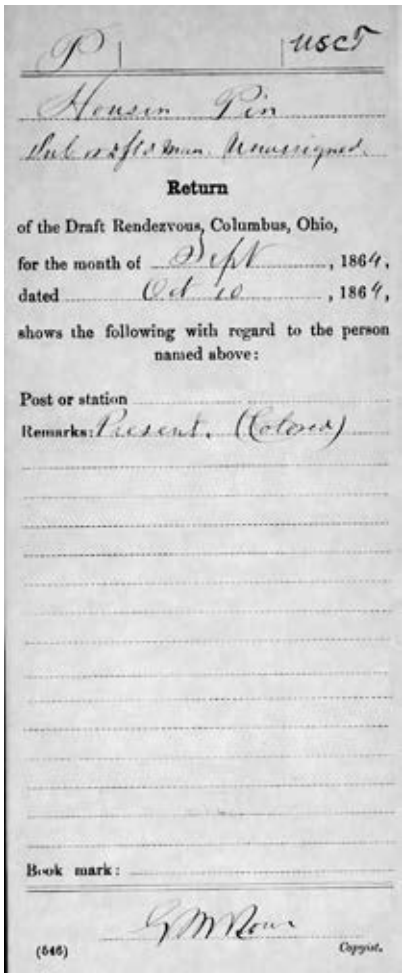
"Very faithfully yours,

"CHARLES SUMNER."

Figure 87: "Call to military duty" poster
National Archives and Records Administration

Josiah Thomas, who was, according to his military record, "free on or before April 19, 1861," enlisted in Company A, 23rd Regiment, USCT, in Washington, DC, on December 15, 1863. He was almost immediately promoted to the rank of first sergeant. Thomas did detail as a recruiter, saw action at the Battle of the Crater at Petersburg in July 1864, and was present at Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House in April 1865. He mustered out of service with his regiment in Brazas Santiago, Texas on November 30, 1865, and returned home to the Manassas area.[89] Another local man, Howson Pinn (listed as Housin Pin) joined the service in Columbus, Ohio, in September 1864, though it is unknown in what regiment he served (Figure 88). He was the son of Howison Pinn, who was listed on the 1860 census (as Houson Pinn) as fifty-one years old and living in the Tudor Hall P.O. area at Manassas Junction. His son, Howson Pinn, then aged twenty-two, was listed in Ohio in 1860, having emigrated there with his wife Mary and where three of his children were born. By the 1870 census, Howson Pinn (listed as Houson Pinn) had returned from Ohio with his family to the Manassas area.

[89] "Josiah Thomas," Fold3 Military Records Database, https://www.fold3.com/image/265126770.



P | USCT

Housin Pin

Substitute Unassigned

Return

of the Draft Rendezvous, Columbus, Ohio,

for the month of Sept, 1864,

dated Oct 10, 1864,

shows the following with regard to the person named above:

Post or station

Remarks: Present. (Colored)

Book mark:

(546) Copyist.

Figure 88: Housin Pin, "Return of the Draft Rendezvous, Columbus, Ohio"
Fold3 Military Records Database

William Lomax joined Co. D of the 43rd Regiment, USCT, in September 1864. Lomax was born in Virginia and does not appear to be listed on the 1860 census. Lomax may have been a fugitive from bondage in New York. His service record notes that he enlisted as a substitute for Miles W. Brand in Syracuse, New York, where at age thirty he was employed as a shoemaker. Many Black northern Virginia men enlisted into Union service as substitutes for white men in Union states, most often Maryland, who were drafted but did not want to serve. Lomax enlisted for three years of service with the 43rd USCT, during which time, like Josiah Thomas, he saw action at Petersburg in July 1864, was present at Lee's surrender at Appomattox, and was subsequently assigned to the District of the Rio Grande in Texas. Lomax was promoted to corporal in September 1865 while stationed in Brownsville, Texas, where he mustered out in October 1865. By 1870, he owned property in the Manassas area and was again occupied as a shoemaker.[90]

[90] "William Lomax," Fold3 Military Records Database, https://www.fold3.com/image/263647916.

John Dyer, who also joined Co. D of the 43rd Regiment, USCT, was born in Mississippi, but by 1864 was living in rural north-central Pennsylvania (McKean County), working as a farmer. At just eighteen years old, Dyer enlisted as a volunteer recruit in May 1864 in Waterford, Pennsylvania. Private Dyer mustered out in Brownsville, Texas, in 1865 and apparently followed Corporal Lomax to Manassas, Virginia, where he permanently settled.[91] William Taylor, who joined Company H of the 1st Regiment, USCT, in August 1863, was born in Hampton, Virginia, but was noted as free by April 19, 1861, on his service record. Taylor enlisted in Washington, DC, where he worked as a carpenter. With his specialized skill, Private Taylor was detailed out on several occasions. He also suffered illnesses twice during his three years of service. Taylor mustered out in September 1865 on Roanoke Island, North Carolina. Like Lomax and Dyer, Taylor settled in the Manassas area after the war, arriving sometime in the 1870s.[92]

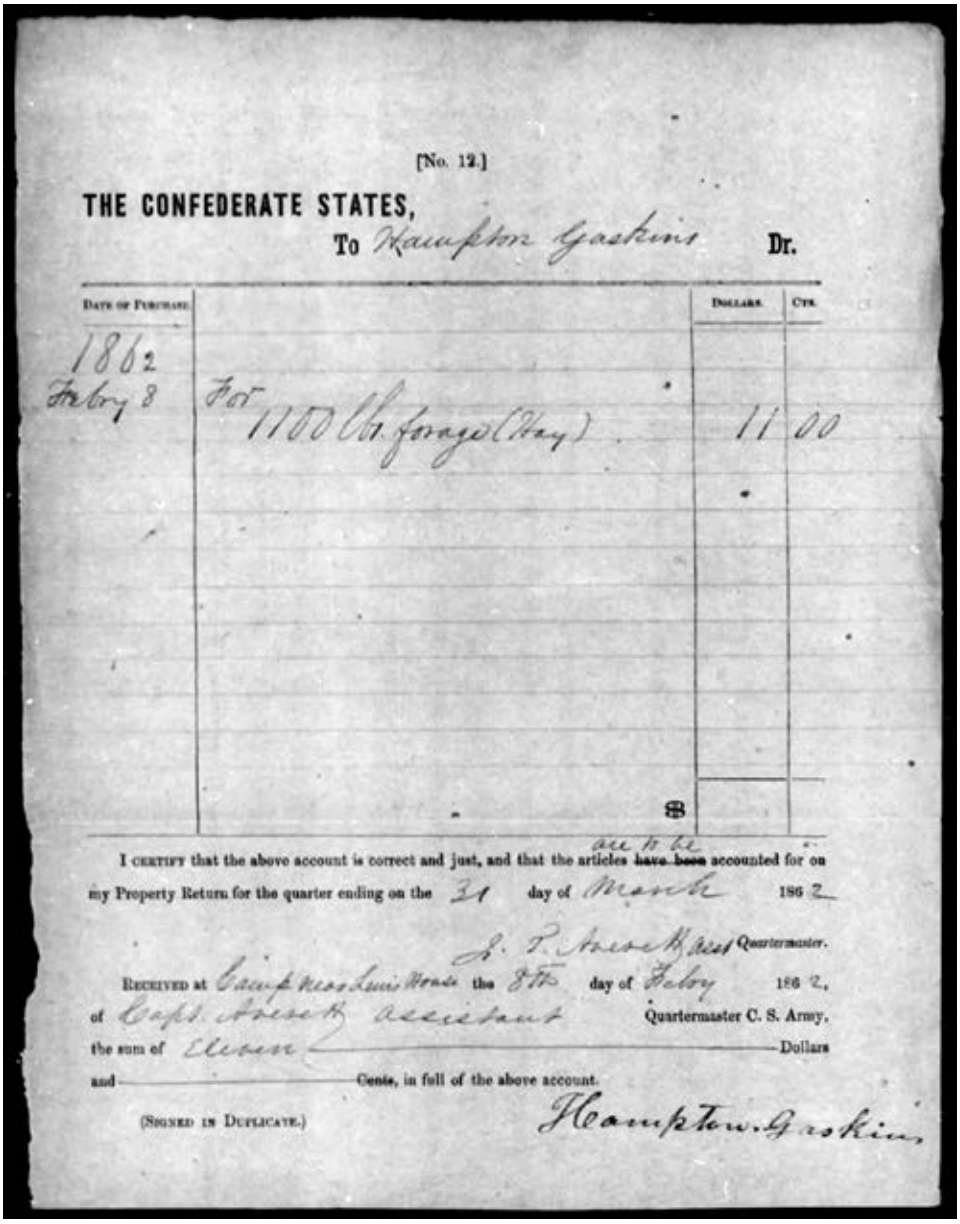
Northern Virginia people and property, particularly in the area that would soon be identified as the Manassas District, suffered during the four years of the Civil War. The little hamlet that had grown at Manassas Junction was gone. James Robinson, whose farm endured two major battles and occupations by hungry troops, began the process of recovery after 1865. In his $2,600 claim against the Union army, filed in 1872, Robinson itemized the loss of "25 tons of hay, 60 bushels of wheat, 20 bushels of harvested corn, 12 acres of standing corn, 25 acres of oats, 2 horses, 7 hogs, 2 cows, 3 barrels of fish, 800 pounds of bacon, groceries and provisions, beds and furniture, garden house and services, and fence rails," for which he was reimbursed at less than half their value.[93] Others like Hampton Gaskins, whose farm was also located in the Groveton area impacted by the battles, took a more direct approach to receiving payment for army provisions. In February 1862, Gaskins sold 1,100 tons of forage to Confederate Assistant Quartermaster Capt. J.P. Averell, though he only received eleven Confederate dollars for the hay.

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[91] "John Dyer," Fold3 Military Records Database, https://www.fold3.com/image/261325770.

[92] "William Taylor," Fold3 Military Records Database, https://www.fold3.com/image/260912515.

[93] Parsons, "Archeological Investigation of the Robinson House," 46, citing Robinson's 1872 Claim, on file, Manassas National Battlefield Park.



[No. 12.]

THE CONFEDERATE STATES,

To Hampton Gaskins Dr.

Date of Purchase		Dollars	Cts.
1862 Feby 8	For 1100 lbs forage (Hay)	11	00

I certify that the above account is correct and just, and that the articles are to be accounted for on my Property Return for the quarter ending on the 31 day of March 1862

L. P. Smoot Asst Quartermaster.

Received at Camp near Lewis Woods the 8th day of Feby 1862, of Capt. Smoot Assistant Quartermaster C. S. Army, the sum of Eleven Dollars and ——— Cents, in full of the above account.

(Signed in Duplicate.) Hampton Gaskins

Figure 89: Confederate States receipt for forage from Hampton Gaskins, February 1862
Fold3 Military Records Database

The most significant outcome of the war for African Americans living within former Confederate states like Virginia was the abolition of slavery. Though Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation freed those held in bondage in January 1863, presumably the three enslaved individuals listed under the name of James Robinson ("a free colored man") in 1860 were among the few immediately released in Confederate Virginia, in accordance with the proclamation. In 1860, more than 2,300 enslaved people lived in Prince William County. Those enslaved individuals who had not already sought their freedom behind Union lines or escaped to free states in the North were released from bondage in December 1865.

Community Growth, 1865–1900

The 1870 census in the rural Manassas District of Prince William County identified ninety-one independent African American households with more than five hundred individuals or nearly one-third of the district's total population. Twenty-five households owned the land on which they lived. The majority of the Black households were located on farms as tenants. Fifty-one individuals were listed on the census in the white household with whom they were employed as servants or laborers. Though it appears that many who had been enslaved just five years earlier remained in the area, some may have migrated to Brentsville, the Prince William County seat, or to Alexandria on the expectation of more job opportunities in the town setting.[94] But, by 1870, a new town was already rising on the charred remains of the former Manassas Station hamlet that would provide a space for an African American community to grow.

Within months of the war's end in Virginia, William Sanford Fewell, who inherited land around the railroad junction from Sanford Thurman in 1857, platted a town he called Manassas. In September 1865, Fewell sold his first lots in Block No. 1 to Sumner Fitts, a New York speculator. Fitts began building houses and selling his town lots, and reportedly built the first hotel he named the Eureka Hotel.[95] By 1867, lots encompassing as many as thirteen of the town blocks had been sold to individuals and speculators alike. In October 1868, Fewell applied to realign the county road leading to Manassas from the south, to provide a direct link to Main Street. Fewell's proposed "Eastern Route" was opposed by Isaac P. Baldwin, whose land would be impacted by the road. Among the several alternate routes was one proposed by Baldwin, which extended Battle Street south of the railroad, then turned in a southwesterly direction to follow the Baldwin, Weedon, and Johnson property lines south "to the county road" (Figure 90). Although the commission viewing the various routes recommended Fewell's "Eastern Route," it appears that Baldwin moved ahead with his plan to run a street through his land, which he called Liberty Street or Avenue, running in a southwesterly direction from an extended West Street rather than Battle Street.[96]

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[94] Because the 1860 population census and slave census for Prince William County was not delineated by districts (and Manassas district did not even exist at the time), it is difficult to identify how many enslaved people were in the Manassas area before the war and how many migrated out after the war.

[95] PWC DB 26, page 35 (William S. Fewell to Sumner Fitts, 1865); David A. Edwards, "Manassas Historic District," National Register nomination, 1988, section 8, page 2.

[96] PWC Loose Papers 1088, page 189 (Fewell vs. Baldwin, October Term 1869).

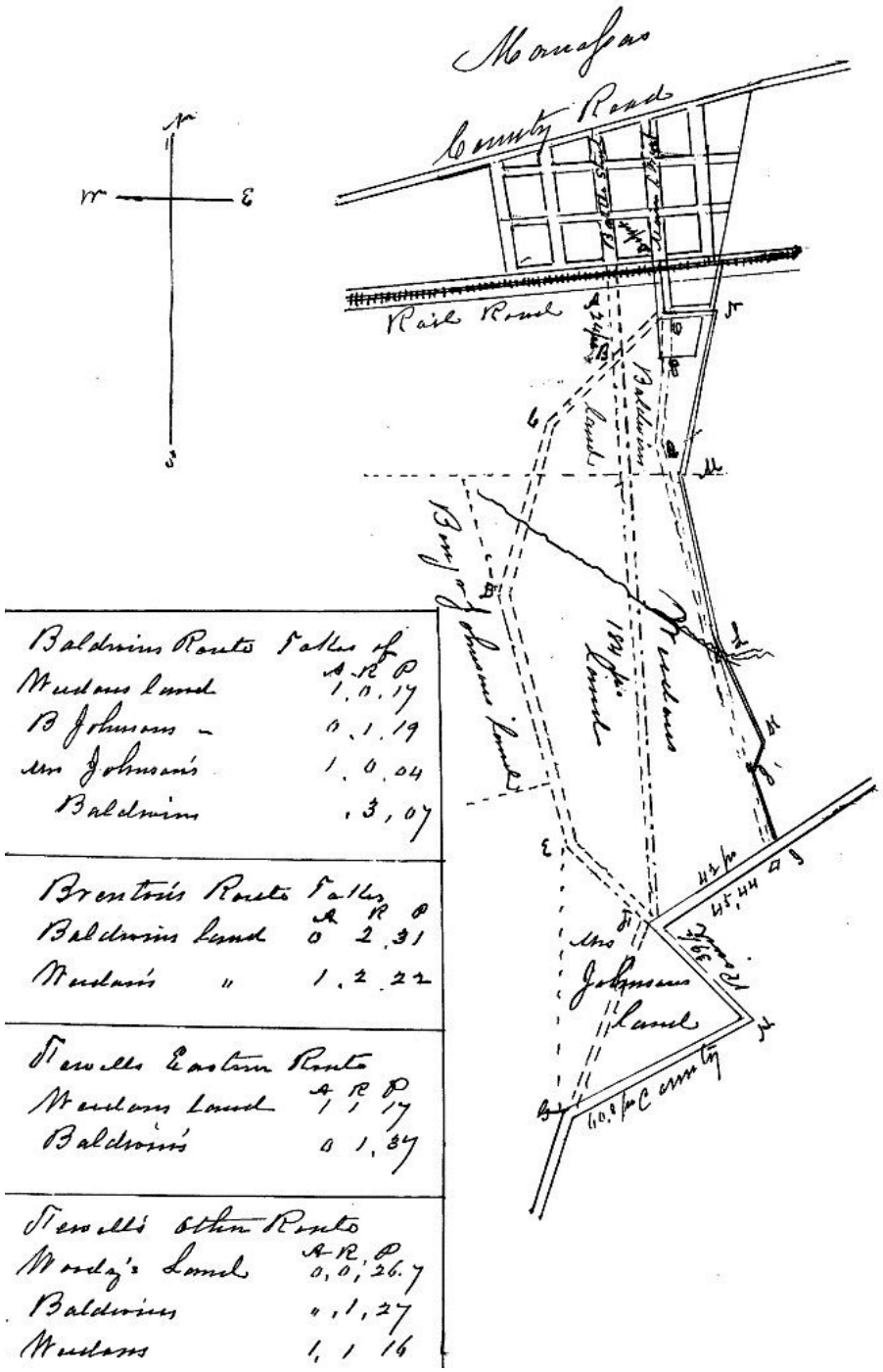


Figure 90: Plat of proposed routes
PWC Loose Papers 1088, page 189

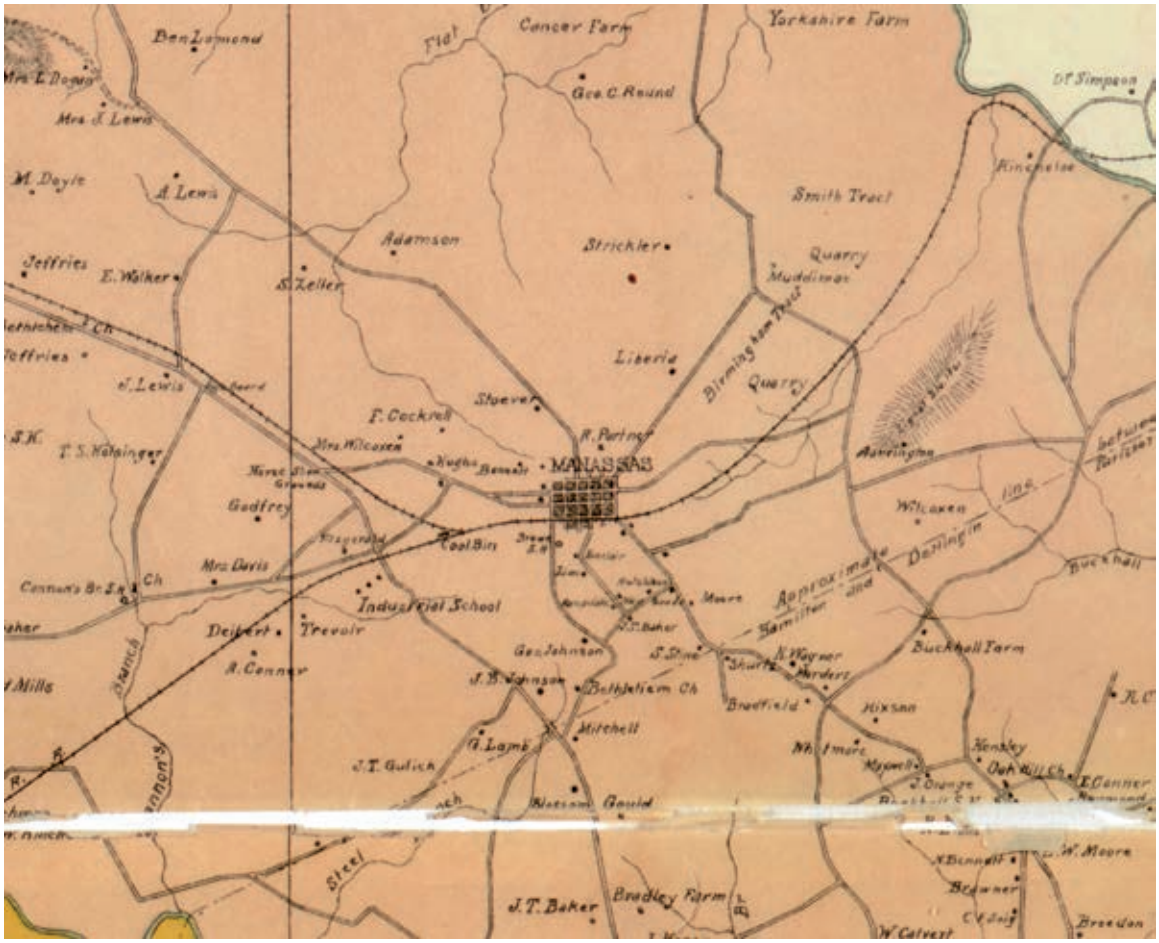


Figure 91: 1901 William Brown map, Manassas detail
Library of Congress

It was from his land along Liberty Street that Isaac P. Baldwin conveyed lots to African Americans, beginning as early as 1876 and continuing through the 1890s. Isaac Baldwin was a staunch Republican, born in Connecticut, and a deeply religious member of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[97] Though real estate sales were among the business ventures that made him a wealthy man, Baldwin's lot prices in the Liberty Street neighborhood were not lucrative, ranging from $100 to $250, while elsewhere in town he sold lots for $400 to as much as $800. Among his earliest Liberty Street purchasers were USCT veterans William Lomax (1876) and John Dyer (1879).[98] The neighborhood included a Freedmen's Bureau school by January 1868, reportedly housed in a building owned by the freedmen, later identified as a church and

[97] Isaac P. Baldwin obituary, *Manassas Journal,* March 1, 1912, as cited on https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/112859762/isaac-palmer-baldwin. See also, Ronald Ray Turner, "Prince William County Virginia Obituaries, 1900–1930," 15–16, http://www.pwcvirginia.com/documents/OBITTotal.pdf.

[98] PWC DB 33, page 58 (Baldwin to W. Lomax, 1876), and DB 34, page 550 (Baldwin to J. Dyer, 1879).

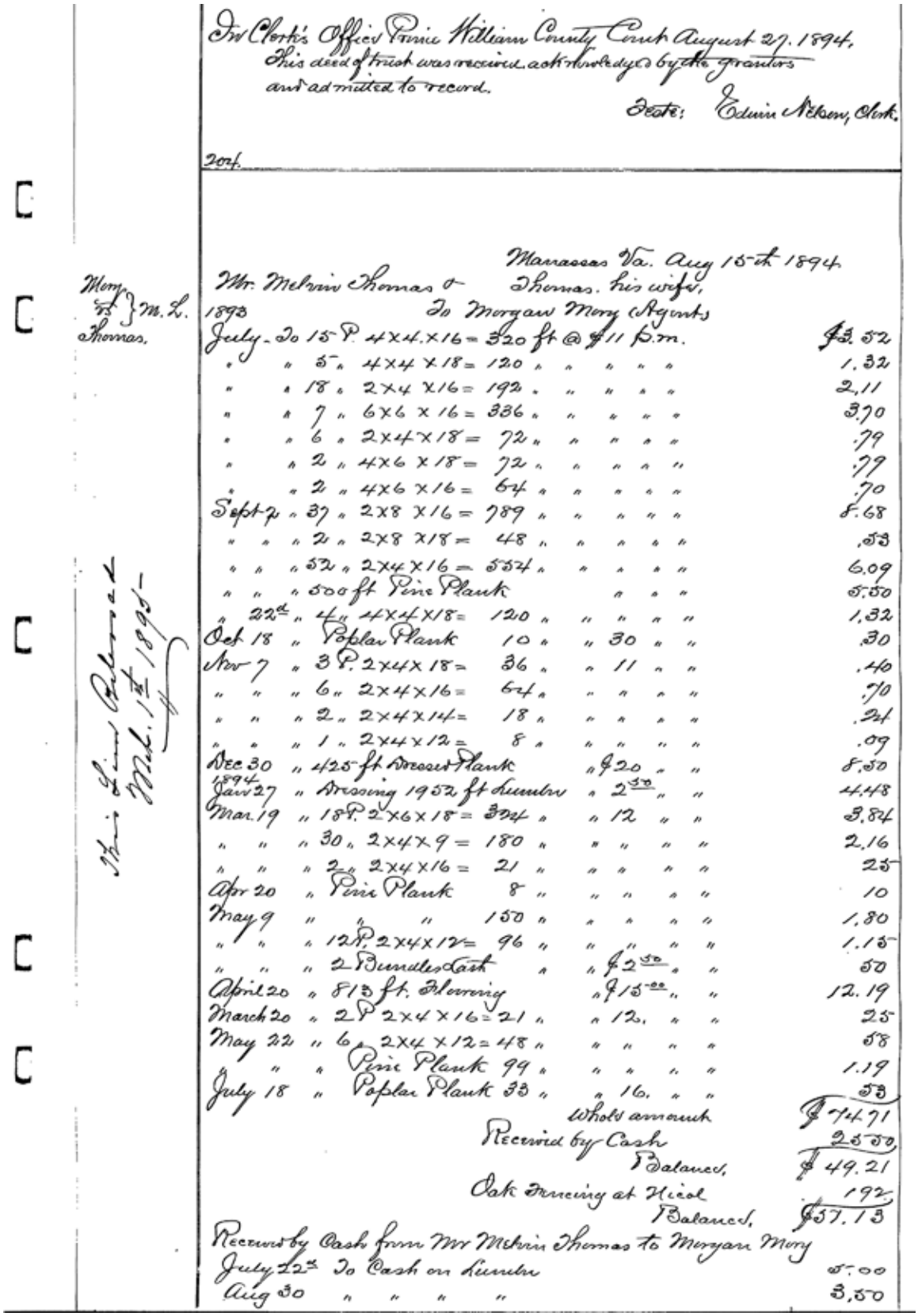
school. As early as 1870, a county school was located there (see more information in the "Schools" section that follows). The presence of schools in the neighborhood in 1868 and 1870 implies that Baldwin's lots were occupied for several years prior to their purchase.

In 1881, Baldwin sold a lot on the north side of the railroad tracks on Center Street to the trustees of the First Baptist Church of Manassas for one dollar, "to encourage the diffusion of moral and religious principles" (see the "Church" section that follows).[99] Additional sales on Liberty Avenue (Street) followed through the 1880s: Bettie Chapman (later wife of Daniel Lomax) in 1884, Allen Strother in 1886, Richard Taliaferro (Toliver) in 1886, and Harrison Penn (possibly Howison Pinn?) in 1887, whose lot adjoined Bettie Chapman and "the Schoolhouse lot." Caroline Berry purchased a lot in 1894 from Baldwin, who by then was living in Michigan. Berry's lot also adjoined the school lot and Bettie Chapman.[100] Other deeds were never recorded, including Michael Thomas, whose lot was encumbered by a "Mechanics Lien" in 1894 for nonpayment of a sum of fifty-seven dollars to lumber dealer Morgan Mory.[101]

[99] PWC DB 32, page 622 (Baldwin to First Baptist Church, 1881).

[100] PWC DB 36, page 451 (Baldwin to B. Chapman, 1884); DB 46, page 216 (Baldwin to A. Strother, 1886); DB 36, page 356 (Baldwin to R. Taliaferro, 1886); DB 37, page 549 (Baldwin to H. Penn, 1887); DB 43, page 283 (Baldwin to C. Berry, 1894).

[101] PWC DB 43, page 167 (Thomas to Mory, mechanics lien, 1894).



In Clerk's Office Prince William County Court August 27. 1894.
This deed of trust was received, acknowledged by the grantors and admitted to record.
Teste: Edwin Nelson, Clerk.

204.

Manassas Va. Aug 15th 1894.

Mem. Mr. Melvin Thomas & Thomas. his wife,
Vs } M. L.
Thomas. 1893 To Morgan Mory Agents

July	20	15 P.	4x4.x16 = 320 ft	@ $11	P.M.	$3.52
"	"	5 "	4x4 x18 = 120	"	"	1.32
"	"	18 "	2x4 x16 = 192	"	"	2.11
"	"	7 "	6x6 x 16 = 336	"	"	3.70
"	"	6 "	2x4x18 = 72	"	"	.79
"	"	2 "	4x6 x18 = 72	"	"	.79
"	"	2 "	4x6 x16 = 64	"	"	.70
Sept	7 "	37 "	2x8 x16 = 789	"	"	8.68
"	"	2 "	2x8 x18 = 48	"	"	.53
"	"	52 "	2x4 x16 = 554	"	"	6.09
"	"	500 ft	Pine Plank	"	"	5.50
"	22d "	4 "	4x4x18 = 120	"	"	1.32
Oct	18 "	Poplar Plank	10 "	" 30	"	.30
Nov	7 "	3 P.	2x4x18 = 36	" 11	"	.40
"	"	6 "	2x4x16 = 64	"	"	.70
"	"	2 "	2x4x14 = 18	"	"	.24
"	"	1 "	2x4x12 = 8	"	"	.09
Dec	30 "	425 ft	Dressed Plank	" $20	"	8.50
1894 Jan	27 "	Dressing	1952 ft lumber	" 2.30	"	4.48
Mar	19 "	18 P.	2x6x18 = 324	" 12	"	3.84
"	"	30 "	2x4x9 = 180	"	"	2.16
"	"	2 "	2x4x16 = 21	"	"	25
Apr	20 "	Pine Plank	8 "	"	"	10
May	9 "	"	"	150 "	"	1.80
"	"	12 P.	2x4x12 = 96	"	"	1.15
"	"	2 Bundles	Lath	"	" $2.50	50
April	20 "	813 ft.	Flooring	" $15.00	"	12.19
March	20 "	2 P.	2x4 x16 = 21	" 12.	"	25
May	22 "	6 "	2x4 x12 = 48	"	"	58
"	"	"	Pine Plank	99 "	"	1.19
July	18 "	Poplar Plank	33 "	" 16.	"	53
				Whole amount		$74.71
				Received by Cash		25.50
				Balance,		$49.21
				Oak flooring at Nicol		192
				Balance,		$57.13

Received by Cash from Mr Melvin Thomas to Morgan Mory
July 22d To Cash on Lumber $5.00
Aug 30 " " " " 3.50

Mem. Lien Released M.L. 1st 1895

Figure 92: List of building material and costs for Michael Thomas's mechanics lien
PWC DB 43, page 167

Baldwin was not the only person in the Manassas area actively selling land to African Americans in the decades following emancipation. In 1873, Charles Bennet entered a written agreement with Reuben Taliaferro to sell about four acres of a Bennet family tract called Forkfield, adjoining the Manassas Gap Railroad and the Haymarket & Dumfries road. Taliaferro finished paying the agreed-upon amount (not stated) in 1885, at which time he received a deed for the parcel from Althea (Bennet) Loose, who inherited Forkfield from her father. On the same day, Loose conveyed another two acres to Reuben's brother Richard Taliaferro (Toliver). The Taliaferro brothers subdivided their land, with Richard selling a one-acre lot to Julia and Charles Lewis in 1886 and Reuben renting a lot to Joshua Johnson around 1889.[102] The Loose family continued their subdivision of Forkfield in 1894, when Richard Taliaferro added four acres to his farmstead, and in 1896, with a one-acre conveyance to John Lewis.[103] The Forkfield cluster was just north of the ninety-acre parcel that became the site of the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth, established in 1893 (see the "Schools" section that follows).

In 1860, William Lomax purchased an eight-acre tract from John Hooe, located just a mile or so northeast of Manassas Junction. Four years later, Lomax would leave to serve with the US Colored Troops. In 1869, George W. Prim purchased another eight-acre lot from Hooe.[104] Lomax, who returned to his land after the war, began selling smaller parcels from the tract in 1872. He sold two lots to George Prim (probably the son of George W. Prim), including a one-acre lot bounded by Rushy Branch and a two-acre parcel with county road frontage on which Prim's house was already standing.[105] Also in 1872, Peyton Johnson purchased another two-acre tract adjoining Prim's lot on the county road. After moving to the Liberty Street neighborhood in Manassas in 1881, Lomax purchased another eight-acre tract in the Rushy Branch area in 1893.[106] The conveyance came from Adeline Robinson, an African American woman who bought the land in 1880 from John Hooe's son-in-law George W. Nutt. The parcel adjoined lots owned and/or occupied by

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[102] PWC DB 35, page 520 (Loose to Reuben Taliaferro, 1885); DB 36, page 357 (Loose to Richard Taliaferro, 1885); DB 45, page 416 (Taliaferro to Julia Lewis, 1886); Loose Papers 1171, page 192 (Toliver vs. Johnson, 1893).

[103] PWC DB 45, page 468 (Loose to Richard Taliaferro, 1894); DB 45, page 468 (Loose to John Lewis, 1896).

[104] PWC DB 26, page 767 (John Hooe to Wm. Lomax, 1860); DB 27, page 279 (J. Hooe to Geo. W. Prim, 1869).

[105] PWC DB 29, page 98 (Lomax to G. Prim, 1872). The land is noted as part of the "Mayfield Estate."

[106] Peyton Johnson's obituary in the *Manassas Journal,* February 16, 1912: "Peyton Johnson, one of the most highly respected colored men of the county, died of dropsy and old age at his home, near Blooms, on Friday night last, aged nearly 90 years. 'Uncle' Peyton was born on February 22, 1823, and belonged to the Lynn family of Prince William until freed by the war. He was a rather remarkable character, retaining all his faculties until after Christmas. He was always quiet and respectful, a splendid type of his race that is fast disappearing. By his industry he had bought himself a home a number of years ago, but this he sold last fall and had since lived with one of his daughters. His remains were interred at Manassas on Sunday" (Turner, PWC Obits, 182).

Charles Coleman and Fred Francis, both African American.[107] Based upon this knowledge of Black land ownership in the Rushy Branch area, the 1880 census appears to indicate as many as sixteen households (some of them tenants) living on or around the Robinson, Prim, Johnson, Coleman, and Francis homesteads. Many of the same households appear in the same area on the 1900 census (Manassas District No. 81) as well.

There were other Black landowners in the rural district around the growing town of Manassas. James Robinson, whose farm located north of Manassas in the Groveton area sat at the center of the Manassas battlefield, was already well-established before 1865. By 1870, Robinson had apparently recovered from the disruption and destruction of the two Civil War battles. After his death in 1875, Robinson's large holding of 249 acres was divided among his heirs in 1881 (Figure 93). His wife received a dower lot of seven acres with the house, while his four children (Henrietta, Jemima, Tasco, and Bladen) were given lots of forty-eight to seventy-six acres in size. As was common among rural Black landowners (see the discussions on Batestown and Hickory Ridge), the fifty-five-acre parcel inherited by Tasco Robinson in 1881 was further subdivided among his heirs at the time of his death in 1902.[108]

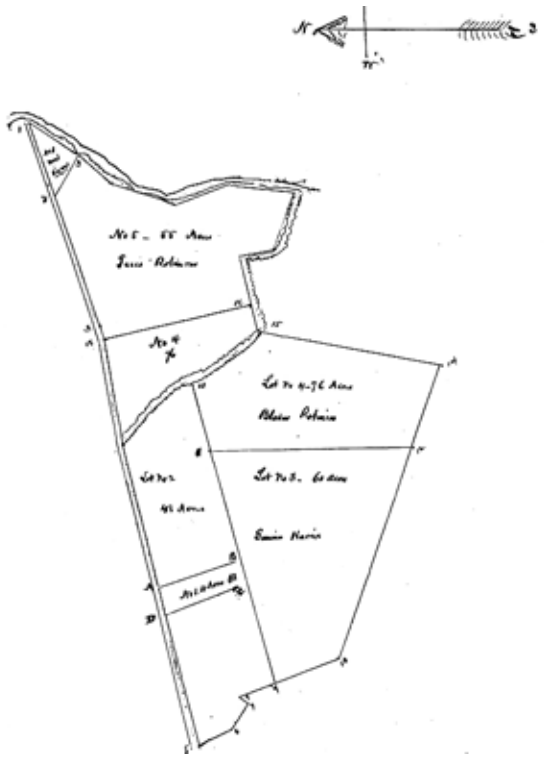


Figure 93: Division of Robinson land
PWC DB 32, page 524

[107] PWC DB 42, page 158 (Adeline Robinson to Wm. Lomax, 1893). Also noted as part of the "Mayfield tract." George W. Nutt was a Confederate veteran and married to a daughter of John Hooe (Turner, PWC Obits, 268).

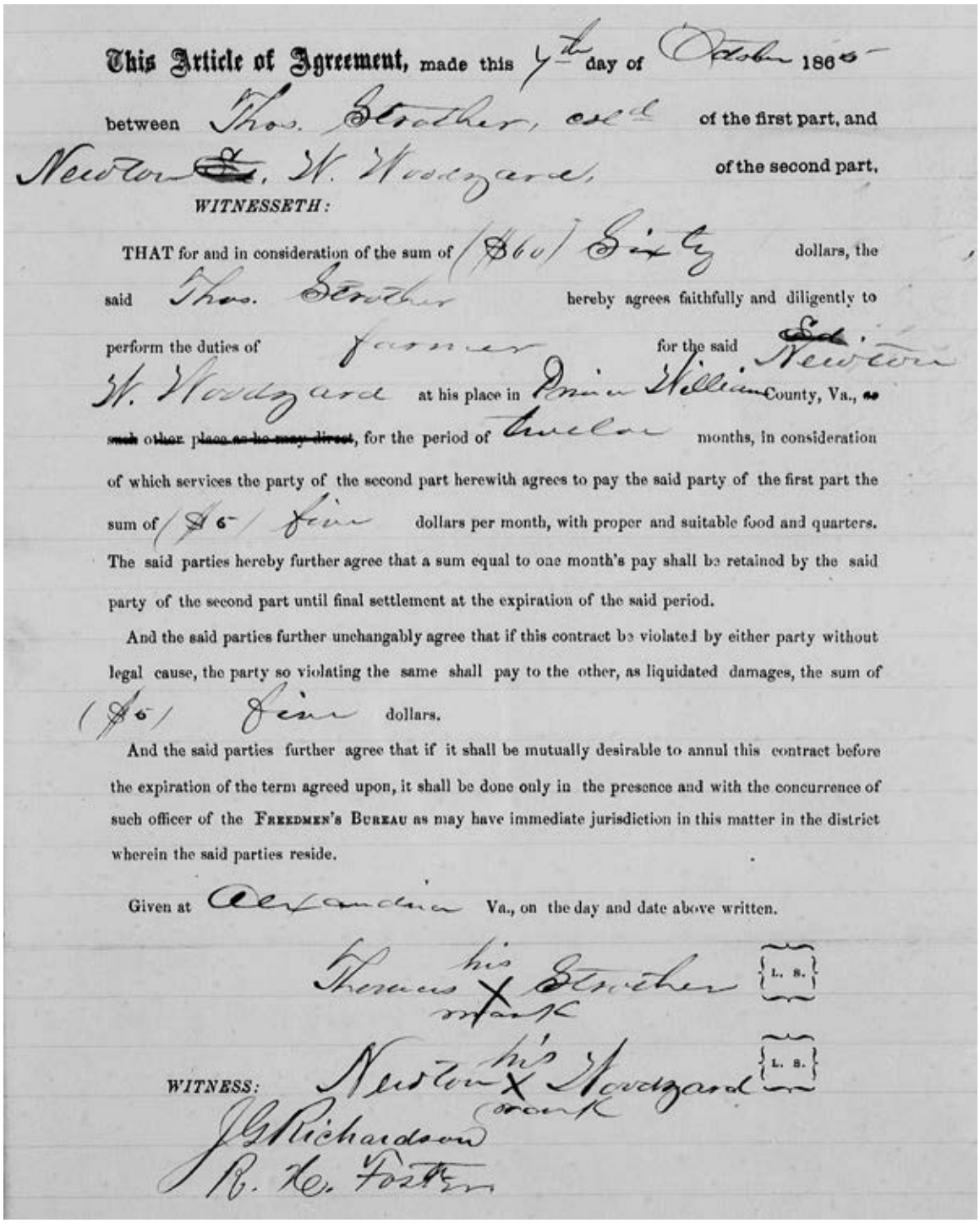
[108] Parsons, "Archeological Investigation of the Robinson House," 47–49.

Though land ownership among Manassas area Black households clearly increased over time, the majority of households remained tenants through the 1870s (with no available data for the 1880s–90s). Most occupied dwellings on white-owned farms or town lots, though a few Black landowners also rented to Black tenants. In the rural districts, farm laborers were often provided with a dwelling or "quarter" as part of their contract, for which they were paid a set cash amount. Thomas Strother's 1865 contract as a "farmer" on the Newton Woodyard farm near Manassas Junction included "suitable food and quarters" as part of his sixty-dollar one-year salary (Figure 94).[109] Others occupied a tenant house on the farm and were paid with a "share" of the crop, out of which their rent was paid. A Brentsville area farm rental contract, recorded in 1868 between landowner Frances B. Gibson and her African American tenant William Chinn, is a detailed example of another "sharecropping" arrangement. Chinn agreed to cultivate the land according to Gibson's instructions, turning over one-third of the resulting harvest as rent to Gibson. Chinn also agreed to haul the crops to market, to cut and stack wood for Gibson, to fill the shared icehouse, take her corn to be ground, care for her livestock, and keep the fences in repair. Gibson reserved "the mansion house" and other buildings to her use, while Chinn occupied "the three quarters. . .with the garden attached." The contract ran for one year but was extended twice through 1872.[110] In both the Strother and Chinn contracts, the housing provided appears to have formerly served as slave quarters.

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[109] "Virginia, Freedmen's Bureau Field Office Records, 1865–1872," database with images, *FamilySearch,* https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-DBL5-28?cc=1596147&wc=9LMK-6TL%3A1078510502%2C1078512101, Alexandria (superintendent), Roll 52, Labor contracts, September 1865–March 1867, image 25 of 993; citing NARA microfilm publication M1913 (College Park, MD: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.).

[110] Turner, "Prince William County Clerks Loose Papers, Vol. III," 84–86.



This Article of Agreement, made this 4th day of October 1865

between Thos. Strother, col'd of the first part, and

Newton & W. Woodyard, of the second part.

WITNESSETH:

THAT for and in consideration of the sum of ($60) Sixty dollars, the said Thos. Strother hereby agrees faithfully and diligently to perform the duties of Farmer for the said Newton W. Woodyard at his place in Prince William County, Va., ~~as such other place as he may direct~~, for the period of twelve months, in consideration of which services the party of the second part herewith agrees to pay the said party of the first part the sum of ($5) five dollars per month, with proper and suitable food and quarters. The said parties hereby further agree that a sum equal to one month's pay shall be retained by the said party of the second part until final settlement at the expiration of the said period.

And the said parties further unchangably agree that if this contract be violated by either party without legal cause, the party so violating the same shall pay to the other, as liquidated damages, the sum of ($5) five dollars.

And the said parties further agree that if it shall be mutually desirable to annul this contract before the expiration of the term agreed upon, it shall be done only in the presence and with the concurrence of such officer of the Freedmen's Bureau as may have immediate jurisdiction in this matter in the district wherein the said parties reside.

Given at Alexandria Va., on the day and date above written.

Thomas his X mark Strother {L. S.}

Newton his X mark Woodyard {L. S.}

WITNESS: J. G. Richardson

R. H. Foster

Figure 94: Thomas Strother contract
National Archives and Records Administration

As land ownership among Manassas District African Americans increased from 1870 to 1900, such tenancies decreased. In 1870, sixty-six of the ninety-one Black households in the Manassas District were tenants, but by 1900, of the 112 independent Black

households in the rural area surrounding Manassas, 67 owned their house and/or farm, while 13 were farm tenants and 32 rented just a house. Homeownership in the town of Manassas was less common than in the district. Of the forty Black households in town in 1900, twenty-seven were living in rented dwellings, while only thirteen owned their home.

By 1900, the Manassas African American community was primarily located in the Liberty Street neighborhood, with growing populations on Battle Street, West Street, Brentsville Road, and Zebedee Street. There were active community institutions in the Brown School, First Baptist Church, and the F.P. Gaskins Odd Fellows Lodge. Black-owned businesses included a general merchandise store owned by Charles and Carrie Berry, a shoemaker's shop owned by William Lomax and another owned by John Johnson, and a lodging house owned by Charlotte Dade. Two satellite community clusters had developed to the east and west of town—the Rushy Branch *(Mayfield)* area to the east and the *Forkfield*/Manassas Industrial School area to the west, while independent farms, like the Robinson farm near Groveton to the north, increased in number.

Occupations

African Americans in the Manassas area, as with other rural districts in Virginia, were primarily employed in agricultural labor or as domestic servants after emancipation. Labor contracts administered by the Freedmen's Bureau out of the Alexandria office show there was a great need for farm laborers on white-owned farms, particularly in Maryland and in Fauquier and Loudoun counties, but only a few contracts were made in Prince William County. In the Manassas area in 1865, Newton Woodyard, a white blacksmith, employed Thomas Strother as a farmer for one year at a rate of five dollars per month, plus room and board (see Figure 94). On the same day, Woodyard contracted with Parthena Butcher as a "house servant" at two dollars and fifty cents per month.[111] Relative to other contracts, these rates were particularly low. In 1866, Manassas area lumber merchant Oliver P. Chappell employed Mary Price for nine months as a house servant, paying her five dollars per month.[112] Strother, Butcher, and Price were not named in the 1860 population census, indicating they were likely enslaved prior to 1865, and none of them appear to have remained in Prince William County by 1870.

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[111] "Virginia, Freedmen's Bureau Field Office Records, 1865–1872/Alexandria Superintendent/Roll 52, Labor Contracts, Sept. 1865–Mar. 1867, NMAAHC-004151165_00135 and NMAAHC-004151165_00139," *Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Online Visual Archives,* accessed October 3, 2019, https://sova.si.edu/details/NMAAHC.FB.M1913?s=0&n=10&t=C&q=&i=0#ref169.

[112] "Virginia, Freedmen's Bureau Field Office Records, 1865–1872/Alexandria Superintendent/Roll 52, Labor Contracts, Sept. 1865–Mar. 1867, NMAAHC-004151165_00696," *Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Online Visual Archives,* accessed October 3, 2019, https://sova.si.edu/details/NMAAHC.FB.M1913?s=0&n=10&t=C&q=&i=0#ref169.

The 1870 census record indicates that white Manassas District households did employ and provide housing to local Black laborers and house servants, likely on terms similar to those found in the Freedmen's Bureau contracts. Of the approximately 154 Black men, women, and children who listed their occupation on the census for the Manassas District, fifty-two were listed as part of the white household in which they were employed. Twenty-four of those were employed as domestic servants, twenty-one worked as farm laborers, and seven held more-skilled positions, including two blacksmiths, one carpenter, one stone mason, and a hostler (a stableman at an inn), waiter, and cook employed by a white innkeeper. Some of the positions may reflect a childhood apprenticeship—young George Prim was just eighteen and working as a blacksmith in the household of retired merchant Charles L. Hynson. Parents in need of additional financial support for their family also hired out their children. In 1874, Howison Pinn "bound out" his son to John R. Shirley for a full year for twenty-five dollars (Figure 95).[113] Some occupations may represent a skill learned by an individual during his or her enslavement, such as sixty-year-old blacksmith Abraham Green, whose name does not appear on the 1860 census (indicating he was likely enslaved).

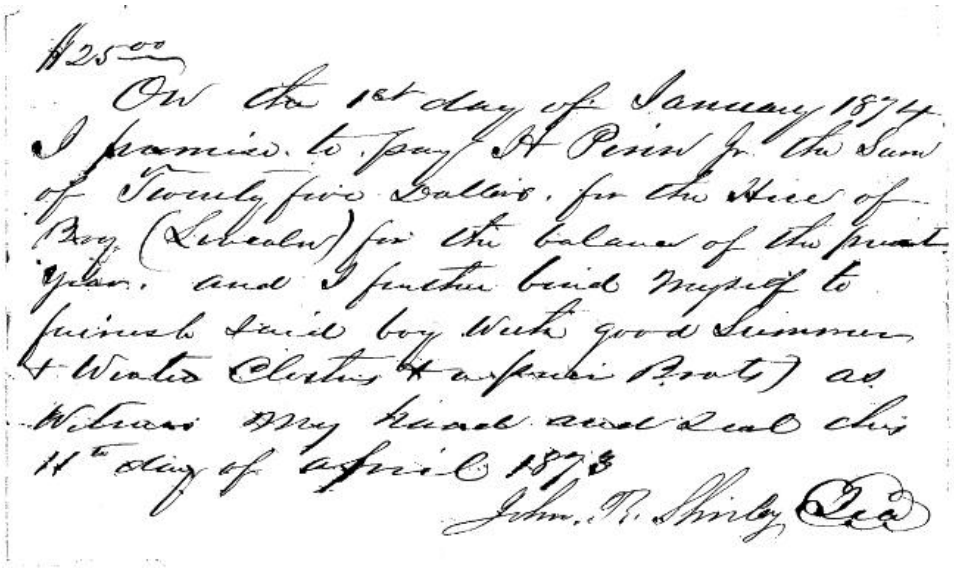


Figure 95: Howison Pinn bound out his son to John R. Shirley
PWC Loose Papers Bk 1107, page 330

Among the remaining one hundred persons employed and living in independent Black households in the Manassas District in 1870, there were more than a few with skilled occupations. Four men worked in the blacksmith trade, and five were carpenters. There were two shoemakers (William Lomax and son Warner), who owned their own shop; a

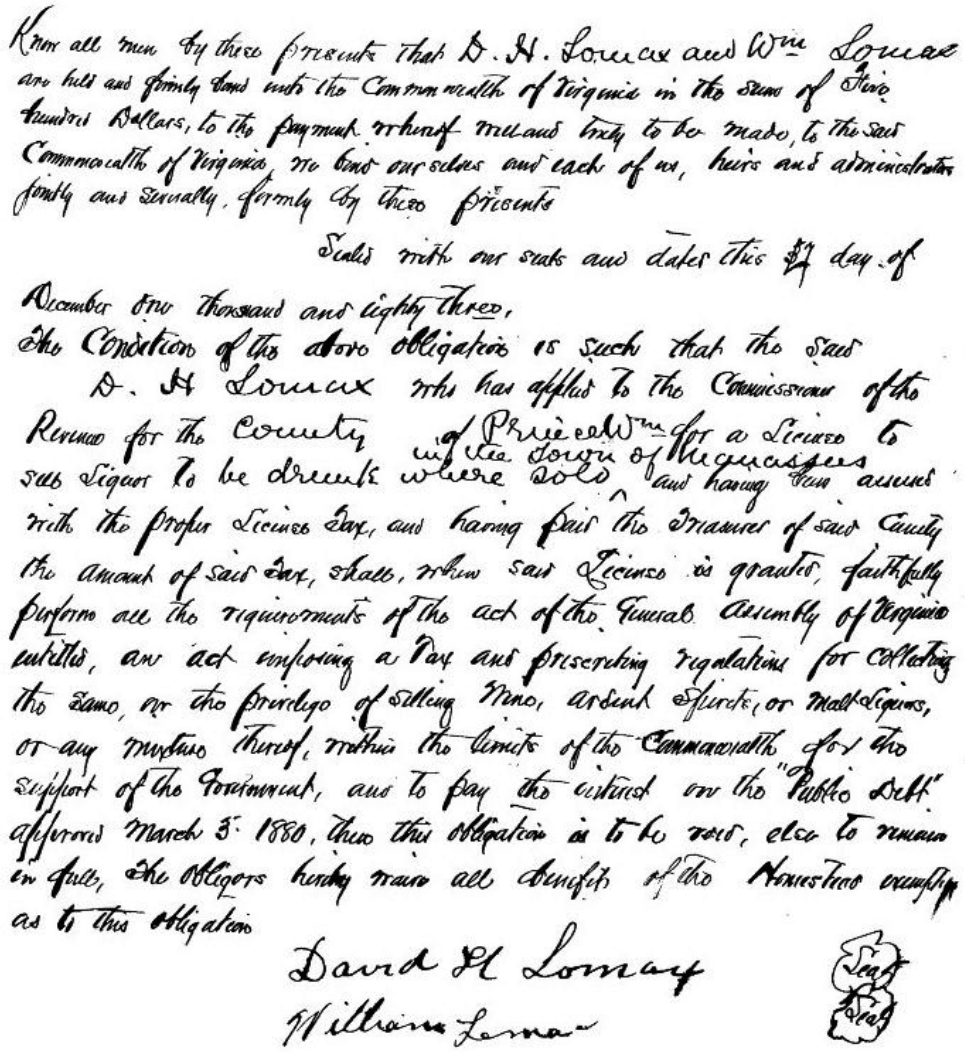
[113] PWC Loose Papers 1107, page 330.

plasterer; a restaurant worker; one stone mason; and one stone cutter—Charles Coleman, who likely already lived in the Rushy Branch area near the quarry (see Figure 83 for the 1901 Brown map). The remaining eighty-three men were employed in agriculture, sixty-nine of them as farm laborers and fourteen as farmers. Ten of the farmers owned their own farms. Women largely stayed at home "keeping house," though three were apparently employed as "house keepers." Only one woman employed as a domestic servant lived independent of the white household in which she worked.

By 1880, the number of African Americans living in the white household in which they were employed had fallen significantly, from fifty-two to thirty-four men, women, and children. In the district around the town of Manassas, just ten individuals, mostly women and girls, worked as servants, often listed as "cook & washer," and twelve men and boys worked as farm laborers or general laborers on white-owned farms. In town, seven individuals, three under the age of eighteen, worked as servants or laborers in the white household in which they lived. Manassas provided a much broader opportunity for independent Black workers. Twenty-five of the one hundred Black residents in town were listed with occupations, with only five working as general laborers and one working as a domestic servant. Other jobs included hostler and hotel worker, brick maker and stone mason, laundress, seamstress, two shoemakers and one bootmaker, barber, carpenter, well digger, four blacksmiths, one railroad worker and another who "works in RR depot," and another who worked in the "Express office." Women who did not work outside the home, who were certainly in the majority, were listed as "housekeeper."

In the large rural district area outside of Manassas, where more than six hundred African Americans were listed as residents in 1880, forty-one described their occupation as farmer, while sixty-nine worked as farm laborers. That number included Mary Spittle's farm, which she worked with the help of her eight sons—including the youngest, who was just eight years old. Another forty men and boys listed their occupation as laborer, which may indicate a variable "day laborer" type of employment, wherever work was available. Just one man indicated he worked at the railyard, one was a carpenter, two were plasterers, and three were blacksmiths. There were two school teachers listed as well, both young men, James Stokes and Charles German. As early as 1870, Manassas District had two schools for Black children (see the "Schools" section that follows).[114] Like the women in town, most women in the district remained at home, keeping house. Women working outside the home were most often employed as "cook & washer," and only one was listed as a domestic servant.

[114] *First Annual report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* (1871), *HathiTrust Digital Library,* https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000640946/Home.



Know all men by these presents that D. H. Lomax and Wm Lomax are held and firmly bound unto the Commonwealth of Virginia in the sum of Five hundred Dollars, to the payment whereof well and truly to be made, to the said Commonwealth of Virginia, we bind ourselves and each of us, heirs and administrators jointly and severally, firmly by these presents

Seals with our seals and dated this 27 day of December one thousand and eighty three.

The Condition of the above obligation is such that the said D. H Lomax who has applied to the Commissioners of the Revenue for the County of Prince Wm for a License to sell Liquor to be drunk where sold, in the Town of Occoquan and having been assessed with the proper License Tax, and having paid the Treasurer of said County the amount of said Tax, shall, when said License is granted, faithfully perform all the requirements of the act of the General Assembly of Virginia entitled, an act imposing a Tax and prescribing regulations for collecting the same, or the privilege of selling Wine, ardent Spirits, or malt Liquors, or any mixture thereof, within the limits of the Commonwealth for the support of the Government, and to pay the interest on the "Public Debt" approved March 3: 1880, then this obligation is to be void, else to remain in full, the obligors hereby waive all benefits of the Homestead exemption as to this obligation

David H Lomax

William Lomax

Seal

Seal

Figure 96: David H. Lomax license application, co-signed by his father William Lomax
PWC Loose Papers Bk 1102, page 48

Through the 1880s and 1890s, the Manassas Liberty Street community expanded beyond trade shops such as those for blacksmiths, shoemakers, and barbers, and moved into retail sales and entertainment. In 1883, David H. Lomax applied to the county for a liquor license for on-premises sales (Figure 96). The following year, his older brother Daniel began to operate a general merchandise store, which he reportedly continued through 1894. His 1886 merchant's license noted he had $1,000 in purchases and sales during the previous six-month period. Charles and Carrie Berry held merchandise licenses from as early as 1892 through 1899.[115]

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[115] PWC Loose Papers 1102, page 48 (David H. Lomax, liquor license, 1884); Ronald Ray Turner, "Manassas Virginia, Businesses, 1870–1970," 37, http://www.pwcvirginia.com/documents/BusinessesMan.pdf; PWC Loose Papers 1090, page 1 (Daniel Lomax, merchant license, 1886); Turner, "Prince William County Businesses, 1805–1955," 17, http://www.pwcvabooks.com/pwcvabookspublishedworks.htm.

By 1900, the Black population of Manassas had doubled to more than 220 individuals, more than a quarter of the whole town population. Only nineteen were employed as "servant" and living in their white employer's household. Other occupations continued to be widely varied, with most working as day laborers, but four men worked with the railroad, with one postal clerk, two firemen, and a watchman. There were servants, cooks, a hotel waiter, a wash woman, and stableman; five professionals, including a school teacher, a government clerk, a salesman, and three clergymen; six tradesmen, including two blacksmiths, two shoemakers, a stone mason, and a coachman for a livery service; and finally, the business owners, Robert Penne (a huckster on Center Street), Charlotte Dade (a lodging house operator on Battle Street), and retail merchants Charles and Carrie Berry, who apparently continued to sell general merchandise in their store on Liberty Street. The impact this working population had on the people of Manassas can be seen in the 1918 *Manassas Journa*l obituary of John Johnson, "an aged colored citizen":

> John Johnson, an aged colored citizen, for more than forty years a resident of Manassas, died at his home here, Wednesday of a complication of diseases. He had worked at his trade of shoemaker continuously until within a few days of his death. Johnson's shoemaker shop has been a fixture in Manassas for a long time and most of our citizens will miss the aged man of awl and last. His funeral was conducted from the colored Baptist Church of which he was a member.[116]

On the other hand, when the aging William Lomax, also a life-long Manassas shoemaker, was "physically unable to perform the manual labor of an able-bodied man," in 1889, he was required to record a certified note from a medical doctor to avoid being deemed a vagrant under the 1866 Vagrancy Act, which remained in place until 1902.[117]

Nearly 600 African Americans lived in the rural district outside of Manassas in 1900, where there were by-then fifty-eight active Black farmers and only fifteen "servants" living in white households. Farm labor and day labor continued to employ the majority of rural Black workers, though the railroad employed at least five men, including one "stationary engineer." There were also eight Black teachers in the rural districts; five of them, along with the principal, were employed at the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth, located just west of town. Interestingly, there were two barbers outside of town, while none were located in the town of Manassas. Several carpenters and stone masons and one blacksmith still lived and worked in the rural district in 1900.

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[116] Ronald Ray Turner, "Prince William County Obituaries, 1900–1930," 181.

[117] Turner, PWC Clerks Loose Papers, Vol. IV, 297; Guild, *Black Laws of Virginia,* 123.

Farm Production

Agriculture was the largest employer of African American men in the Manassas District throughout the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Men and boys occupied as "farm laborer" consistently topped the list of employment from 1870 through 1900 on the population census. At the same time, the number of men who described themselves as "farmer" increased significantly, from just fourteen in 1870 to fifty-nine in 1900. These included owners as well as renters, along with those who rented out "shares." The Manassas District mirrored the statewide trend of increasing Black farm ownership from 1870 to 1900, growing by more than 200 percent, from thirteen farms in 1870 to forty-eight in 1900. A number of these "farms" were better described as "farmsteads," often one to three acres, limited to subsistence production such as a kitchen garden, a milk cow, and a few hogs. Small farms of less than 100 acres might produce enough surplus to partially support the family, while other family members were employed elsewhere. Midsized and larger farms, like James Robinson's 250-acre farm, appear to have been self-supporting, providing the much-sought-after independence from white employers described by Eric Foner.[118]

The 1870 agriculture census included sixteen Black farmers in the Manassas District. Thirteen of those were identified in the population census as landowners. All but three of those farms were valued at over $1,000. Most of the farm sizes and values were comparable to the average white farms in the district (excluding the high-value plantations). The farm of John Randolph was striking for its size of nearly 450 acres, valued at over $6,000. All of the farms produced corn, and most also grew oats and wheat. All but two had at least one horse—Randolph had six—and most had several hogs, all had at least one milk cow, about half had one to three cattle, but none had sheep. For the most part, it appears the smaller farms, like their white counterparts, produced little more than subsistence stores of meat, milk, butter, potatoes, grain, and fodder. Higher-producing farms included John Randolph, James Robinson, Hampton Gaskins, Houson (Howison, Howson) Pinn (both Sr. and Jr.), and William Carter's tenant farm of nearly 500 acres. Only James Robinson and Hampton Gaskins produced orchard products. Two farms, those of James Robinson and Houson Pinn Sr., paid some small wages to farm laborers ($100 and $75, respectively).

By 1880, the Robison farm was reduced in size by the division of the estate after James Robinson's death. Bladen Robinson, in partnership with his mother, was listed on the agriculture census with 150 acres, now similar in size to the farm of his neighbor Hampton Gaskins, though Robinson had twice as many acres in cultivation. Both grew corn, oats, and wheat, and both maintained apple and peach orchards. Unlike many of their white neighbors, neither Robinson nor Gaskins kept sheep, with Robinson focusing

[118] As cited in Fuke, "Planters, Apprenticeship, and Forced Labor," 58, fn. 2.

instead on milk cows (five), cattle (five), and hogs (eight), while Gaskins focused primarily on hogs (thirteen), with only two milk cows and no cattle. Both also maintained small poultry flocks that likely served the family more than generating any cash value.

Philip Nash, who cultivated fifteen acres of the Mary Jane Dogan farm on shares, devoted his entire operation to corn production—a total of 220 bushels of corn for the 1879 season. This must have provided minimal support for his family of eight, perhaps mitigated by his father-in-law's employment as a laborer. In another sharecropping arrangement, John Randolph managed forty cultivated acres, producing corn, oats, wheat, and rye. He also kept two milk cows, two cattle, four hogs, and fifteen chickens—numbers indicating that they were for his own use.[119] Randolph's immediate neighbor, Nellie Naylor, owned six acres on which she kept five horses, one milk cow, two hogs, and five chickens, but "no agricultural products" according to the census taker.

Although the 1900 agricultural census is not available, it seems likely that similar arrangements persisted through the final decades of the nineteenth century.

Churches

Informal religious gatherings were known to have occurred during slavery, giving rise to perhaps the most important community institution following emancipation, the independent Black church. This often began as little more than a gathering of people that formed a congregation, meeting together outside or in members' homes until land could be acquired and a building constructed. In the town of Manassas, which itself was little more than a ruined depot before 1867, it appears a rudimentary church building was under construction by October 1868 or perhaps even earlier, when it was noted as housing the Freedmen's Bureau school. Teacher Jennie Speer reported in January 1869 that "[t]hey have a church and school-house here which is not finished, and they are anxious to complete it as soon as possible; although I am teaching in it now. . ."[120] It is unknown what denomination this early building represented, if any, though it was likely Baptist given the dominance of Baptists in the region and the ensuing development of the First Baptist Church of Manassas.

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[119] It is not clear if this is the same John Randolph who owned 450 acres in 1870, or perhaps was a son or other relative.

[120] *Friends' Intelligencer, Volume XXV* (Philadelphia: Emmor Comly, Publishing Agent, 1869), February 1869, 797, https://www.google.com/books/edition/_/VbhNAAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0.

First Baptist Church of Manassas

The official history of the First Baptist Church of Manassas gives 1872 as the first meeting of the mission congregation. A small group gathered at the "Old School House yard" under the leadership of a newly minted pastor, Rev. Marshall Downing Williams, who was just twenty-seven years old. Williams was assigned to Manassas by the American Baptist Home Mission Society to form and minister to a new mission church. The Home Mission Society opened the Wayland Seminary in Washington, DC, in 1866 for the education of Black ministers. Though it has not been confirmed that Williams attended Wayland Seminary, it seems likely that he did.

The town of Manassas appears to have served as a central place to gather for the then relatively scattered rural Black population of the district. Of the original group of six organizers, only Dorinda Miles and her foster daughter Lydia Ivison actually lived in the town by 1880. The others, identified in the church history as William Jackson, Willis W. Alexander, Jared Naylor, and Frank Gaskins, all lived on farms outside of town. The seven trustees of the First Baptist Church listed in an 1881 deed, similarly drew from both town and country dwellers.[121] While John Johnson (a bootmaker), Benjamin Davis (a stone mason), and Daniel Lomax (a shoemaker) all lived in town, William Jackson, James Broadus, and William Butler all owned farms several miles to the south of town near the Occoquan Run (the east-west, non-tidal upper section of the river).

A new church building was constructed and dedicated in 1879, on a lot provided by Isaac P. Baldwin, located on the south side of Centre Street adjoining the railroad. Baldwin officially conveyed the church lot in 1881 to the trustees for one dollar.[122] Baldwin's deed to the church trustees was generous, but came with significant covenants. He required that the church building be designed by an architect, that it be regularly painted, and that a five-foot-high fence be built, with palings "close enough to turn fowls." Finally, the deed required that the number of church trustees be maintained at seven. Since the church building was apparently already standing at the time the deed was made, it seems likely the design requirement was previously agreed upon and implemented.

For at least the first two decades of his ministry at Manassas, Rev. Marshall D. Williams lived in Alexandria, giving his daughters the opportunity to attend the Hallowell School (a school for African American girls). Both Mary and Sophia became school teachers, with Sophia remaining in Alexandria while Mary moved with the family to Manassas before 1900.[123] By 1900, Williams owned a home in Manassas and was deeply involved in

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[121] PWC DB 32, page 622.

[122] PWC DB 32, page 622.

[123] *Alexandria Gazette,* June 25, 1892, Newspapers.com.

the betterment of his community. He remained with the First Baptist Church of Manassas until his death in 1924. Williams was apparently assisted by Daniel Lomax, who served as "Supply Pastor" during Williams's final illness and after his death.[124]

District Churches

The First Baptist Church of Manassas appears to be the earliest identified church in the district. Others soon followed, however, largely due to the missionary efforts of Jennie Dean. Dean, her siblings, and parents were enslaved by the Cushing and Newman families in the northern district Sudley Springs area until their emancipation with the conclusion of the Civil War.[125] After the war, Dean, among other things (see the "Schools" section that follows), became a Baptist missionary in her home county, teaching Sunday schools and establishing new congregations. Her first mission congregation became the Mount Calvary Baptist Church, founded in 1880 in the Catharpin area near her family's farm. She later established a congregation at Wellington called Wellington Mission, another called Pilgrim's Rest, and one in Loudoun County.[126]

In 1900, John R. Conway and Fielding Strother were both listed in Manassas as "clergymen." No other ministers, other than Marshall Williams, were living in the Manassas District at the time. It is not known what churches these two men served.

Schools

Although more than 2,500 free and enslaved African Americans lived in Prince William County in 1860, educational opportunities for the county's Black citizens after the Civil War's conclusion remained very limited. Though it appears that a few educated African Americans began the process on their own, the Freedmen's Bureau sponsored only one school in the whole county between 1865 and 1870, and that school operated only from 1867 to 1869. Perhaps the rural population was too scattered to provide an obvious location to establish a school, or white opposition too strong. After 1870, the county's obligation to provide free public education to Black residents also fell short, as only five of the six districts were thus supplied and four of those only had one school per district (Manassas had two). However, in the 1890s, Prince William County's Manassas District moved to the

[124] "Historical Highlights," *First Baptist Church,* accessed October 29, 2020, https://fbcmanassas.org/about/historical-highlights.

[125] Peake, "The Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth, 1894–1916," 23.

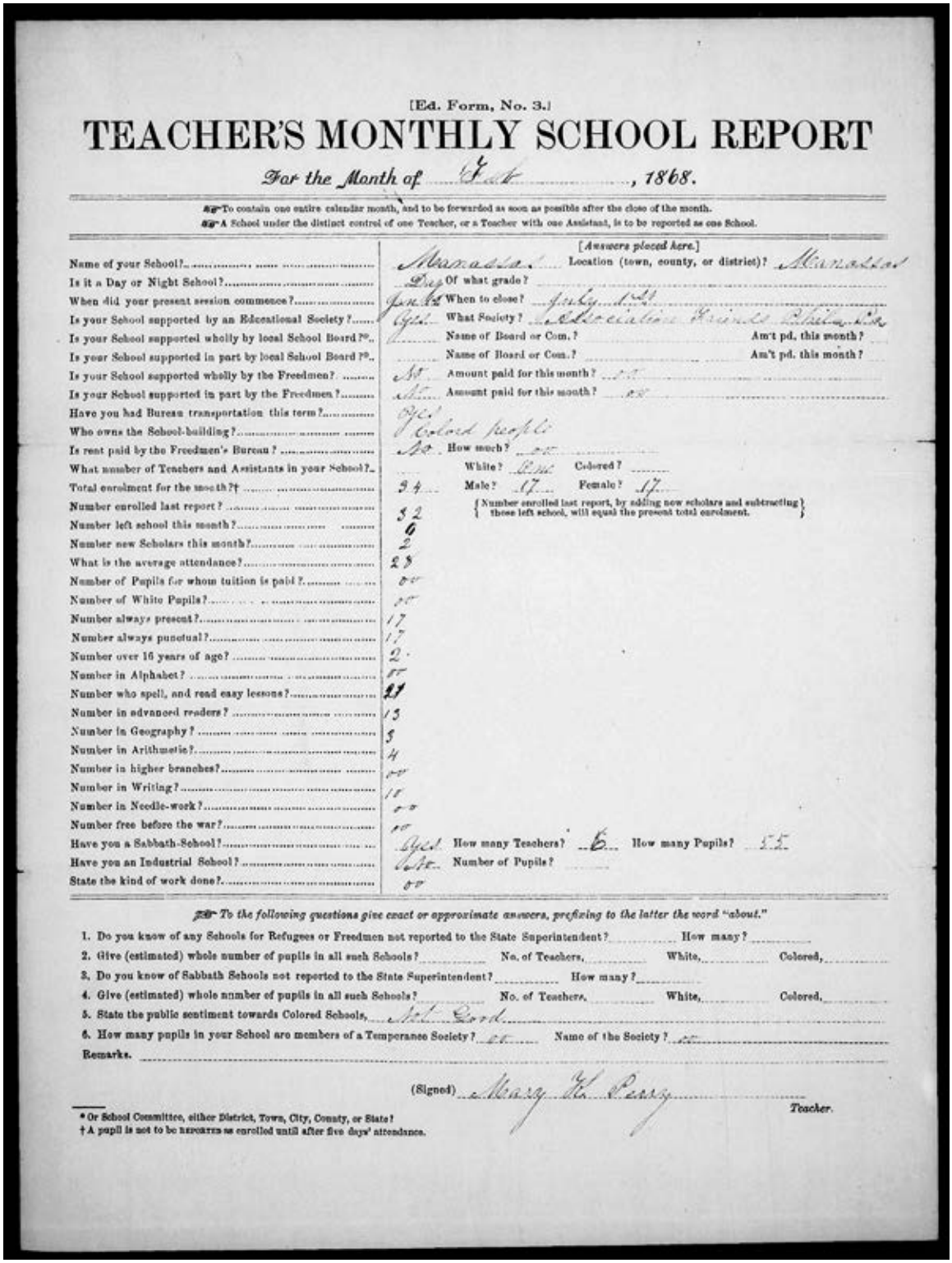
[126] PWC Obits, "Dean, Jennie Seriepta," 85–87.

forefront of Black education in Virginia with the establishment of the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth. Again, it was the efforts of the local Black community—and, in particular, that of Jane (Jennie) Dean—that made the opportunity possible.

Manassas Freedmen's Bureau Schools

The Freedmen's Bureau Alexandria headquarters for the Fifth District of Virginia was responsible for enabling education among the freedmen in Prince William County as early as 1866. But while schools opened in adjoining counties (Fairfax, Loudoun, and Fauquier) in 1866, there appears to have been no development in Prince William County. The move to establish a school in the Manassas area began in 1867. Unfortunately, two registered letters written in 1867 to the district superintendent from "Henson Pinn" appear to be missing, as are four registered letters referencing the Manassas school. The Manassas school first appeared in the consolidated monthly school report of Sub-Assistant Commissioner Capt. S.P. Lee (Alexandria, Subdistrict 10) for January 1868, in which it was noted that the school opened that month. The report additionally noted that the building which housed the school was "owned by the Freedmen."[127] As previously noted (see the "Churches" section), a "church and school-house" used by the Manassas Freedmen's Bureau school was still unfinished a year later in January 1869.

[127] Subordinate Field Offices, Records of the Field Offices for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, NMAAHC-004150383_00120.



[Ed. Form, No. 3.]

TEACHER'S MONTHLY SCHOOL REPORT

For the Month of Feb, *1868.*

To contain one entire calendar month, and to be forwarded as soon as possible after the close of the month.
A School under the distinct control of one Teacher, or a Teacher with one Assistant, is to be reported as one School.

[*Answers placed here.*]

Name of your School?	Manassas — Location (town, county, or district)? Manassas
Is it a Day or Night School?	Day — Of what grade?
When did your present session commence?	Jan 1st — When to close? July 1st
Is your School supported by an Educational Society?	Yes — What Society? Association Friends Phila. Pa.
Is your School supported wholly by local School Board P°.		Name of Board or Com.?	Am't pd. this month?
Is your School supported in part by local School Board P°.		Name of Board or Com.?	Am't pd. this month?
Is your School supported wholly by the Freedmen?	No — Amount paid for this month? 00
Is your School supported in part by the Freedmen?	No — Amount paid for this month? 00
Have you had Bureau transportation this term?	
Who owns the School-building?	Colored people
Is rent paid by the Freedmen's Bureau?	No — How much? 00
What number of Teachers and Assistants in your School?	White? One — Colored?
Total enrolment for the month?†	94 — Male? 47 — Female? 47
Number enrolled last report?	32 — {Number enrolled last report, by adding new scholars and subtracting those left school, will equal the present total enrolment.}
Number left school this month?	6
Number new Scholars this month?	2
What is the average attendance?	23
Number of Pupils for whom tuition is paid?	00
Number of White Pupils?	00
Number always present?	17
Number always punctual?	17
Number over 16 years of age?	2
Number in Alphabet?	15
Number who spell, and read easy lessons?	27
Number in advanced readers?	13
Number in Geography?	3
Number in Arithmetic?	4
Number in higher branches?	00
Number in Writing?	18
Number in Needle-work?	00
Number free before the war?	10
Have you a Sabbath-School?	Yes — How many Teachers? 6 — How many Pupils? 55
Have you an Industrial School?	No — Number of Pupils?
State the kind of work done?	00

☞ *To the following questions give exact or approximate answers, prefixing to the latter the word "about."*

1. Do you know of any Schools for Refugees or Freedmen not reported to the State Superintendent? ..... How many? .....
2. Give (estimated) whole number of pupils in all such Schools? ..... No. of Teachers, ... White, ... Colored, ...
3. Do you know of Sabbath Schools not reported to the State Superintendent? ..... How many? .....
4. Give (estimated) whole number of pupils in all such Schools? ..... No. of Teachers, ... White, ... Colored, ...
5. State the public sentiment towards Colored Schools, Not Good
6. How many pupils in your School are members of a Temperance Society? 00 Name of the Society? 00

Remarks. .....

(Signed) Mary K. Perry, *Teacher.*

* Or School Committee, either District, Town, City, County, or State?
† A pupil is not to be REPORTED as enrolled until after five days' attendance.

Figure 97: Mary K. Perry, February 1868 school report
Alexandria Field Office, NMAAHC-004150383_00252

Throughout the January to July 1868 school session, the Manassas school had thirty to forty students, taught by Mary K. Perry, who was supplied and supported by the "Friends Society of Philadelphia" (Friends Association of Philadelphia for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen; see Figure 97). The Manassas students were remarkably well-prepared, with about half of them starting the year already able to read and write, indicating there was indeed some kind of local effort to educate prior to the Freedmen's Bureau involvement. In a letter written to her benefactors in Philadelphia, Mary Perry wrote about her little school in Manassas:

> My scholars are progressing finely and I do not want this school to go down. I have a class of three little fellows, who did not know a letter three months ago, who are now reading very well, and who spell off the book in three syllables, and seldom miss a word. I feel so sorry to leave them; they come in every few minutes with some little token of affection—amongst other matters I have now on hand two pairs of chickens. They are an affectionate people, and will go to any length for one they love.[128]

After the schools closed in July, the Friends Association spent the remaining summer months raising funds for the coming fall opening of schools.

By the fall of 1868, the Freedmen's Bureau reorganized its administration of schools in northern Virginia. Prince William County, with Manassas still its only school, was paired with Fairfax County in the Bureau's Second Division school district. The district had seven schools (six in Fairfax County), with a combined total of 109 students enrolled. By comparison, Alexandria (First Division) had eleven schools with 231 students; Loudoun & Fauquier (Third Division) had eight schools—five in Loudoun and three in Fauquier—with a combined total of 138 students. The Friends Association supported at least six of the schools in the region.[129]

In October 1868, the Friends Association of Philadelphia supplied a new teacher, Miss Jennie Speer, to the Manassas school. Speer sent a report to the Association shortly after her arrival in Virginia:

> I am very much pleased with the school, and feel more as though I was 'doing something' than I have for a long time. The scholars are attentive and anxious to learn, and I find them easily governed by kindness and by appealing to their better feelings; they seem to have been so used to unkindness or neglect that some of them appear at first rather hardened, but a few words fitly spoken will melt them to tears almost instantly.

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[128] *Friends' Intelligencer, Volume XXV* (Philadelphia: Emmor Comly, Publishing Agent, 1869), January 1868, 348 and 444, https://www.google.com/books/edition/_/VbhNAAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0.

[129] Subordinate Field Offices, Records of the Field Offices for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, NMAAHC-004150383_00132.

> We have started a Sabbath School, and though small yet, I feel confident that we will have quite a large one this winter. They have pledged themselves to raise fifteen dollars per month, and I think have signed a paper to that effect; - but nothing has yet been paid.[130]

In fact, the community was never able to provide funds during the 1868–69 session. In January 1869, Speer wrote that the people were still unable to contribute money toward their education:

> It has been rather a hard year on them, as they have not yet realized anything from their crops, and have everything to buy. They are very anxious to have the school continued, and one said to me, "Write to them and tell them to help us a little longer and then we can help ourselves."[131]

She concluded, "I feel much encouraged—can see that they learn very fast and love to come to school."

The February 1869 superintendent's monthly report showed that Miss Speer expected to continue her school through June. The school had forty-three students enrolled, twenty-seven of them "advanced readers," thirty-seven able to write, and eleven in advanced subjects.[132] The large student population kept her "very busy," Speer wrote in her March report to the Association, but her advanced students helped her when needed. Speer additionally commented on the condition of the still-unfinished schoolhouse:

> Although the school house is very uncomfortable and inconvenient, as it has not yet been plastered and is minus two doors, with a great scarcity of desks and benches, still, as we have got along so far this winter, I think we will have to be satisfied still longer. I know the children cannot learn as fast as they would in a good comfortable school room, but I know they do learn, and think it severe punishment to be kept from school even for a single day.[133]

She noted that some of the students were "great grown men" who showed the same interest in learning as the children and that many of her students reportedly traveled "four to five miles to school."

Interestingly, the *Friends' Intelligencer* reported on a second school in Manassas in January 1869, which did not appear in the Freedmen's Bureau reports. The school was headed by Benjamin F. Grant, a young Black teacher still seeking to further his own education. Grant had twenty-eight students, but only three had advanced to even learning the alphabet. The families with students in Grant's school contributed five dollars per month toward the school's support. In October 1869, the Friends Association reopened Grant's

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[130] *Friends' Intelligencer,* Volume XXV, November 1868, 604.

[131] *Friends' Intelligencer,* Volume XXV, January 1869, 797.

[132] Subordinate Field Offices, Records of the Field Offices for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, NMAAHC-004150383_00875.

[133] *Friends' Intelligencer, Volume XXVI,* March 1869, 90, https://www.google.com/books/edition/_/VbhNAAAAMAAJ?hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiP2tH7y9PtAhWhmuAKHdOOC_EQ7_IDegQIARAT.

school in Manassas for another season.[134] The Association also received requests to continue support for Jennie Speer's school, including a letter from George C. Round, Commonwealth Attorney for Prince William County, who wrote, "It is, in my opinion, an absolute necessity that this school be kept up."[135]

Brown School

As noted previously (in the sections on Batestown and Hickory Ridge), a new Virginia state constitution was adopted in 1869 in order to gain readmittance into the Union. Though the new constitution provided for free public schools beginning in 1870, it was anticipated that few state and county resources would go toward schools for the state's Black children. In Manassas, continued support of the two schools by the Friends Association appears to have ensured their continuation in the new decade.



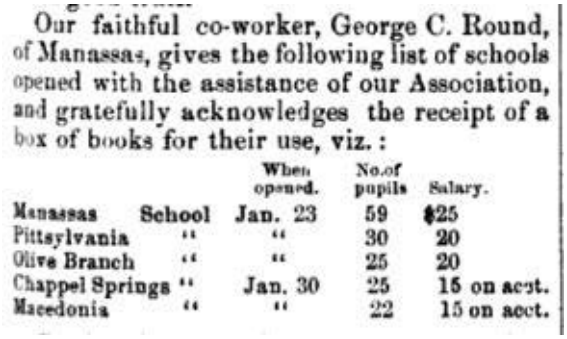
Figure 98: The Brown School sign, Liberty Street
Manassas Museum System, City of Manassas

Virginia's *First Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools,* which summarized the 1870–71 public school year, showed there were two schools in the Manassas District, with one Black male teacher and one Black female teacher and a total enrollment

[134] *Friends' Intelligencer,* Volume XXV, February 1869, 797; *Friends' Intelligencer,* Volume XXVI, March 1869, 91; October 1869, 492.

[135] *Friends' Intelligencer,* Volume XXVI, October 1869, 492. It is likely the two schools were actually two separate classes, one beginning students and the other more advanced students, housed in the same school building. For example, in 1871, the white school building in Sharpsburg, Maryland, had four "schools"—one grammar, two intermediate, and one primary.

of 117 students. The second school may be the Manley (Manly) Colored School, established near Wellington in 1871.[136] According to Lucy Walsh Phinney, local historian and author of *Yesterday's Schools,* the Friends Association agreed to continue to pay twenty-five dollars of the teacher's monthly salary for the Manassas Village Colored School, at the request of the Manassas District School Board; it was a little more than half the forty-dollar salary given in the state's annual report.[137]



Our faithful co-worker, George C. Round, of Manassas, gives the following list of schools opened with the assistance of our Association, and gratefully acknowledges the receipt of a box of books for their use, viz.:

		When opened.	No. of pupils	Salary.
Manassas	School	Jan. 23	59	$25
Pittsylvania	"	"	30	20
Olive Branch	"	"	25	20
Chappel Springs	"	Jan. 30	25	15 on acct.
Macedonia	"	"	22	15 on acct.

Figure 99: George C. Round report on the Manassas School
Friends Intelligencer, 1871, page 27

The Friends' support was again pledged for the 1871–72 school year, again paying twenty-five dollars of the teacher's salary, while the county offered only an additional ten dollars per month. In December 1871, local Manassas attorney and school advocate George C. Round reported to the Friends Association that the male teacher, Charles German, had been one of the original students in the Freedmen's Bureau school (Figure 99).[138] German was just seventeen, still living on his family's tenant farm with parents Henry and Kitty German, and attending school in 1870. Thus, at age eighteen, and likely yet without an advanced education, Charles German became a teacher in the Manassas school.

In 1872, the Manassas school was renamed the Brown School by the Friends Association to honor Mary D. Brown, said to have been a member of the Friends Association of Philadelphia. The school remained an important community institution through the 1880s and 1890s. In 1880, Charles German was still employed as a school

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[136] Peake, "The Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth," 25; "Minutes of the Prince William County School Board July 2, 1923—August 3, 1927 Book 2" (transcribed by Morgan Breeden, Bull Run Regional Library Manassas, VA, December 2011), 117, http://eservice.pwcgov.org/library/digitalLibrary/PDF/Prince%20William%20School%20Board%20Minutes%201923-1927.pdf.

[137] Lucy Walsh Phinney, *Yesterday's Schools* (1993), "The Brown School," http://www.pwcvirginia.com/documents/BROWNSCHOOL.pdf. At the time Phinney wrote this, she noted the former school building was still standing on Liberty Street.

[138] *Friends' Intelligencer,* Volume XXVIII, December 1871, 667, https://www.google.com/books/edition/_/_BpqtfHU6ucC?hl=en&gbpv=0.

teacher, still living on his father's farm, though in his own household with his wife and four children. In 1893, there were two teachers in the school: Leonera Joice, the "principal teacher" who was paid just twenty-five dollars per month, and Mary V. Lucas, assistant teacher at twenty dollars per month.[139] These salaries were nearly half those paid to the first teacher in the school in 1870.

As no public secondary school was provided for Manassas District's Black children by the local school board, it was not until after 1893 with the establishment of the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth (see the next section) that students from the Brown School could pursue a secondary education. Primary studies continued in the Brown School, despite the building's age and apparent minimal support from the District School Board. In 1897, a new male principal teacher, George C. Harris, took the reins of the school and remained in his leadership position through 1904. The school was finally closed in 1926 after more than fifty years of occupation.[140]

Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth

In 1893, Jane (Jennie) Serepta Dean (Figure 100), formerly enslaved and with only an elementary education, established the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth. She would be helped by many local and some nationally known supporters, but it was ultimately Jennie Dean's determination and focus that shaped the school and provided its moral foundation.

[139] Phinney, "The Brown School."

[140] Phinney, "The Brown School." State annual reports after 1871 did not break down information by district about individual schools and Manassas District School Board minutes are not available. Though not cited, it is likely that Phinney got much of her information from newspaper research.



Figure 100: Photograph portrait of Jennie Dean
Courtesy the Manassas Museum System, Manassas, Virginia

Following emancipation with the conclusion of the Civil War, Charles and Anne Dean moved their family to a tenant farm in the Sudley Springs / Catharpin area. By 1870, their daughter Jane (Jennie) was eighteen years old, according to the US census. She was still living in the family household and attending school, along with her fifteen-year-old sister Mary and baby sister Ella, reported as being around two years old at the time.[141] Jennie Dean reportedly went to work at age fourteen as a domestic servant in Washington, DC, where she saved enough money to buy her family's farm and send at least one of her sisters (some sources say both) to school at the Wayland Seminary. In Washington, Dean joined the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church, where she developed her missionary zeal. She shared her mission among the African American people of northern Prince William County by teaching Sunday Schools and establishing several mission churches (see the "Churches" section that follows) in the 1880s.[142]

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[141] Jennie Dean's obituary stated that she attended the Manly Colored School, a Manassas District public school established near Wellington in 1871, however the 1870 census indicates she was in school prior to that school's opening and able to read and write.

[142] Lewis, *Undaunted Faith, 5–7.*

It was during this time among the rural residents of her county that Dean realized the need for additional educational resources to lift people out of their extreme poverty. "Her heart ached," noted her obituary author, "for the poorly fed and poorly clad children who came to her Sunday Schools, and she organized industrial classes in cooking and sewing and taught them on Saturday afternoons."[143] The success of these classes apparently inspired "Miss Jennie" to establish her own institution in her home district. Dean was likely influenced by the philosophy and success of the industrial schools at Hampton, Virginia, and Storer College in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia (much closer geographically). Calling on her wealthy white contacts in Washington and beyond, she embarked on a multiyear fundraising campaign. According to her obituary, Dean's benefactors included "the late Crosby S. Noyes, Revs. Edward Everett Hale, S. M. Newman, Percy S. Grant, U. G. B. Pierce, Mrs. Burton Harrison, Representative Francis Burton Harrison, Bishops Potter and Greer, Mrs. M. C. Whitman, Miss Emily Howland, and Mrs. C. B. Hackley." Emily Howland was a widely known New York Quaker who had been deeply involved in African American education in Virginia since the end of the Civil War. Howland provided the funds to construct the school's first building.[144]

Dean had support from the local white community as well, including "Dr. H. M. Clarkson, the late Capt. R. H. Tyler, Geo. C. Round, the late Henry J. Ayres, the late Representative E. E. Meredith, who was attorney for the school; Judge C. E. Nicol, the late W. H. W. Moran, Rev. Abram Conner, the late Mrs. Howard P. Dodge and Mr. Dodge, F. H. Sanders, and Mr. and Mrs. Harry L. Hundley."[145] Certainly, the Black community supported her as well, with Rev. Marshall Williams serving on her school's board of directors and Frederick Douglass speaking at the school's dedication on September 3, 1894, during which he noted, "To found an educational institution for any people is worthy of notice, but to found a school, in which to instruct, improve and develop all that is noblest and best in the souls of a deeply wronged and long neglected people, is especially noteworthy" (Figure 101).[146]

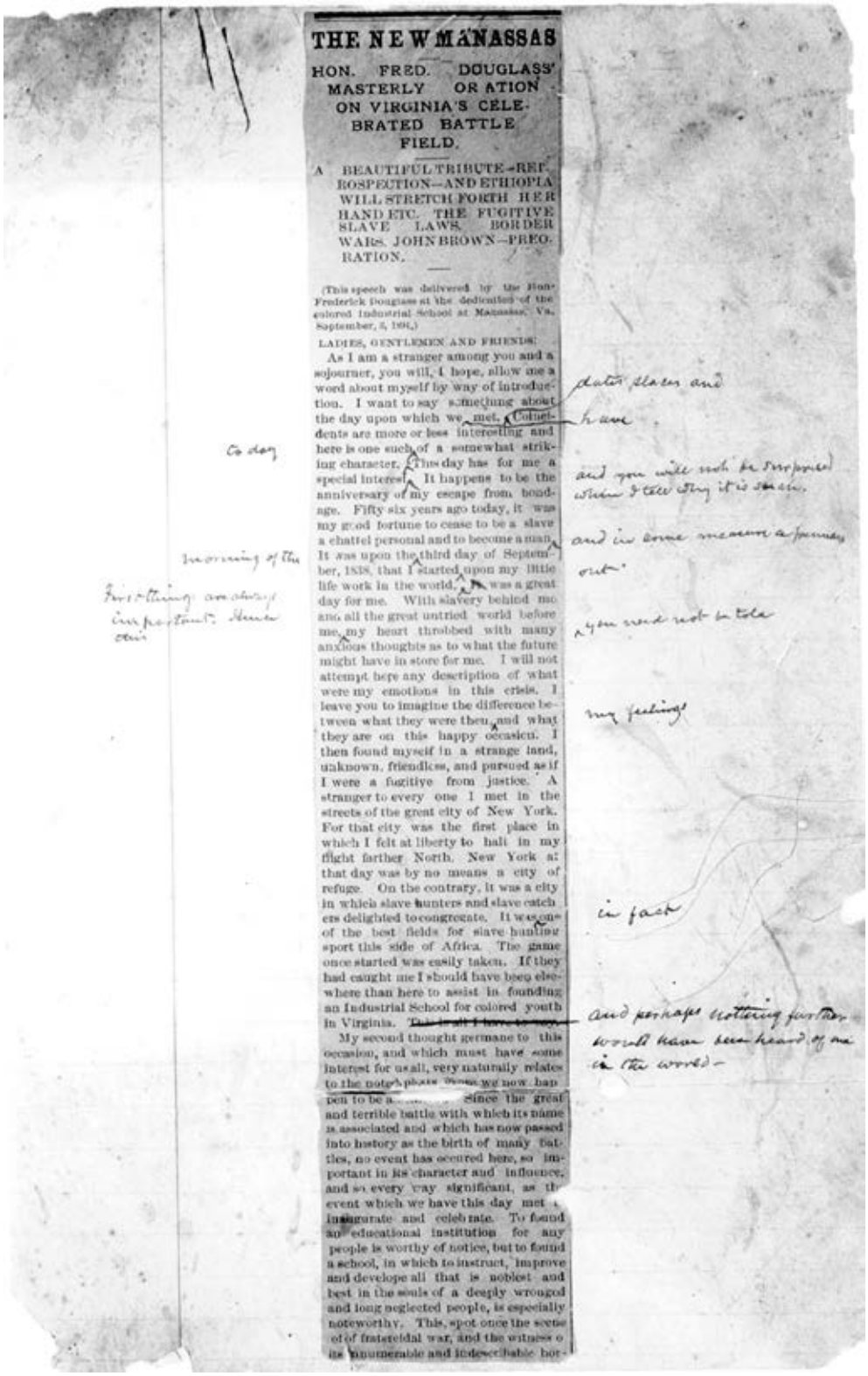
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[143] PWC Obituaries, "Dean, Jennie Seriepta," 85–87.

[144] The building was destroyed by fire in February 1895, but rebuilt the following summer (*Highland Recorder,* Monterey, VA, June 7, 1895, Newspapers.com).

[145] PWC Obituaries, "Dean, Jennie Seriepta [*sic*]," 85–87. Also, in 1907, Andrew Carnegie, who donated funds for a library ("Manassas Industrial School," National Register nomination).

[146] Frederick Douglass speech, reprinted in unknown newspaper, Library of Congress.



THE NEW MANASSAS

HON. FRED. DOUGLASS' MASTERLY ORATION ON VIRGINIA'S CELEBRATED BATTLE FIELD.

A BEAUTIFUL TRIBUTE—RETROSPECTION—AND ETHIOPIA WILL STRETCH FORTH HER HAND ETC. THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAWS. BORDER WARS. JOHN BROWN—PREORATION.

(This speech was delivered by the Hon. Frederick Douglass at the dedication of the colored Industrial School at Manassas, Va. September, 5, 1894.)

LADIES, GENTLEMEN AND FRIENDS:

As I am a stranger among you and a sojourner, you will, I hope, allow me a word about myself by way of introduction. I want to say something about the day upon which we met. Coincidents are more or less interesting and here is one such of a somewhat striking character. This day has for me a special interest. It happens to be the anniversary of my escape from bondage. Fifty six years ago today, it was my good fortune to cease to be a slave a chattel personal and to become a man. It was upon the third day of September, 1838, that I started upon my little life work in the world. It was a great day for me. With slavery behind me and all the great untried world before me, my heart throbbed with many anxious thoughts as to what the future might have in store for me. I will not attempt here any description of what were my emotions in this crisis. I leave you to imagine the difference between what they were then and what they are on this happy occasion. I then found myself in a strange land, unknown, friendless, and pursued as if I were a fugitive from justice. A stranger to every one I met in the streets of the great city of New York. For that city was the first place in which I felt at liberty to halt in my flight farther North. New York at that day was by no means a city of refuge. On the contrary, it was a city in which slave hunters and slave catchers delighted to congregate. It was one of the best fields for slave hunting sport this side of Africa. The game once started was easily taken. If they had caught me I should have been elsewhere than here to assist in founding an Industrial School for colored youth in Virginia. ~~This is all I have to say.~~

My second thought germane to this occasion, and which must have some interest for us all, very naturally relates to the note[illegible] we now happen to be a[illegible] since the great and terrible battle with which its name is associated and which has now passed into history as the birth of many battles, no event has occured here, so important in its character and influence, and so every way significant, as the event which we have this day met to inaugurate and celebrate. To found an educational institution for any people is worthy of notice, but to found a school, in which to instruct, improve and develope all that is noblest and best in the souls of a deeply wronged and long neglected people, is especially noteworthy. This, spot once the scene of of fratricidal war, and the witness o its innumerable and indescribable hor-

Figure 101: Frederick Douglass speech, reprinted in an unknown newspaper
Library of Congress

Dean's years of planning and fundraising bore fruit in 1893, when the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth received its charter from the county court.[147] Ellen S. Mussey, a widow living in Washington, DC, then conveyed ninety-one acres to the first trustees of the school: Rush R. Shippen, Henry P. Montgomery, James H. Merriweather, Marshall D. Williams, and Henry H. Waring.[148] Located just west of the town of Manassas adjoining the Southern Railroad (formerly the Orange & Alexandria RR), the tract was well-positioned for a school campus. The first building, called Howland Hall for its benefactor Emily Howland, was completed in time for the September 1894 dedication and classes began that year. Though the school was private and charged tuition, room, and board, many local children attended. As Miss Jennie reportedly said, "Make all you can and save all you can. Meanwhile, I will go out and raise the money to build a school where your children may be educated to trades. You do your part here, and I will do mine in the world."[149] From just six students in its first year, the enrollment expanded to seventy-five by the next year.

The school offered a secondary education for students, as well as training in manual trades such as sewing, drafting, carpentry, and cooking. Students also learned agricultural practice, producing much of the food consumed on the campus. Many students worked extra hours to earn money toward tuition and boarding costs. The school's stated objectives included the following:

> 1.—To train in habits of usefulness those committed to its care, by developing them mentally, morally, and physically.
>
> 2.—To teach the dignity and importance of labor, and by means of trades to perform it skillfully.
>
> 3.—To give a sound, English, common school education.
>
> 4.—To teach the value and use of money.
>
> 5.— To train young men and women for useful, intelligent citizenship.
>
> 6.—To make its students self-reliant, careful thinkers, thorough in their work, manly and womanly in their bearing and to cultivate habits of industry.[150]

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[147] Referenced in PWC DB 44, page 478 (mortgage held by Emily Howland, 1896).

[148] PWC DB 42, page 587 (Mussey to Trustees, 1893).

[149] As cited in Peake, "The Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth," 28. See also Margaret B. Binning, "Manassas Industrial School, Manassas Regional High School, Jennie Dean High School, Manassas, Virginia, Including Records from 1894 through 1982, Faculty, Students, and Graduates (from all known sources)," Ruth E. Lloyd Information Center (RELIC), Bull Run Regional Library, Manassas, Virginia, 2012, https://www.pwcgov.org/government/dept/library/Pages/RELICHistoricRepository.aspx.

[150] Statement on the cover of a 1904 school pamphlet, "The Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth located at Manassas, Va." (1904?), *HathiTrust Digital Library,* https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100789189.

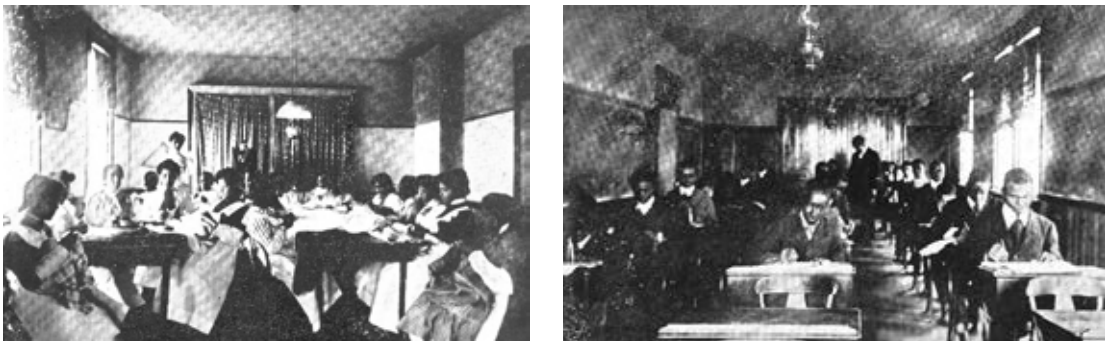


Figure 102: Series of five photographs from a 1904 Manassas Industrial School pamphlet
HathiTrust Digital Library

The school's objectives were clearly in line with the founding philosophy of the Hampton Institute, whose founder, Union General Samuel Armstrong, sought not only to train teachers, but also "to teach respect for labor, to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands, and in this way to build up an industrial system for the sake not only of self-support and intelligent labor, but also for the sake of character."[151] It also reflected the philosophy of Booker T. Washington, founder of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, who not only attended the Hampton Institute from 1872 to 1875 but also graduated from the Wayland Seminary in 1878.[152]

By 1901, the Manassas Industrial School included fourteen buildings on over one hundred acres, much of it farmed by the students. In addition to orchard products and livestock, the farm yielded "11 tons of hay, 150 barrels of corn, 50 bushels of green beans, 5,000 heads of cabbage, 200 gallons of tomatoes, 50 bushels each of white and sweet potatoes, 25 bushels of lima beans, 20 bushels each of white beans and oyster plants, 100 bushels of turnips, and various amounts of other vegetables such as onions, pumpkins, and beets."[153]

[151] "History," *Hampton University,* accessed November 1, 2020, http://www.hamptonu.edu/about/history.cfm.

[152] "Washington Timeline," *Booker T. Washington National Monument,* accessed November 1, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/bowa/learn/historyculture/washington-timeline.htm.

[153] Peake, "The Manassas Industrial School," 34.

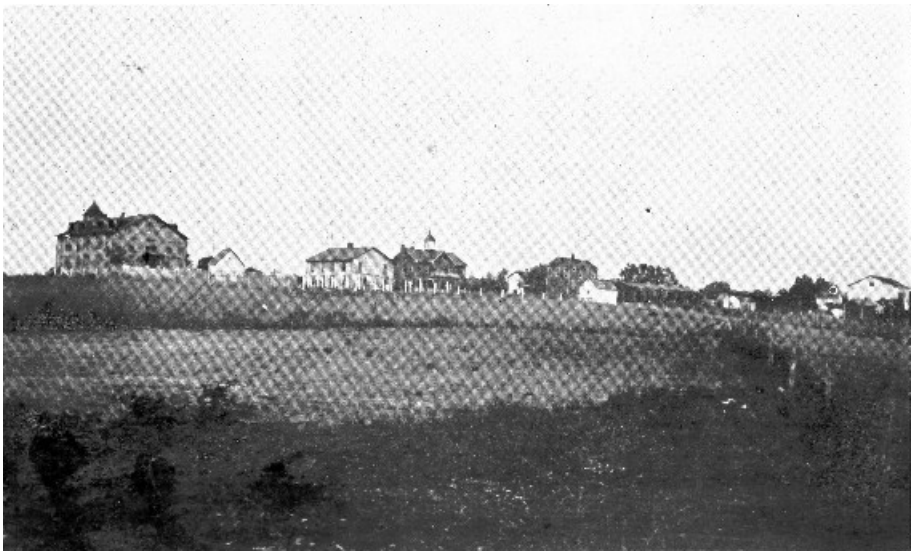


Figure 103: Bird's Eye View, 1904 Manassas Industrial School pamphlet
HathiTrust Digital Library

Jennie Dean remained a guiding force for the school throughout her life, serving on the board of directors along with her friend Marshall D. Williams. Reverend Williams officiated at Dean's funeral in 1913, though she was buried in the cemetery at Mt. Calvary Baptist Church, a church she founded in 1880. Her impact on the community was clear in the eulogy of her newspaper obituary, which concluded:

> The death of Jennie Dean brings to mind the devotion of her life work towards the betterment of the spiritual and temporal condition of her race, and emphasizes anew the well-established fact that much good may be accomplished through the medium of humble instruments. That a colored woman born in slavery and subject to the vicissitudes of poverty could have founded churches, Sunday schools and established an institution for training the youth of her people is the strongest evidence of what may be achieved through sincerity of purpose and good work, inspired by faith even under the most adverse conditions.[154]

Perhaps the most significant statement about the school was made by Jane Thompson, friend and supporter of Jennie Dean, in a letter written to Theodore Roosevelt in 1913, just one month after Dean's death. Thompson wrote, "[T]here is this difference between the Manassas Industrial School and schools like Tuskegee and Hampton—that the movement started from among the colored people of the Bull Run region themselves, led by Jennie Dean to have a School of their own."[155] The Manassas Industrial School remained the only secondary school for Prince William County's Black students through the first half of the twentieth century.

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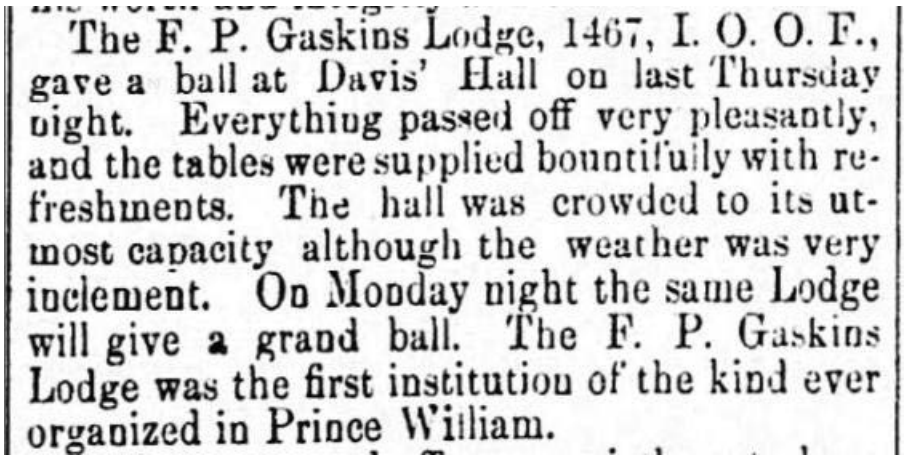
[154] PWC Obituaries, "Dean, Jennie Seriepta," 85–87.

[155] As cited in Peake, "The Manassas Industrial School," 60.

Benevolent Societies

Even as the village of Manassas was just starting to take shape in the early 1870s, the African American community growing on the south side of the railroad junction was making strides to establish its own community institutions. The building that housed the Freedmen's Bureau school, and apparently an informal church, likely also served as the community's Odd Fellows hall. The F. P. Gaskins Lodge #1467, a chapter of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, was established in 1871. Only five such lodges in the Potomac region were older—two in Frederick, Maryland; one in Sharpsburg, Maryland; one in Alexandria, Virginia; and one in Arlington.[156]

The fraternal society served as a benevolent or mutual aid organization, though it also provided a private fraternal gathering (outside of church) in which Black men could speak their minds. In December 1872, the *Alexandria Gazette* reported that the lodge held "a ball at Davis Hall," which was widely attended, while a "grand ball" was planned for several days later (Figure 104).[157] In September 1873, the newspaper noted a "tournament and ball" held by the "colored fraternity."[158] Presumably these were fundraisers to help fulfill the mission of supporting widows and others in need, along with providing funds to members for burial costs.



The F. P. Gaskins Lodge, 1467, I. O. O. F., gave a ball at Davis' Hall on last Thursday night. Everything passed off very pleasantly, and the tables were supplied bountifully with refreshments. The hall was crowded to its utmost capacity although the weather was very inclement. On Monday night the same Lodge will give a grand ball. The F. P. Gaskins Lodge was the first institution of the kind ever organized in Prince William.

Figure 104: "A ball at Davis Hall," *Alexandria Gazette*, December 28, 1872
Newspapers.com

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[156] Brooks, *The Official History,* 115 (F.P. Gaskins Lodge), 96 (Star Lodge, Frederick, 1865), 98 (Mt. Zion Lodge, Frederick, 1866), 106 (D.R. Hall Lodge, Sharpsburg, July 1869; G.W. Parker Lodge, Alexandria, Aug. 1869), 110 (Stevens Lodge, Arlington, September 1869).

[157] *Alexandria Gazette,* December 28, 1872, Newspapers.com. The newspaper article incorrectly identified the Gaskins Lodge as "I.O.O.F." (Independent Order of Odd Fellows).

[158] Ronald Ray Turner, "Prince William County Newspaper Transcripts, 1865–1875" (2001), 197, *Alexandria Gazette,* December 28, 1872, "Prince William County Items," http://www.pwcvirginia.com/documents/PWC1865-1875NewspaperTranscripts.pdf.

In 1887, another group of men (likely many of the same men) gathered to form the Rose Hill Cemetery Association. The forming trustees, including Marshall Williams, John Johnson, John Dyer, William Lomax, Daniel Lomax, Thomas Goins, Reuben Pickett, Simon Prim, and John Robison, purchased a three-acre lot on the Milford Road (southwest of Manassas) from Anson and Frances Davis. The deed of conveyance served as a foundational document for the Association, whose stated mission was "to provide a suitable burial place for persons of color residing in or near Manassas." Burial plots in the private cemetery would be reserved for initial investors or could be purchased. All monies received were to be used "toward caring for and beautifying the cemetery," and Association finances would be made public annually.[159] Prior to the establishment of the Rose Hill Cemetery, it is unknown where African Americans in the Manassas District buried their dead.



Figure 105: Rose Hill Cemetery stones
Photo by the author, 2021

[159] PWC DB 38, page 547. Anson Davis was a tin manufacturer in Manassas as early as 1870. It was likely his building that was called "Davis Hall," where the Gaskins Lodge held its ball in 1872.

Civic Engagement

During Virginia's brief period of Radical Republican dominance following the war, African Americans were encouraged to participate in the civic maelstrom the Fourteenth Amendment opened to them. The Underwood Constitution, passed in 1867 and adopted in 1869 to fulfill a requirement of Reconstruction, provided for the enfranchisement of Virginia's Black men. With the encouragement of Northern Radicals who had recently arrived in Virginia, Black men not only voted but also ran for public office in the 1869 election. In May 1869, a clearly conservative-leaning citizen from Prince William County reported to the *Alexandria Gazette* that "the Negro Man Pinn" (probably Howson Pinn Jr.) was seeking an appointment to be the Postmaster in Manassas:

> It is said that he is patronized by the Radical candidate for Congress [Sumner Fitts from New York]. He took Pinn to Washington and showed him all the sights besides giving him an introduction to the Postmaster General, and advocated his cause in the post office line. Our new Commonwealth's Attorney [George C. Round from New York], and several others of his kind and color, are signers of Pinn's petition it is said. . . . TYRONE, Brentsville, Va. May 20th 1869.[160]

Tyrone noted in a later submission, "The black republicans say that Pinn's appointment is a 'political necessity.' The blacks will leave the radicals here 'with the bag to hold' if Pinn is not appointed postmaster."[161]

The writer's dismay with the political turn of events in Prince William County was clearly outlined in his report on the appointments of fourteen Black men to serve in the jury pool by Radical district judges:

> I am not in political affiliation with this Court or its out-door coadjutors. With it in political character I am utterly at war, and its action I shall not criticize, except in so far as it has warped the performance of its judicial duties with political passion and prejudice. The laws of this Commonwealth, which these magistrates swore, in my hearing, to administer, establish the juries, that are qualified to act, upon an exclusively white basis. "All free white male citizens, who are twenty one years of age, and not over sixty, shall be liable to serve as jurors except as hereinafter provided," is the language of the statute.[162]

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[160] Turner, "Newspaper Transcripts," 53, *Alexandria Gazette,* June 1, 1869, "Letter from Prince William County," http://www.pwcvirginia.com/documents/PWC1865-1875NewspaperTranscripts.pdf. The writer incorrectly identified Howson Pinn as "Pierce" and "Hampton E. Pierce" was likely Howson Pinn Jr.

[161] Turner, "Newspaper Transcripts," 57, *Alexandria Gazette,* June 7, 1869, "Letter from Prince William County," http://www.pwcvirginia.com/documents/PWC1865-1875NewspaperTranscripts.pdf.

[162] Turner, "Newspaper Transcripts," 50–51, *Alexandria Gazette,* May 6, 1869, "Letter from Prince William County," http://www.pwcvirginia.com/documents/PWC1865-1875NewspaperTranscripts.pdf.

Among the men appointed to serve as jurors were Howson Pinn Sr., Hampton E. Pinn, William Chinn, Alexander Harris, William Lomax, and James Robinson. A later report noted that William Lomax and Robert Williams (from the First District) were actually summoned to sit in the next term's jury.[163]

In June 1869, three Black men—Jesse Bates (District 1), H.E. Pinn (District 3), and Josiah Thomas (District 4)—were appointed as election registrars. In relaying this information, Prince William County correspondent Tyrone clearly viewed this as a final Radical insult. For the county's Black citizenry, however, it was a remarkable opportunity.[164] The Black men of the county appear to have registered in significant numbers and voted solidly Radical Republican, at least until the election of 1874, according to the newspaper accounts. In October 1874, a Brentsville resident, writing to the *Alexandria Gazette,* noted a resurgence of voters for "the Conservative side," including an expected "considerable gain from the colored population."[165]

Whether that shift in alliance happened or not is unknown, however, in an 1877 countywide vote, Black voters in the Manassas District showed that they did not always vote in a unified block. The 1877 vote was to approve or disapprove a "Subscription to the Potomac and Manassas Rail Road." Black voters in the Manassas District were split nearly equally between those "For" and those "Against." As many as 45 of the estimated 135 eligible Black male voters in the district cast their vote.[166] In 1885, a group of Black men from Manassas petitioned the court to "refuse to grant license for the sale of intoxicants within the incorporation of Manassas or vicinity of three miles" (Figure 106). Fifteen men signed the petition, including Daniel, Warner, and William Lomax, despite (or perhaps because of) David H. Lomax retaining a liquor license in 1883.[167]

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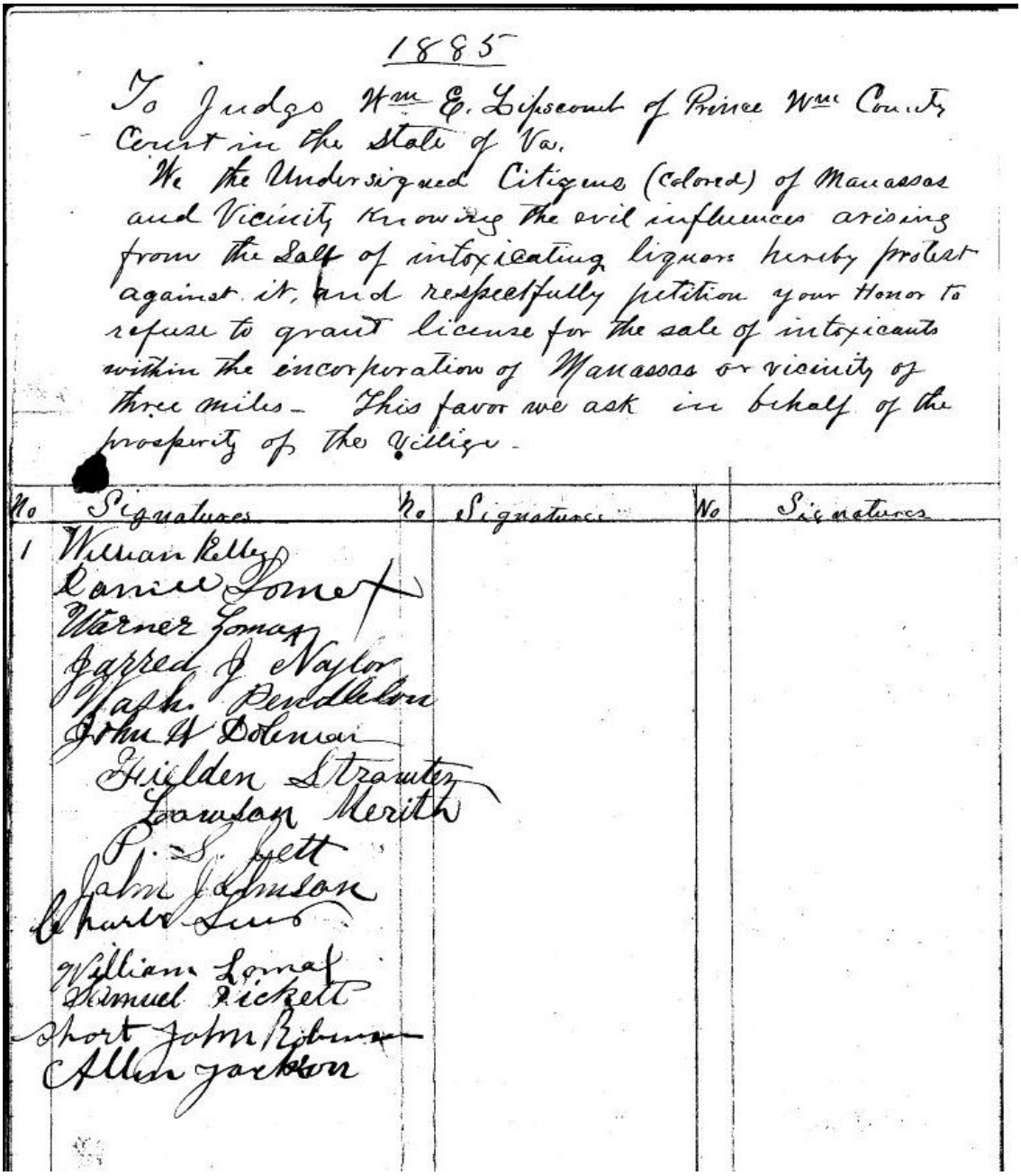
[163] Turner, "Newspaper Transcripts," 53, *Alexandria Gazette,* June 1, 1869, "Letter from Prince William County," http://www.pwcvirginia.com/documents/PWC1865-1875NewspaperTranscripts.pdf. In June 1874, the newspaper reported "a jury composed entirely of colored men was summoned," but the case they were to hear was postponed. Turner, "Newspaper Transcripts," 208, *Alexandria Gazette,* June 12, 1874.

[164] Turner, "Newspaper Transcripts," 56–57, *Alexandria Gazette,* June 7, 1869, "Letter from Prince William County," http://www.pwcvirginia.com/documents/PWC1865-1875NewspaperTranscripts.pdf.

[165] Turner, "Newspaper Transcripts," 219–220, *Alexandria Gazette,* October 1, 1874, "Brentsville, Prince William County," http://www.pwcvirginia.com/documents/PWC1865-1875NewspaperTranscripts.pdf.

[166] PWC Loose Papers 1074, page 70. Not surprisingly, in a district already blessed with two railroads, the overall vote was overwhelming against the new line. The estimate of eligible black voters was based on male residents aged twenty-four or older listed on the 1880 census for Manassas District. Several voters in 1877 were deceased by 1880, but appear in the 1870 census.

[167] PWC Loose Papers 1100, page 374; PWC LP 1102, page 48.



1885

To Judge Wm E. Lipscomb of Prince Wm Co. Ct
Court in the State of Va.

We the Undersigned Citizens (Colored) of Manassas and Vicinity Knowing the evil influences arising from the Sale of intoxicating liquors hereby protest against it, and respectfully petition your Honor to refuse to grant license for the sale of intoxicants within the incorporation of Manassas or vicinity of three miles - This favor we ask in behalf of the prosperity of the Village -

No	Signatures	No	Signatures	No	Signatures
1	William Kelley				
	Daniel Lomax				
	Warner Lomax				
	Jarred J Naylor				
	Wash. Pendleton				
	John H Dolenson				
	Hilden Strauter				
	Lawson Merith				
	P. S. Pett				
	John Johnson				
	Charles Lewis				
	William Lomax				
	Samuel Pickett				
	Short John Robinson				
	Allen Jackson				

Figure 106: 1885 petition to deny liquor licenses
PWC Loose Papers 1100, page 374

A significant percentage of Black men voted in the 1896 town election for Manassas mayor and council. Of the estimated thirty-two Black town residents eligible to vote in 1896, seventeen voted in the town election.[168] Within six years of the 1896 election in

[168] PWC Loose Papers 1090, page 79. The estimate of eligible black voters was based on male residents aged twenty-four or older listed on the 1900 census for Town of Manassas (several were listed in the Manassas District). Several voters in 1896 were deceased by 1900, but appear in the 1880 census.

Manassas, a new Virginia Constitution would curtail the African American vote using a complicated literacy requirement. According to the 1900 Manassas census, however, only four of the men who voted in 1896 were illiterate and thus likely to be disfranchised in 1902.[169]

By 1900, Rev. Marshall D. Williams, pastor of the First Baptist Church since 1872, was living in the town of Manassas. Williams had been politically active with the "Second Ward Radicals," a racially mixed Republican organization in Alexandria. From 1871 through 1875, he was elected to serve as a delegate to both the countywide and citywide Radical Republican conventions.[170] In 1878, Williams became the first "Moderator" or president of the newly formed Northern Virginia Baptist Association. The organization's stated mission was "for fraternal intercourse and mutual counsel, to promote the union of churches, encourage Christian and general education, to advance the cause of Christ by all means consistent with the teachings of the Word of God." Williams held that position until 1923, just one year prior to his death.[171] Marshall D. Williams followed through on the promise to promote "general education" with his support of the Manassas Industrial School, even before his move to Manassas. In 1893, Williams was among the trustees at the school's inception, and he continued his commitment as a member of the board of directors, at least through 1904.[172]

Justice

The presence of the Freedmen's Bureau and Northern migrants to Prince William County after the war provided pockets of aid and meaningful improvements for African Americans. However, as elsewhere in Virginia, there was still an atmosphere of superiority, anger, and retribution among the former Confederates of the county. A January 1866 report by Freedmen's Bureau agent Marcus S. Hopkins, stationed at Brentsville, documents some of the latent anger:

> A freedman named James Cook was conceived to be "impudent," by a white man named John Cornwell; whereupon the white man cursed him and threatened him. The freedman, being alarmed, started away, and was followed and threatened with "you d——d black yankee son of a b——h I will kill you"; and was fired upon with a pistol, the ball passing through his clothes. He was then

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[169] Only eleven of the seventeen men who voted in 1896 were still living in 1900.

[170] "Second Ward Radicals," *Alexandria Gazette,* May 18, 1871, September 30, 1873, March 13, 1874, May 24, 1875, Newspapers.com.

[171] "History of the Northern Virginia Baptist Association (UNREVISED)," *NVBA,* accessed November 6, 2020, http://www.novabaptist.org/history.

[172] PWC DB 42, page 587 (Mussey to Trustees, 1893); "The Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth located at Manassas, Va." (1904?), *HathiTrust Digital Library,* https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100789189.

> caught by the white man, and beaten with the but [*sic*] of a revolver, and dragged to the door of the Jail near where the affair occurred, where he was loosened and escaped.… [T]his "impudence" consisted in the sole offense of saying, that he had been in the union army and was proud of it. No other "impudence" was charged against him. I know the freedman well, and know him to be uncommonly intelligent, inoffensive, and respectful. He is an old grey-headed man, and has been a slave of the commonwealth attorney of this co. a long time. He has the reputation I have given him among the citizens here, and has rented a farm near here for the coming season.[173]

Hopkins concluded his report by saying, "They hold an insane malice against the freedman, from which he must be protected, or he is worse off than when he was a slave."

The protection offered by the Freedmen's Bureau ended in 1870 with the end of Reconstruction in Virginia. During the brief time that Radical Republicans continued to hold power in the county, African Americans may have served on at least one jury (see the "Civil Engagement" section above). However, as the balance of power shifted back to the Conservatives, the opportunity for a Black defendant to face an actual jury of his peers dissolved.

In December 1874, Jesse Fouks, a Black laborer on the farm of Jeremiah Herndon, was charged in the murder of Herndon, his wife, and "a little colored boy about ten years of age named Addison Russell."[174] The attack took place in the Herndon farmhouse near Brentsville following an argument between Fouks and Herndon. According to the newspaper account, both Mr. and Mrs. Herndon lived long enough to implicate Jesse Fouks in the crime; however, the reporter noted, "the evidence was only circumstantial and many persons believed in the innocence of the prisoner." Mr. and Mrs. Herndon, both of whom were questioned before they died from their injuries, described an argument with Fouks earlier in the evening, but neither recalled being struck by Fouks. The inquest, which took place in the farmhouse before the bodies were removed, was taken before a jury of twelve white men, including Justice of the Peace, M. W. Horton, who was also the "Acting Coroner" at the time.[175] Despite the lack of physical evidence, Fouks was taken to jail and faced trial in January 1875, at which time he was found guilty and sentenced to death by hanging. In March 1875, thirteen Black Manassas District men, William Lomax, John Randolph, Jesse Mitchell, J.M. Stokes, Charles Coleman, Edmund Porter, Burk Mitchell, James Garnett, Oscar Powell, Joseph Stokes, Howsen Pinn Jr., George Primm, Oliver

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[173] Excerpt from 1st Lieut. Marcus. S. Hopkins to Maj. James Johnson, 15 Jan. 1866, H-59 1866, Registered Letters Received, series 3798, VA Assistant Commissioner, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, & Abandoned Lands, Record Group 105, National Archives. Published in *The Black Military Experience,* pp. 800–801, http://www.freedmen.umd.edu/Hopkins.html.

[174] Turner, "Newspaper Transcripts," 53, *Alexandria Gazette,* March 19, 1875, "The Herndon Murder," http://www.pwcvirginia.com/documents/PWC1865-1875NewspaperTranscripts.pdf.

[175] PWC Loose Papers 1062, page 77.

Hinton, and several others, were paid by the county court to act as guards during the public hanging of Jesse Fouks. Newspapers reported that more than a thousand people attended the execution.[176]

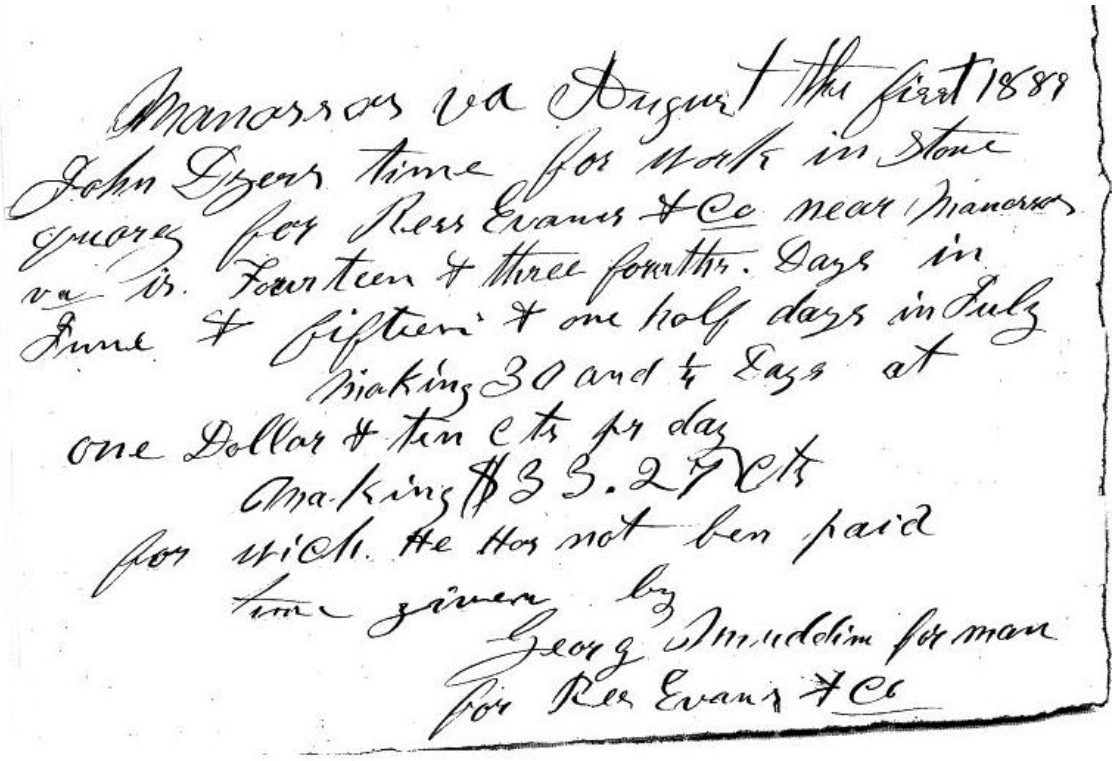

Manassas Va August the first 1889
John Dyer time for work in Stone
quarry for Rees Evans & Co near Manassas
Va viz. Fourteen & three fourths. Days in
June & fifteen & one half days in July
making 30 and ¼ Days at
one Dollar & ten cts pr day
Making $33.27 Cts
for which he has not been paid
time given by
George Middleton foreman
for Rees Evans & Co

Figure 107: John Dyer court record
PWC Loose Papers 1034, page 126

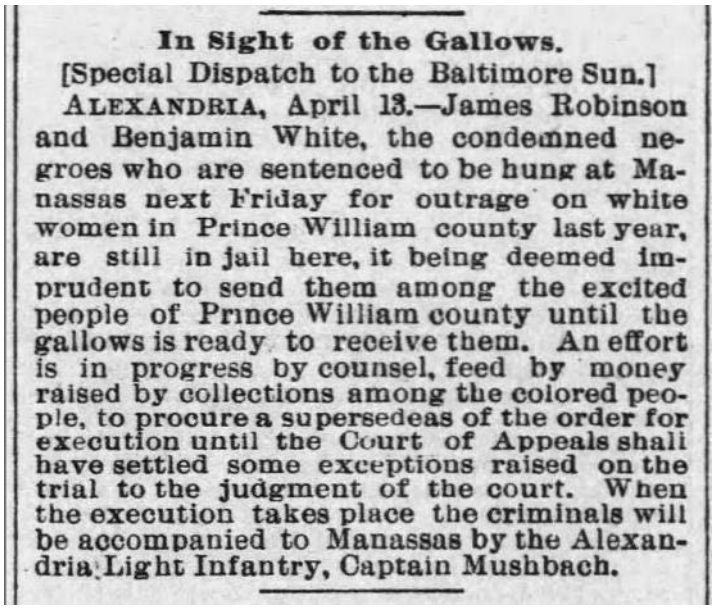
Smaller acts of injustice occurred as well, including white employers who failed to pay their Black employees. According to a lawsuit filed in August 1889 by John Dyer, Dyer had worked thirty days in June and July in the quarry near Manassas at a wage of just over a dollar a day, "for which he has not been paid" (Figure 107). The quarry owners, who apparently went bankrupt, refused to pay the amount due, and the case continued into August of 1890, with still no apparent resolution.[177]

There are no known lynching murders documented in Prince William County. However, there was a case in Manassas in 1894 that nearly resulted in the lynching of two men, James Robinson and Benjamin White, who were accused of raping two white women

[176] PWC Loose Papers 1217, page 315 (court account of payments); Turner, "Newspaper Transcripts," 241; "The Execution," *Alexandria Gazette,* March 19, 1875, http://www.pwcvirginia.com/documents/PWC1865-1875NewspaperTranscripts.pdf.

[177] PWC Loose Papers 1034, page 126.

who lived just south of Manassas. Within days of the incident, Robinson and White were brought to trial and convicted.[178] Due to the incendiary nature of the crime, Company F of the Third Regiment, Virginia Volunteers, was called to escort and protect the prisoners as they were moved between the Alexandria jail and the Manassas courtroom. Capt. George Mushbach noted in his report to Virginia Governor Charles O'Ferrall, "Certain scenes, incidents, and information which came to me during Monday and Tuesday convinced me that but for the display of military force the two prisoners would have been summarily lynched."[179] The official execution of the two men occurred in April before a small, private audience—by then mandated by state law.



In Sight of the Gallows.

[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.]

ALEXANDRIA, April 13.—James Robinson and Benjamin White, the condemned negroes who are sentenced to be hung at Manassas next Friday for outrage on white women in Prince William county last year, are still in jail here, it being deemed imprudent to send them among the excited people of Prince William county until the gallows is ready to receive them. An effort is in progress by counsel, feed by money raised by collections among the colored people, to procure a supersedeas of the order for execution until the Court of Appeals shall have settled some exceptions raised on the trial to the judgment of the court. When the execution takes place the criminals will be accompanied to Manassas by the Alexandria Light Infantry, Captain Mushbach.

Figure 108: "In Sight of the Gallows," *The Baltimore Sun*, April 28, 1894
Newspapers.com

[178] PWC Loose Papers 1043, page 459; Loose Papers 1065, page 356.

[179] Report from Capt. George Mushbach to Gov. Charles O'Ferrall, February 16, 1894, in *Annual Reports of Officers, Boards and Institutions of the Commonwealth of Virginia* (Richmond, 1894), 72, https://books.google.com/books?id=enZDAQAAMAAJ&pg=RA5-PA73&lpg=RA5-PA73&dq=1894+white+and+robinson+rape+trial+prince+william+co+va&source=bl&ots=4ff_0MSNqQ&sig=ACfU3U3YPUv_wivmETf3qZcwXV51dUrF-8w&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiYtLfLh_bsAhXPknIEHSD7Bg4Q6AEwCHoECAIQAg#v=onepage&q=1894%20white%20and%20robinson%20rape%20trial%20prince%20william%20co%20va&f=false.

Epilogue

The African American community of Manassas, largely centered in the Liberty Street area south of the railroad tracks, made great strides in education, independent worship, mutual aid, and land ownership over the decades following the end of the Civil War. However, their road was clearly made more difficult by the determination of many whites to preserve their social and political supremacy. Racial segregation was not something that came later in the century. Instead, it began immediately after emancipation, with separate schools and limitations on work opportunities.

As the twentieth century dawned, white Virginians stepped up their efforts to limit African American freedom. In 1902, the Black vote was significantly curtailed by statewide literacy requirements. By the second decade of the century, Virginia municipalities were passing "residential segregation" ordinances. Manassas passed its ordinance in June 1917, in which no building permits could be issued "for the erection of buildings of any character to be used and occupied by any person other than one of the Caucasian race, on property bordering on any of the avenues, streets, or alleys in said town." It strictly limited all new growth in the town's Black community to the area "West of Grant avenue—South Lee avenue and South street."[180] The new ordinance was passed just five months prior to the US Supreme Court decision in *Buchanan v. Warley,* which found a similar ordinance in Louisville, Kentucky, unconstitutional.[181] Despite the Supreme Court ruling, it appears the Manassas ordinance remained in place.

Against the odds, the Liberty Street neighborhood endured, though it does not appear to have grown through the twentieth century. Several houses from the late nineteenth century remain today (2021); two have been recently renovated. The Brown School is reportedly still standing but is now occupied as a residence.

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[180] "New Ordinances Passed," *Manassas Journal,* June 1, 1917, http://eservice.pwcgov.org/library/digitalLibrary/News-Archive/Manassas%20Journal%201917-1918/the%20manassas%20journal_1917%2006%2001.pdf.

[181] "245 US 60, 38 S.Ct. 16, 62 L.Ed. 149, BUCHANAN v. WARLEY," *Cornell Law School, Legal Information Institute,* accessed November 9, 2020, https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/245/60.

CHAPTER FIVE

Case Studies in Maryland

Along the mountain we found quite a number of colored families. They all seemed to be industrious, well-to-do and intelligent.. . . [T]hey have erected a neat little church, where, we believe they have school in the winter months, and preaching at regular stated periods.

Jonathon M. Mentzer, District 1 Census, 1870[1]

Introduction

Following Maryland's abolition of slavery on November 1, 1864, the state's white population retreated to a conservative stance toward social equality, codified in the new state Constitution of 1867. Rural African Americans in Maryland, now free of the confines of institutionalized slavery, sought to secure employment and establish their homes. Many rural freedpeople migrated to the city of Baltimore in search of employment—the Black population there nearly doubling between 1860 and 1880—leaving Maryland's rural counties, including Prince George's, Frederick, and Washington Counties, with declining populations.[2] Montgomery County, perhaps due to its proximity to Washington, DC, saw an increase of more than two thousand African Americans over the same twenty-year period.

In June 1865, the Freedmen's Bureau office of the Assistant Commissioner of the District of Columbia opened, with jurisdiction over DC, Maryland, and the neighboring Virginia counties. In March 1866, the office of the Assistant Commissioner of Maryland was opened in Baltimore, with jurisdiction over all of Maryland except the six southern counties—Montgomery, Prince George's, Calvert, Charles, and St. Mary's—which remained within the operations of the DC office. In August 1868, all Maryland counties

[1] *Boonsboro Oddfellow,* August 12, 1870, as cited in Herrin, "Antietam Rising." The newspaper article quoted Mentzer speaking about the Red Hill African American community.

[2] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 176.

were transferred back to the DC office, with field offices located across the state. Washington and Allegany County operations were headquartered at the field office in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.[3]

Maryland's wide-ranging geography played a factor in the post-emancipation experience of rural African Americans. Assistant Commissioner of Maryland Gen. E.M. Gregory wrote in his quarterly report dated November 1866 that while the condition of the freedmen in the northern Virginia counties and in West Virginia was "generally satisfactory" with few complaints, it was "in marked contrast to portions of the State of Maryland," citing the hostility of whites in the eastern and southern counties in particular.[4] Trouble, however, was not limited to these regions of the state, as Gregory noted four Justices of the Peace were arrested for "[r]efusing to obey the Civil Rights Act," including Judge Watkins of Sandy Hook in Washington County.[5]

Maryland's geography also impacted the types of work opportunities available for African Americans through the late nineteenth century. In the largely tidewater southern and eastern counties, where agricultural practice resembled the plantations of their tidewater Virginia neighbors, Black employment was dominated by farm labor and domestic service. The Freedmen's Bureau office in Bladensburg, Prince George's County, reported in October 1866 that there were more farm labor jobs available than freedmen willing to take them on. The Rockville office, in Montgomery County, reported in October 1866 that the freedmen were "generally at work," but that competition from migrant laborers from the District of Columbia was lowering wages in the county.[6] It appears from this report that most of the labor was on white-owned farms, a few of them worked the farms on shares, "and a still smaller number cultivate their own land."[7] While farm labor and domestic service were initially high on the list of job opportunities in the west-central counties of Frederick and Washington, work there could also be found on the railroad, in mills, and on the C&O Canal.

Wherever they settled, rural African Americans appear to have sought the comfort of family connections and the support of a shared community. Whether on scattered farmsteads, in clustered communities, or as rural town dwellers, families were drawn

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3 "Records of the Field Offices for Maryland and Delaware, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, Historical Note," https://nmaahc.si.edu/object/sova_nmaahc.fb.m1906.

4 "Reports of Operations," Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1869, NMAAHC-005413067_00365.

5 "Reports of Operations," Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1869, NMAAHC-005413067_00367.

6 "Reports of Operations," Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1869, NMAAHC-007677210_00393.

7 "Reports of Operations."

together by kinship, church, and school.[8] This chapter details as case studies two African American communities located in Washington County, part of the western Maryland region. The rural town community that grew within the small town of Sharpsburg reveals the opportunities African Americans found in a town setting. Clustered around kinship, their church, and the school housed in the church for thirty years, the Sharpsburg community succeeded within a conservative Union town. Sharpsburg is significant as the site of the Antietam Battle, the bloodiest single-day battle of the American Civil War, and the battle which President Abraham Lincoln used to justify his issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. This case study examines the resilience and determination of a rural Black population, close-knit through family ties, to build a vibrant community. Though the Black population of Sharpsburg declined in numbers through the twentieth century, its memory is preserved in the restored Tolson's Chapel and School and its adjoining cemetery, a National Historic Landmark. Additional physical resources also remain in the extant county school building and various houses scattered around the town of Sharpsburg.[9]

The Red Hill cluster community, located just a few miles east of Sharpsburg on the hardscrabble hillside once owned by the Antietam Iron Works, was composed of families related to many in the Sharpsburg community. The Red Hill community grew from a scatter of farmsteads occupied by several free Black families—men and women who established themselves in the area as early as 1800. By the 1860s, the community included a significant number of landowners, a church, and a county school. While today (2021) the Black community is largely gone and the old church and cemetery there are ruins, many of the original dwellings remain, and a number of descendants still live in the surrounding area.[10]

For both communities, census and county records provided the largest sources of information, as well as newspaper records, church records (Lovely Lane United Methodist Church archives), and Freedmen's Bureau records. Some of the Sharpsburg research dovetailed into the documentation of the Red Hill community as kinship relationships between the two communities became clear.[11] Both are remarkable historic communities that highlight the significant African American presence in western Maryland that often is overshadowed by the larger urban stories around Baltimore and Annapolis.

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[8] McDaniel, *Hearth & Home,* 1982, studied black communities and houses in southern Maryland; McDaniels, "Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County," 1979, studied black communities in northern Montgomery County.

[9] Evelyn D. Causey, "Tolson's Chapel and School," National Historic Landmark documentation, designated January 2021, National Historic Landmarks, National Park Service, accessed December 29, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/upload/2020-November-Tolsons-Chapel-Nom-508-FINAL-ADV-BOARD.pdf.

[10] There is currently an effort underway to restore the overgrown cemetery (in 2021).

[11] Research for the Washington County case studies began in the year 2000, during the author's preparation for her master's thesis—a study of African American historic cultural resources in southern Washington County, completed in 2003. That study was augmented through continued research as the author became involved in the documentation and restoration of Tolson's Chapel in Sharpsburg.

Washington County Rural Communities

In 1860, Washington County's enslaved population (1,435) stood at just 4.5 percent of the total population (31,417), while a slightly higher number of African Americans (1,677) lived as free people.[12] African Americans, both enslaved and free, formed an important segment of the laboring population in the county with its diversified but largely agricultural economy.

By 1870, the rural towns of Sharpsburg, Williamsport, Clear Spring, and Hancock included Black residents representing anywhere from 6 percent of the total population in Sharpsburg, with 60 people, to 21 percent in Clear Spring, where the African American community numbered 150 men, women, and children. African Americans living in the rural districts were similarly represented within the district's total population. The 150 African Americans in District 1, surrounding Sharpsburg and including the Red Hill area, made up 6 percent of the total district population, while the 115 Black residents in District 11 (Sandy Hook District) made up 9 percent of that district's population.[13] As before the Civil War, African Americans in Washington County after 1865 remained a small but vital workforce.

Three of Washington County's rural Black communities have been identified and documented: Red Hill, Yarrowsburg, and Jugtown. All three were similarly located on marginal hillside or mountainside landscapes.[14] Each community formed as a cluster of small, sometimes scattered farmsteads, generally of one to ten acres. All were interspersed with white laboring families, who, like their Black neighbors, purchased small tracts or lived as tenants on the land of the area's prosperous white farmers. African Americans living in rural town communities were generally found on back streets or town edges, though not necessarily in a single defined area, and again often interspersed with white families of similar economic status.

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[12] *1860 Census: Population of the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1864), "State of Maryland, Table No. 1, Population by Age and Sex," 210, accessed July 28, 2020, https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1864/dec/1860a.html. In 1790, there were 1,279 enslaved and only sixty-six free Blacks in Washington County. The free Black population increased due to manumissions and free births—that is, children of free women were born free.

[13] 1870 US Population Census records, Ancestry.com.

[14] Wallace, "African-American Emancipation and Community in Frederick and Washington Counties."

District	# Heads of Household	# Black Population	# Total Population	% Black	# H of H Landowners	# H of H Tenants	# Boarders w/ white households	Church	School
Sharpsburg, No.1 (Keedysville)	25	150	2478	6%	8	16	235		
Sharpsburg Town	9	60	1001	6%	2	6	20	1866	1868
Williamsport, No.2	26	160	3123	5%	3	23	39		
Williamsport Town	43	198	1283	15%	9	34	6	1868	c.1868
Hagerstown, No.3	-	-	6471	-	-	-	-	1879/1841	1868
Clear Spring, No.4	35	89	2763	3%	9	25	33		
Clear Spring Town	32	150	702	21%	9	23	8	c.1868	1868
Hancock, No.5	20	126	2139	6%	2	18	11		
Hancock Town	21	115	860	13%	3	18	14	c.1868	1868
Boonsboro, No.6	16	82	2579	3%	3	13	15		
Boonsboro Town	2	22	835	3%	0	2	17		
Cavetown , No.7 (Smithsburg)	1	0	1899		0	1	?		
Rohrersville, No.8	5	32	1183	3%	2	4	3		
Lietersburg, No.9	2	11	1673	1%	0	2	5		
Funkstown, No.10	21	100	1820	5.50%	3	15	9		
Sandy Hook, No.11	26	115	1316	9%	4	22	27	1893	1868
Tilghmanton, No.12	14	74	1489	5%	1	13	13		
Conococheague, No.13	1	3	1402	0.20%	0	1	0		
Ringgold, No.14	0	0	763	0	0	0	0		
Indian Spring, No.15	7	56	1565	4%	3	4	0		1876
Beaver Creek, No.16 (Chewsville)	28	139	1366	10%	2	26	15		c.1877
East Hagerstown, No.17	-	-	854	-	-	-	-		
		1682			63	266	235		

Figure 109: Compilation of community details from the 1877 Washington County Atlas
Prepared by the author

Buildings within these communities follow a pattern repeated across the county. Early houses, many of them still extant, were typically constructed out of logs using a basic four-room plan. The James Keets House (Figure 110; still extant) in the Red Hill community is an example of a typical dwelling. There are, of course, exceptions to the rule: the Hilary Watson House (Figure 111; still extant) in Sharpsburg, built about 1872, is an "L" shaped, one-story log house, and the Robert W. Anderson House (Figure 112; still extant) on Garrett's Mill Road (Yarrowsburg area), built in 1896, is a two-story stone house.[15] While many of these rural African American communities included a church and school, the buildings did not necessarily define a geographical center of the community but rather were a centralizing feature—both practical, with church and school institutions bringing the community together, and symbolic, as a manifestation of independence and community spirit.

[15] Robert Anderson was a brick and stone mason who also constructed the stone Mount Moriah Baptist Church on Garrett's Mill Road, as part of the scattered Yarrowsburg community.



Figure 110: James Keats House
Photo by the author, 2003



Figure 111: Hilary Watson House
Photo by the author, 2003



Figure 112: Robert W. Anderson House
Photo by the author, 2003

Case Study: Sharpsburg, *Town Community*[16]

Introduction

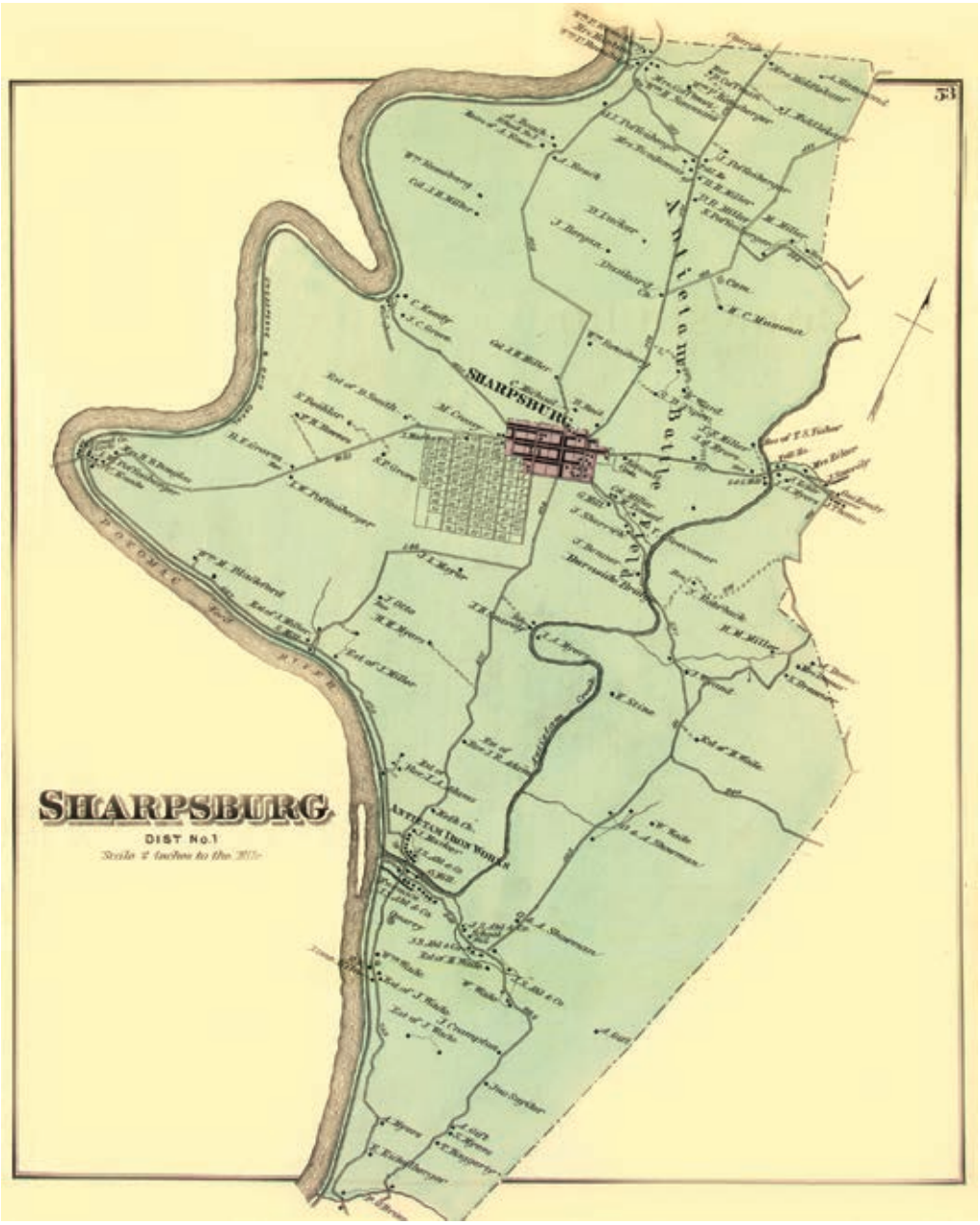


Figure 113: 1877 atlas map, Sharpsburg District
Johns Hopkins University Sheridan Libraries

[16] Much of the text and information given in the Sharpsburg Town Community case study is taken from the "Tolson's Chapel Historic Structure Report," Developmental History section, written by Edith B. Wallace, Paula S. Reed & Associates Inc., 2005. New information gleaned from research associated with the current project is incorporated into the text.

The small rural town of Sharpsburg, Maryland, is located in southern Washington County, situated on the west side of Antietam Creek and within two miles of the Potomac River. Established by Joseph Chapline in 1763, Sharpsburg is one of the oldest towns in Washington County (along with Hagerstown, also established in 1763). By 1800, the town's population reached just over 500 souls, including twenty-five enslaved and nine free African Americans. The town grew to more than 800 people by 1860, with forty-six free Blacks and about thirty enslaved.[17] In 1860, Sharpsburg was a market town surrounded by productive farmland and located within a few miles of the C&O Canal. It was teeming with boatmen, skilled laborers, artisans, and merchants, and had two hotels, four churches, a school, and a resident doctor.

African Americans in Sharpsburg before 1865

As noted previously, the town of Sharpsburg included a small population of African Americans as early as 1800, both enslaved and free. The enslaved people, for the most part, remain nameless unless listed as chattel in an estate inventory or named in a will or manumission record. Two independent households accounted for eight of the free Blacks enumerated in Sharpsburg in 1800, given under the names "Negro Kate" and "Negro Letty." Nothing is known about the lives of these two women, though it is likely their spouses were enslaved on nearby farms. By 1830, new names appeared among the "other free," including Jerry Swearingen and his unnamed spouse, and the family of "Negro Stinebaugh."[18]

At the time of the 1860 US Population Census, sixty-five free Blacks lived in the Sharpsburg District area around and including the town of Sharpsburg.[19] About forty-six of those free Blacks appeared to be living in the town of Sharpsburg itself. There were 150 enslaved African Americans in the same area, all unnamed, with approximately thirty of those enslaved people living in town. Thus, by 1860, the town of Sharpsburg had a Black population numbering around eighty men, women, and children, nearly one-eighth of the town's total population, and about 140 free and enslaved Blacks living in the surrounding countryside. Though Sharpsburg in 1860 had at least one school with two teachers, there

[17] The total population of the Sharpsburg District (District No. 1) in 1860, which then also included Keedysville and the Red Hill area, was over 2,300, with 208 free blacks and 150 enslaved.

[18] All population census information is from the Ancestry.com online database. From 1810 through 1860, the town of Sharpsburg was not enumerated separately from the Sharpsburg District. Thus the town population statistics are estimates only during those decades.

[19] This estimate of the Sharpsburg District Black population excludes those known to be living in the Keedysville/Red Hill area (see Appendix E, "Census Databases for Case Study Districts").

was no school for the town's Black children. Four churches stood in Sharpsburg—German Reformed, Lutheran, Protestant Episcopal, and Methodist Episcopal—all of which appear to have had Black members, but there was no AME church in town.[20]

The town of Sharpsburg in 1860 included as many as five Black property owners, one of them a skilled mason named Henry Craig, formerly enslaved and manumitted by George Snyder in 1841.[21] Henry Craig's skilled occupation was an exception, however. Employment among the Sharpsburg-area free Blacks was largely limited to domestic service and farm labor. Ten of the thirty free men and women listed as employed in the area in 1860 lived in the white household in which they were employed. Of the twenty households that lived independently, as previously noted, five were property owners with real estate values ranging from $150 to $300, not unlike many of their white working-class neighbors.

Among the free Blacks identified in Sharpsburg in 1860 were members of at least one family living there in 1830, who, along with others, would remain among the community's pillars into the twentieth century. Eliza Stinback (Stanback), the widow of "Negro Stinebaugh" (as he was listed in 1830; Joseph Stanback in 1840), was a property owner in 1860. Her daughter, Margaret (Stanback) Simons, was the wife of David Simons (Samons, Sammons, Summons), a man enslaved until his manumission in 1853. By 1866, David B. Simons was a church trustee and taught in the county school from 1874 to 1877. Their son James F. Simons also taught in the "Sharpsburg Colored School," from 1879 through 1906.[22] Samuel Craig (Crague, Crake), another property owner and likely the brother of Henry Craig, would later provide land for the community's church and serve as a church trustee.[23]

In 1863, the US War Department began enlisting free Blacks into the newly formed US Colored Troops (USCT) and later extended enlistment to enslaved Black men in October 1863. In March 1864, two of the enslaved men of the district gained their freedom

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[20] Since Maryland did not establish a public school system until 1867, the school in Sharpsburg in 1860 would have been a private academy. Of the four churches, Nancy Campbell/Camel was a member of the German Reformed Church, according to her will, as well as the Manor Church (Dunker) north of town where she was buried. Ida Malone, daughter of Benjamin and Ellen (Ellenora) Malone, was buried in the Lutheran cemetery in Sharpsburg. Early records from St. Paul's Episcopal (Protestant Episcopal) Church are missing; however, the church's minister, Rev. John A. Adams, held seven enslaved people at the time of the 1860 census. Black members of the Methodist Episcopal Church would have formed the core of the new all-black mission congregation established in Sharpsburg by Rev. John R. Tolson in 1865.

[21] WC DB YY, page 66. Henry Craig was manumitted on the same day as his daughter's birth, her birth recorded in the margin of Philip Grove's family Bible ("1757–1875…Grove-Blackford-Knode Bible Records," MS#2637, Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD). It is possible that Craig's wife Henny (Henrietta, Hanah) was enslaved on the Grove farm at the time. By 1850, the Craig family lived independently (as tenants) on the outskirts of Sharpsburg. By 1858, the Craigs owned their lot on the northwest end of town, which they sold to George W. Tyler (WC DB IN13, page 326).

[22] WC DB IN 8, page 192. David B. Summons (Simons or Samons) was manumitted at age twenty-one by his father Benjamin. It is likely Benjamin Simons purchased his son in order to free him, though no record of that purchase has been located.

[23] WC DB LBN 1, page 712 (Craig to ME Church trustees, 1866).

through enlistment in the USCT. William Snowden, enslaved on the Samuel I. Piper farm, enlisted in the 39th Regiment, Co. K, and Edward Jackson, bound to William M. Blackford, enlisted in the 39th Regiment, Co. A. Both Piper and Blackford applied for remuneration for the loss of their "property," though Blackford was identified as a "rebel" and therefore refused payment.[24]

In April 1864, Company I of the 19th Regiment USCT occupied the Methodist Church in Sharpsburg in order to recruit new enlistments. In a letter of protest to the commanding officer, General Lew Wallace, a committee of townsmen noted that "divers colored men, free and slave, were seized and taken to the Quarters," including young Jeremiah Summers, enslaved on the Henry Piper farm. Summers was just shy of seventeen when he was "enlisted" in the Union army. After Henry Piper swore an oath of loyalty and certified that he was the "owner of the said slave," Jerry Summers was returned to Piper.[25] None of the other men noted as "seized" by the troops were named, though one possibility is Thomas H. Dorsey, who was variously described as "drafted" or "recruited," when he mustered into the 19th Regiment in May 1864 at age twenty-nine.[26] Hilary Watson, enslaved on the farm of John Otto, was also drafted, probably in early 1864, but Otto paid the $300 bounty to exempt Watson from service.[27]

Following Maryland's abolition of slavery in 1864, the already well-developed African American community in Sharpsburg continued to grow, establishing their own institutions to support the members of the community through the second half of the nineteenth century.

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[24] "US, Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863–1865," Ancestry.com. "Maryland Slave Claims Commission," US Adjutant General Collection (NARA RG 94–348), Special Collections, Maryland State Archives, http://speccol.msa.maryland.gov/pages/speccol/unit.aspx?speccol=4678&serno=1&item=1&subitem=-1. Snowden was reportedly wounded in action on July 30, 1864, in the Battle of the Crater at Petersburg, Virginia. His Deed of Manumission was recorded October 1864 (WC DB IN18, page 218). Neither Jackson nor Snowden appear to have returned to Sharpsburg after mustering out in 1865.

[25] "Certification of Ownership," Washington County record, #1921, Maryland and Historical Collections, Special Collections and University Archives (SCUA), University of Maryland.

[26] "19th US Colored Infantry," https://www.fold3.com/image/264636312. Thomas Dorsey was listed in 1860 in the Sharpsburg District, age twenty-five.

[27] Clifton Johnson, *Battleground Adventures* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915), 105, *Internet Archive,* https://archive.org/details/battlegroundadve00john/mode/2up. No official record of this occurrence has been located thus far.

Community Growth—1865 to 1900

Samuel Craig was a free man (Samuel Crake) as early as 1840, according to the US census for that year. His accounts with the Sharpsburg Tannery in 1844 indicate that Craig owned cattle, sheep, and grew potatoes—items he used as payment for tanning services.[28] In 1850, it appears that Craig and his wife Catharine were living as tenants in or on the edge of town, but by 1860, the Craigs lived in Sharpsburg with $150 worth of real estate. In fact, Samuel Craig had acquired three town lots on High Street (Lots 101, 103, and 104), on the south edge of Sharpsburg, in 1851.[29] These lots would form the "center" of the Sharpsburg Black community as the site of the "Colored" Methodist Episcopal Church, later named Tolson's Chapel, two iterations of schools, the Odd Fellows hall, and several Black-owned dwellings. The larger Sharpsburg Black community lived in pocket neighborhoods on the back and side streets of Sharpsburg and in tenant houses on surrounding farms, but the spiritual center of the community rested in the small chapel on the southwest corner of Samuel Craig's Lot 104.[30]

In 1870, there were sixty African Americans living in the town of Sharpsburg. Eighteen of those individuals lived in their white employer's household, while the remaining forty-two men, women, and children lived in nine independent Black households. Of those households, only two were listed as property owners and the remaining seven were tenants. Samuel and Cassey (Catharine) Craig were not listed in the 1870 census, but they were still Sharpsburg property owners at the time of the census. In 1871, the Craigs sold their remaining lots to their son-in-law Dennis Harper, who lived in Allegany County, Maryland.[31] The 1867 Michler map, which included a detailed plat of Sharpsburg, shows buildings on at least two of the Craig/Harper lots (Figure 114). One is likely the chapel (though located in the wrong corner of its lot); another appears to front onto the alley. The third building may be the log dwelling house of Hilary and Christina (Teany) Watson (still extant), who purchased Lot 102 from the Gouff family in 1872.[32]

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[28] "Ledger of Sharpsburg Tannery, 1837–1851," 149, Rare Books Section, Western Maryland Room, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

[29] WC DB IN 5, page 743 (1851, Rohrbach heirs to Craig, 1851).

[30] WC DB LBN 1, page 712 (Crague to ME trustees, 1867).

[31] WC DB WMcKK 4, page 30 (Crague to Harper, 1871); this relationship was identified by Samuel Craig's manumission of his daughter Mary Ellen Harper in 1853 (WC DB IN8, page 179). Catharine "Cassey" Craig died in October 1871, and her husband Samuel passed in March 1873. "Washington County Cemeteries—Samuel Piper and DAR," Keedysville extra 65 and 66, *WHILBR Western Maryland's Historical Library,* https://cdm16715.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16715coll31.

[32] WC DB WMcKK 5, page 124 (Gouffs to Watson, 1872).

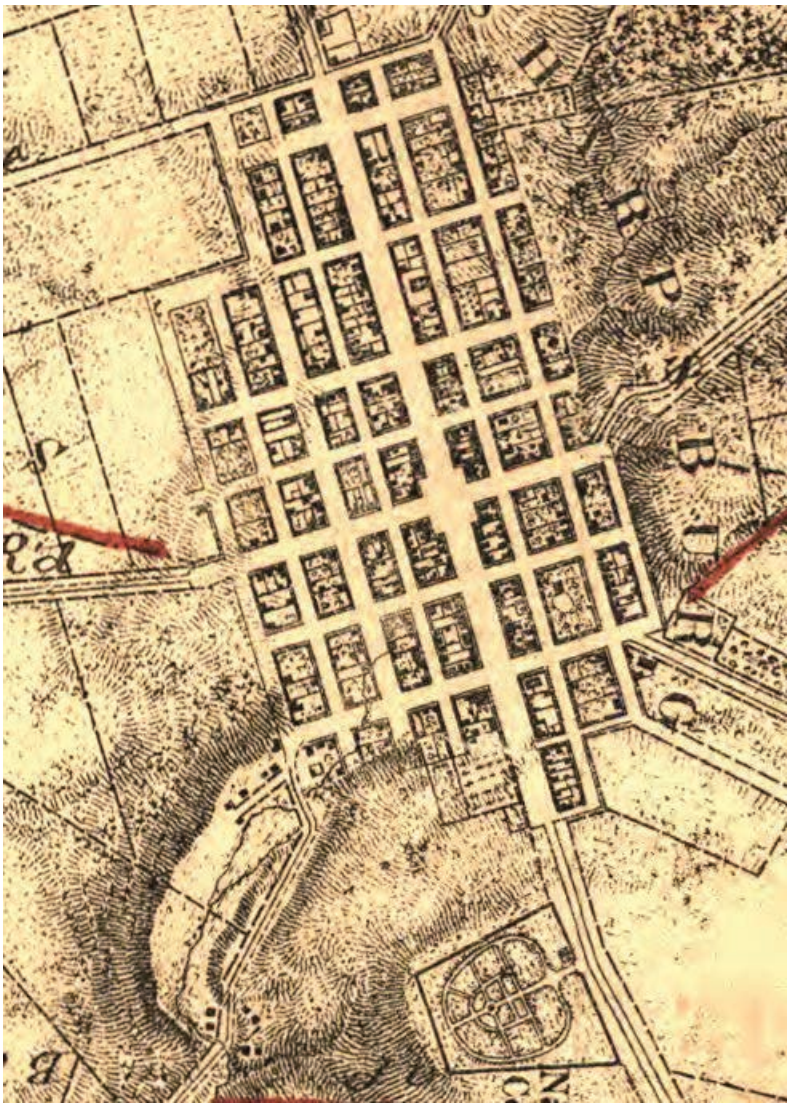


Figure 114: 1867 Michler map, Sharpsburg detail
Library of Congress

It was not unusual for a property owner to allow a tenant to build on a lot, often many years prior to their purchase of the lot, as appears to be the case among the African Americans on High Street in Sharpsburg. In 1885, Dennis and Mary Ellen (Craig) Harper conveyed the east half of Lot 104 and west half of Lot 103 to Burrell Middleton, son of Wilson Middleton. The 1880 census listed the large Middleton family already living at what appears to be that location, likely in the two-story log dwelling built on the east half of Lot 104 (still extant). Their neighbor, William H. Gray, was noted in the Middleton deed from Harper as living on the east half of Lot 103. Gray, who also was listed on the 1880 census in the same area, did not get a deed of conveyance from Harper until 1888, when Harriet (Gray) Robinson purchased the half-lot, "improved by a one and a half story log dwelling"

(no longer standing).[33] Harper sold his remaining Lot 101, located on the corner of East High Street and Church Street, to Hilary Watson in 1885, on which the county "Colored School" would be built in 1899, followed by the Black Odd Fellows D.R. Hall Lodge in 1901.[34]

Another cluster of Black-owned property in the town of Sharpsburg was located on the north side of West Antietam Street, where that street also forms part of the southern town boundary. Like the Craig lots on East High Street, the West Antietam Street grouping grew from property owned by an African American who was free long before the Civil War. Nancy Carter, a free woman before 1820, purchased Lot 163 from Joseph Chapline in 1819 for fifty dollars.[35] In an unrecorded deed, Carter also purchased Lot 164, giving her a contiguous one-acre parcel. This parcel was divided among her seven heirs (through the Stanback/Stinebaugh family line) in 1874.[36] Five of these heirs appear to have been already living on the lot in 1870 in three households: Margaret Simons with her husband David and five children; brothers James and William Stanback with John G. Brown also in the household; and Joseph Leakins (living with his father Otho Lakin). Both the 1867 and 1877 maps show three buildings on the combined lot.

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[33] WC DB 88, page 107 (Harper to Middleton, 1885). Harper sold the remaining west half of Lot 104 to the Tolson's Chapel trustees in 1883 for use as a cemetery (DB GBO 84, page 305); DB 93, page 361 (Harper to Robinson, 1888). The 1880 census taker listed all of these people on Antietam Street. High Street was the "back street" of Antietam Street.

[34] DB 88, page 153 (Harper to Watson, 1885); DB GBO 115, page 344 (Watson to D.R. Hall Lodge No. 1416, 1901); DB GBO 110, page 681 (Watson to Board of Co. School Commissioners, 1899).

[35] WC DB EE, page 309 (Chapline to Carter, 1819). It is not known where Nancy Carter came from, though the 1810 census records list a free woman of color named Nancy Carter living in Baltimore with three other people. In 1820, Nancy Carter, "other free," was listed in Sharpsburg, aged between twenty-four and thirty-six, with one female under age fourteen. She disappears from the census after that. Eliza, who married Joseph Stanback ("Negro Stinebaugh" in 1830), was likely her daughter.

[36] WC DB 73, page 139 (Carter heirs to Margaret [David] Simons, 1874); DB 73, page 140 (Carter heirs to Elenore [Andrew] Malone, 1874); DB 73, page 223 (Carter heirs to Wm H. Stineback, 1874); DB 73, page 564 (Carter heirs to Eliza [John W.] Lee, 1874); DB 79, page 704 (Carter heirs to James Stenback, 1880).

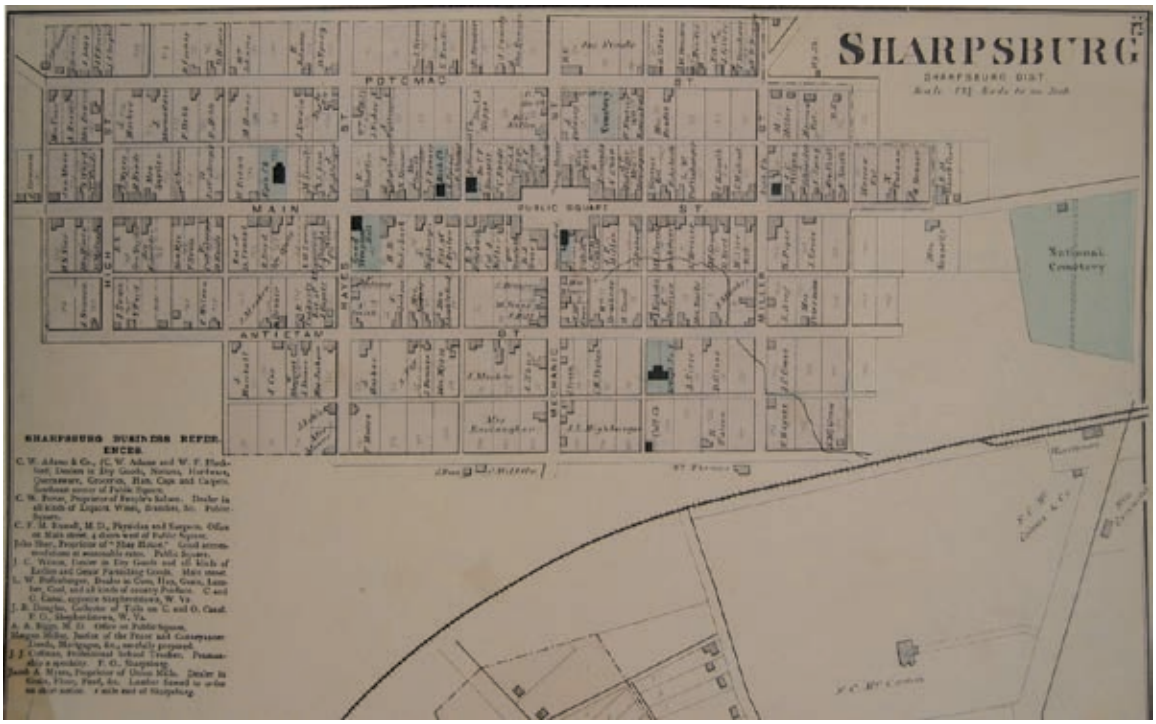


Figure 115: 1877 atlas map of Washington County, Sharpsburg
Johns Hopkins University Sheridan Libraries

A third neighborhood cluster was located on the northwest end of town, on the street known today as West Chapline Street but shown on the 1877 map as Potomac Street (Figure 115). This corner of town was not part of the official town plat, but instead remained part of the Chapline mansion tract called Mount Pleasant, purchased by Philip Grove in 1835.[37] By 1850, Henry Craig (Crague) and his wife Henny were living on a piece of the tract adjoining the west side of town. Though no deed was recorded for their own purchase, the Craigs sold the tract to George W. Tyler in 1858. Tyler's wife Tracy also purchased an adjoining, smaller lot. In 1877, Jane Sinclair (St. Clair, Sainclair) purchased a small lot from Jacob C. Grove, adjoining "Tracy Tyler's lot" on the east (Figure 116).[38] Sinclair had been living and working as a domestic servant on the Stephen P. Grove farm west of town, where she was likely enslaved before and during the war. President Abraham Lincoln visited the S. P. Grove farm in October 1862, just before issuing his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which ironically would not free Jane Sinclair from her bondage.

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[37] "136—Mount Pleasant, circa 1790, Sharpsburg, MD," *Washington County Historical Trust,* accessed September 16, 2020, http://washingtoncountyhistoricaltrust.org/136-mount-pleasant-circa-1790-sharpsburg-md.

[38] WC DB IN13, page 326 (H. Crague to G. Tyler, 1858); ref. in DB McKK3, page 661 (T. Tyler to J. Armstrong, 1871); DB GBO75, page 115 (J.C. Grove to J. Sinclair, 1877).



Figure 116: Jane Sinclair
Courtesy Sharpsburgh Museum of History

Throughout this early period of growth, a number of Black families occupied tenancies on the farmland surrounding Sharpsburg. Of the fifty-four individuals identified in the 1870 census in the Sharpsburg District (No. 1), half (twenty-seven) lived in the white households where they were employed. The remaining twenty-seven men, women, and children lived in seven independent households. Through the 1870s, many of these individuals and families moved away—some out west but most to other parts of Washington County. Others, like Jeremiah and Susan (Keets) Summers and Nancy Campbell (Camel), who continued to live outside of Sharpsburg, were active participants in the Sharpsburg African American community.



Figure 117: Daguerreotype of Nancy Camel
Courtesy NPS, Antietam National Battlefield

Nancy Campbell (later Nancy Camel; Figure 117) was formerly enslaved by Peter Miller. At the time of Miller's death in 1856, Nancy was listed in his estate inventory as chattel, "1 Colored Woman, Nanny age 42 yrs," valued at $250. She was devised to his son Andrew Miller as part of the estate.[39] In June 1859, Andrew Miller released Nancy Campbell from her bondage.[40] Nancy Campbell, who by 1880 apparently changed her last name to Camel, took employment as a domestic servant in the home William and Margaret (Miller, niece of Peter Miller) Roulette, where she had been living since at least 1850 and where she remained for the rest of her life. She was a member of the Manor Church, a Dunker congregation north of Sharpsburg, but also held a strong association with the Black Methodist Episcopal congregation (later Tolson's Chapel), established in Sharpsburg in 1865. In 1883, she donated a large Bible to Tolson's Chapel in which her name was

[39] WC Will Book E, page 325 (Peter Miller Last Will & Testament, 1855/1856); Appraisements Book T, page 6 (Peter Miller)

[40] Nancy Campbell's Certificate of Freedom, issued by the county as proof that she was no longer enslaved, described her as "5 feet 1 ½ inches high, of a dark complexion, without perceptible marks upon her person." WC DB IN14, page 129.

inscribed.[41] After her death in 1892, Nancy Camel was laid to rest in the Manor Church cemetery (Figure 118). In her will, she divided her $867 cash estate among Susan Rebecca Roulette (daughter of William and Margaret Roulette) and the children of both Peter and Andrew Miller, along with $50 to the Manor Church and $20 to Tolson's Chapel. Apparently well-known within the Sharpsburg area community, the death of "Aunt Nannie" was noted in the local newspaper (Figure 119).[42]



Figure 118: Gravestone of Nancy Camel in the Manor Church cemetery
Photo by the author, 2003

[41] "Inventory of Artifacts found in Tolson's Chapel," Friends of Tolson's Chapel, February 27, 2003. The inscription reads: "Presented to Tolson Chapel, By Mrs Nancy Cammell, Feb. 11th 1883, By B. W. Brown P.C." It was likely written by Pastor B.W. Brown. The Bible is currently (2021) on loan to the Antietam National Battlefield museum and is displayed alongside the daguerreotype of Nancy Camel (Figure 117) held in the Roulette family through several generations and now part of the Antietam National Battlefield collection.

[42] WC Will Book H, page 404; *Antietam Valley Record,* January 8, 1892, Western Maryland Room, Washington County Free Library (WCFL), Hagerstown, Maryland.

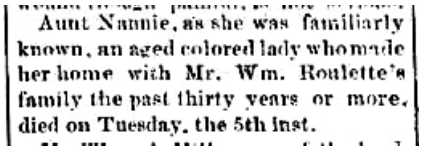

Aunt Nannie, as she was familiarly known, an aged colored lady who made her home with Mr. Wm. Roulette's family the past thirty years or more, died on Tuesday, the 5th inst.

Figure 119: Nancy Camel obituary, *Antietam Valley Record*, January 8, 1892
Western Maryland Room, WCFL

Jeremiah (Jerry) Cornelius Summers was born enslaved on the Henry Piper farm, the farm neighboring William Roulette on the north and the town of Sharpsburg to the south. Jerry Summers was born in July 1847, one of eight children of Henson and Caroline Summers, though his father Henson was enslaved on another farm in the area (near Red Hill, where he eventually settled).[43] Jerry Summers was fifteen at the time of the Antietam battle on September 17, 1862. He, his mother, and siblings fled the farm with the Henry Piper family as the Confederate army set up across the Piper fields and orchard.[44] After his emancipation in November 1864, Jerry continued working and living on the Piper farm, employed by Henry's son Samuel D. Piper by 1870. Henry Piper retired to the town of Sharpsburg, where he employed Jerry's brother Emory Summers, also born enslaved on the Piper farm. When Jeremiah Summers married Susan Keets, around 1871, they settled in a small tenant house on the Piper farm located on the infamous Bloody Lane. In 1924, Fred W. Cross, a visitor to the Antietam Battlefield, took several photographs of Jerry and Susan Summers at their home on Bloody Lane, describing Summers as "the last of the slaves of Sharpsburg."[45]

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[43] A record of area deaths kept by several local men from the 1830s through 1900 noted Henson Summers (d. 1897) as having "lived at Pry's." See "Washington County Cemeteries—Samuel Piper and DAR," Keedysville extra 89, *WHILBR Western Maryland's Historical Library,* https://cdm16715.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16715coll31.

[44] Deposition of Jeremiah Summers concerning Henry Piper's claim for battle damage reimbursement, 1880s, in Francis F. Wilshin, Mumma Farm "Spring House"–Piper Farm "Slave Quarters"–Sherrick Farm "Smoke House": Historic Structures Report, History Data, Antietam National Battlefield Site (US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1969), 151, Antietam National Battlefield Library.

[45] Fred W. Cross, "*Antietam,* Sept. 17, 1862," manuscript, 1921 and 1924 (no page numbers), Antietam National Battlefield Library, original manuscript located in the Boonsborough Museum of History, Boonsboro, MD.



Figure 120: 1924 photograph of Jerry and Susan Summers, taken by Fred W. Cross
Courtesy Doug Bast, Boonsborough Museum of History

The marriage of Jerry Summers and Susan Keets was just one of a growing number of kinship connections between the Red Hill and Sharpsburg communities throughout the 1870s. Susan Keets was the daughter of Zachariah Keets (Keith), a long-term Red Hill community resident and neighbor of Jerry Summers's parents, Henson and Caroline Summers, who settled together on Red Hill following emancipation. Another Red Hill resident, Laura Hopewell, daughter of Henry Hopewell, moved to Sharpsburg by 1870 to take work as a domestic servant in the Main Street household of Harriet Benton. Andrew Malone, who married Elenore Stanback (granddaughter of Nancy Clark), was the son of George W. Malone (and brother of Benjamin Malone), another long-term Red Hill resident and neighbor of the Keets and Summers families.

Several of the individuals and families living in the Sharpsburg District in 1870 also soon moved to town. Some, like Emory Summers and Laura Hopewell, followed work. Others, as previously described, found in town an opportunity for property ownership that seemed elusive in the surrounding valuable agricultural lands. These farm-to-town transplants included Jane Sinclair, Andrew and Elenore Malone, John W. Lee, Hilary and Christina Watson, and Wilson and Maria Middleton.

Wilson Middleton arrived in the Sharpsburg area probably early in 1866, following his service in the 115th Regiment, Company F, of the US Colored Infantry (USCT). Middleton joined the ranks in Richmond, Virginia, in May 1865, and mustered out of

service in February 1866 in Texas, where he was on duty in the District of the Rio Grande.[46] In 1870, Middleton was listed on the census as living as a tenant outside of town, possibly on or near the Joseph Poffenberger farm. At the time, Middleton, age forty-one, was married with three small children. After his move to Sharpsburg, where he apparently built a house on one of the Craig/Harper lots, three older children (all born in Virginia) appeared in his household by 1880. The Middleton's 1870 household also included a woman named Harriet Hess, age fifty-four. Hess, of unknown relation to the Middletons, was formerly enslaved by Sharpsburg Justice of the Peace "Squire" Jacob Miller. In the 1850s, during her enslavement, Harriet was the mother of four children, Aaron, John, Nau, and Jane, who were also enslaved in the Miller household. Her children were apparently sold at auction by the Washington County Sheriff in 1859 to pay a debt Jacob Miller owed to his wife's estate.[47]

Hilary Watson, who was enslaved on the farm of John Otto overlooking the Lower Bridge (Burnside Bridge) over Antietam Creek, reportedly continued to work for Otto after his emancipation by the new Maryland constitution on November 1, 1864.[48] Watson and his wife Christina (Teany) appear to have taken a tenant house between the battlefield farms of William Roulette and D.R. Miller by 1870, a surprising distance from his presumed employer John Otto. Like her husband Hilary, Teany Watson was enslaved until Maryland's 1864 emancipation. It is likely she was the enslaved "cook at Delaney's Tavern," interviewed in 1913 (along with Hilary, "The Slave Foreman") for Clifton Johnson's *Battleground Adventures*.[49] Also living in the Watson household in 1870 was Teany Watson's elderly grandmother(?) Adeline Turner (age 104), both of whom were born in Virginia (later West Virginia). Teany (Turner) Watson, according to her death certificate, was the daughter of Ebrie Turner and a "Mr. — Hite," the Hites being a prominent slaveholding family in Jefferson County, Virginia (West Virginia).[50] Hilary Watson's mother was Nancy Lee, who in 1870 was living and working in the household of David Otto, son of her former

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[46] "Compiled Military Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served the United States Colored Troops: 56th-138th USCT Infantry, 1864–1866," https://www.fold3.com/image/305482700. Middleton was born in Loudoun County, Virginia, and lived in Hanover County at the time of his enlistment.

[47] Jan Wetterer, ed., *The Letters of the Jacob Miller Family of Sharpsburg, Washington County, Maryland* (Hagerstown, MD: J. Wetterer, 1994). This incident may be the genesis of the local lore concerning the Sharpsburg "slave block," the carriage step that was located in front of Jacob Miller's house on the corner of East Main Street and Church Street. Harriet Hess died in 1891 (*Antietam Valley Record,* August 28, 1891, Western Maryland Room, WCFL).

[48] Watson stated, "I've worked for the Otto family ever since" in his 1913 interview with Clifton Johnson, author of *Battleground Adventures* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915), 104, *Internet Archive,* https://archive.org/details/battlegroundadve00john/mode/2up.

[49] Johnson, *Battleground Adventures,* 109.

[50] Maryland State Archives, copy courtesy Dr. Emilie Amt. In 1840, the year Christina (Teany) was born, James Hite of Jefferson County, Virginia (West Virginia), held thirty-seven enslaved individuals, including four females under the age of ten.

enslaver John Otto. After their move into Sharpsburg around 1872, it appears Nancy Lee moved in with the Watsons, appearing in their home on the census in 1880 and 1900 (by then age ninety-five).

By the 1880s, the African American population within the town of Sharpsburg had reached a high of ninety-six men, women, and children, while fifty individuals lived in the surrounding district. The population in town represented seventeen independent households, with just four individuals living in the white household with which they were employed (compared with eighteen in 1870). Though homeownership was not recorded on the 1880 census, we know from deed records that at least nine families or individuals owned property (Harper, Simons, Malone, Stanback, Lee, Leakins, Tyler, Sinclair, and Watson), though not all erected dwellings on their lot. This was significantly above the 1 percent average of property ownership in neighboring Frederick County in 1880.[51] The 1877 atlas map of Sharpsburg does not adequately illustrate the extent of the Black community in Sharpsburg (see Figure 115). However, it does provide a visual sense of the marginalization of the African Americans, who were, in fact, an integral part of the area's agricultural economy. Despite being relegated to the margins of the town, the community actively participated in their own advancement, leveraging the power of church, school, lodge, and the strong bonds of kinship.

Throughout the 1890s, Sharpsburg's town and district Black population began to decline in number, following a similar trend in the town's white population.[52] By 1900, seventy-two African Americans lived in town and twenty-five were in the surrounding district. Of the fourteen independent Black households in Sharpsburg, eight were homeowners. Though the three Black neighborhoods on the back streets remained intact, the 1900 census was the first time an African American, John Lee, lived in his own home on Main Street. Among the new homeowners in 1900 was George Hamilton King, who had moved from his tenancy on Elias Snively's Felfoot Farm in the Red Hill area after its sale in 1890. Hamilton King was one of just eight Black Sharpsburg residents in 1900 who could not read or write, all of them from the older generation and many of them formerly enslaved. The 1900 census, however, indicates the Sharpsburg Black community in general was relatively well-educated and well-employed, with several people working skilled jobs.[53]

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[51] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 193.

[52] Sharpsburg's total population hit its peak in 1880 at 1,260 people, then declined to 1,163 in 1890, and 1,080 in 1900. This decline was due in part to the troubles with the C&O Canal, which went into receivership in 1889 after a devastating Potomac River flood that year (Harlan D. Unrau, "C&O Canal Historic Resource Study," Hagerstown, MD: C&O Canal National Historical Park, US Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service, 2007, 315).

[53] 1900 US Population Census.

Occupations

Planters in Maryland, particularly in the southern and eastern counties, complained of the "idleness" of the freedmen. However, this appeared not to be the case in Washington County, and specifically not in the Sharpsburg area. As noted previously, Hilary Watson and Jeremiah Summers continued to work for their former enslavers, the Otto and Piper families. Watson lived in a tenant house not located on his employer's farm, while Summers initially lived in his employer's household. For many Sharpsburg area Black residents, employment during the first decade following emancipation probably closely resembled their prewar situation, whether enslaved or free. In the outlying district around the town of Sharpsburg, thirty-three out of the fifty-four adults and children were employed in 1870. Twenty-four of those were living in the household of their white employer, working as either domestic servants or farm laborers. One woman, Jennie Brown, was specifically employed as a housekeeper in the home of Jacob C. Grove, then owner of the former Chapline mansion farm Mount Pleasant. In the six tenant households located around Sharpsburg, six men worked as day laborers and two as farm laborers. There appeared to be no involvement of the Freedmen's Bureau in mediating labor contracts in the region.[54]

A similar work environment existed in Sharpsburg town in 1870. Of the thirty African Americans listed as employed, seventeen worked and lived as domestic servants in white households. Four men were employed as farm laborers and six as day laborers, all of them living in their own households and two of them owned their homes. Two men were occupied as barbers, John G. Brown and John W. Bell, an occupation for Black men in Sharpsburg that would continue through much of the twentieth century.[55]

The 1880 census provided very little information about occupations. In Sharpsburg, nearly all of the working men and boys were listed simply as "laborer." The exceptions included Jesse Nurse, a "boat laborer"; Robert Leakins, a barber (Figure 122); George W. Jenkins, a preacher at Tolson's Chapel; and David B. Simons and his son James F. Simons (Figure 121), both listed as teachers. David B. Simons was the county-appointed teacher for the Sharpsburg Colored School from 1874 to 1877. His son James was appointed in 1879. There were still four African Americans employed as servants in white households, two men and two women, all of them born outside of Maryland. While most women remained at home "keeping house," four women were listed as "house keeper" or "house keeping," indicating they worked outside their home.[56]

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[54] 1870 US Population Census.

[55] 1870 US Population Census.

[56] 1880 US Population Census.



Figure 121: James F. Simons
Courtesy of the Sharpsburgh Museum of History

There is no record of Black farmers in the 1870 or 1880 agriculture census schedules for the Sharpsburg District, apparently because none of the African Americans owned or tenanted enough land to be enumerated.[57] While Black landowners in the nearby Red Hill area were able to purchase small amounts of marginal hillside land on which they produced subsistence and small cash crops, it appears the rich farmland around Sharpsburg was too valuable to sell in small plots, and even small farm tracts generally held higher values and remained in white possession. Jacob Avi (Avy, Avey), a white man who lived with his family on Antietam Street in Sharpsburg, farmed twenty-eight improved

[57] The bar was actually pretty low: at least three acres of land and five hundred dollars in products in both 1870 and 1880.

acres in the district, valued at $1,600; Benjamin Hoffmaster, who also lived on Antietam Street, farmed fifty acres in the district, valued at $3,000; and Urias Knode lived on his thirteen improved acres, valued at $1,300, located on Canal Road at C&O Canal Lock 38.[58]

Among the largest agricultural employers in the district was Samuel D. Piper, on his father's 230-acre farm where Jeremiah Summers lived as a tenant farm worker. Piper paid more than $700 in annual wages on the farm. The fertile land of the Piper farm, part of the battlefield over which the Antietam battle was fought, was highly valued at $13,800. Piper kept one of the district's larger collections of livestock, including twelve horses, six dairy cows (producing 600 pounds of butter), thirteen "other cattle," twenty-five sheep (producing 189 pounds of wool), sixteen hogs, forty chickens, and fifteen "other" poultry birds (producing 600 dozen eggs). The ground was planted with 25 acres of corn (producing 1,200 bushels), 5 acres of rye (80 bushels), 110 acres of wheat (2,550 bu), and potatoes. The eight-acre orchard was apparently still recovering from the destruction of the 1862 battle, with forty apple trees producing just twenty bushels of apples.[59]

By 1900, eleven Black men living in Sharpsburg and all six of the district men were occupied as farm laborers—only one of those was listed in the farm household where he was employed. None of the men were occupied as "day laborers," perhaps indicating the relative stability of their agricultural employment; however, many were unemployed at least three months of the year (likely winter months). Only one, Thomas C. King (age twenty), a town dweller, gave his employment as "laborer," perhaps implying a more variable job description (Figure 123). There was one Black carpenter in town, William C. Cook (grandson of Jane Sinclair).[60] Two men and one woman were listed as teachers in Sharpsburg in 1900, including James Simons, Robert Lee (son of John Lee), and Lottie (Wright) Piper (granddaughter of Wilson Middleton). All three teachers were noted as unemployed five months of the year, indicating a seven-month school year for the Sharpsburg Colored School. By comparison, the six white school teachers in town ranged from zero months off (John P. Smith) to four or five months off. Robert Lakin (Leakins; Figure 122) continued to be occupied as a town barber in 1900 (as he was in 1880), and his neighbor George Nirce (Nurse) was working as a hostler for one of the hotel operators in Sharpsburg.[61]

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[58] 1880 US Census Agriculture Schedule, Sharpsburg District, Special Collections, Maryland State Archives, http://guide.msa.maryland.gov/pages/series.aspx?action=viewseries&id=sm61.

[59] 1880 US Census Agriculture Schedule.

[60] At the time of his death in 1939, William Cook was described in his obituary as a "veteran carpenter" (*Daily Mail,* March 22, 1939, *Doleman Black Heritage Museum,* http://archives.dolemanblackheritagemuseum.org/documents/Black-Obituaries-of-Washington-County-MaryLand-Folder-13.pdf). William Cook was followed in the business of house carpentry in Sharpsburg by Robert Jackson by 1910 and Clarence Monroe by 1920.

[61] 1900 US Population Census.

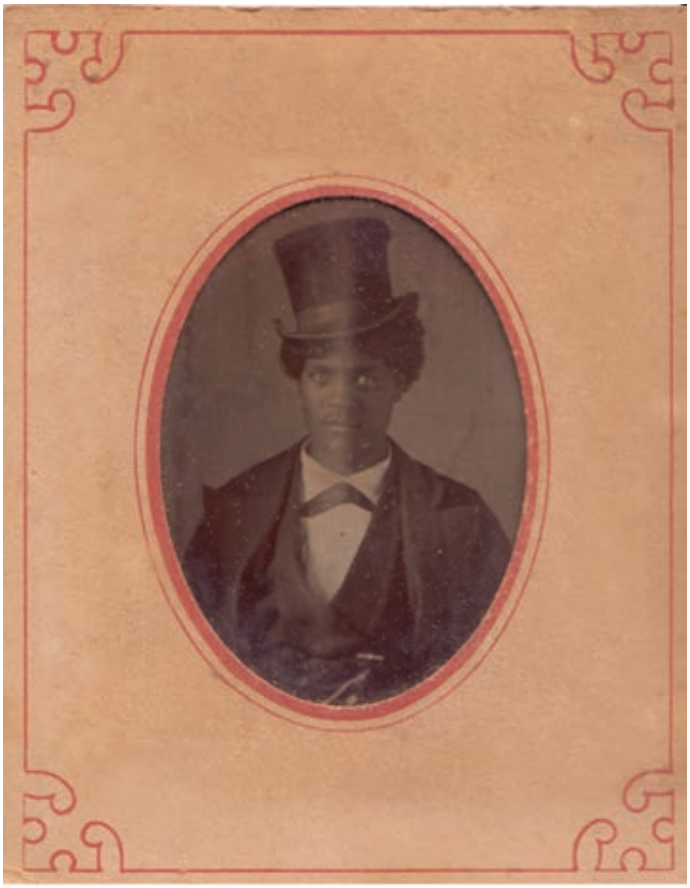


Figure 122: Robert Leakins
Courtesy of the Sharpsburgh Museum of History

Not surprisingly, throughout the 1865 to 1900 period, farm labor continued to be the most significant employment for African Americans in the Sharpsburg town and district. Though apparently limited in the skilled labor opportunities many whites in the area claimed, Sharpsburg Blacks seem to have prospered despite the job limitations. From the two property owners of 1870, Black home ownership in Sharpsburg grew to as many as nine before 1900. In 1906, John Philemon Smith, a local white school teacher and author, described the thirty-five members of the "Colored M.E. Church" of Sharpsburg as "mostly well to do people."[62]

[62] Thomas J.C. Williams, *A History of Washington County, Maryland, Volume I* (Originally published Hagerstown, 1906. Reprinted Regional Publishing Company, Baltimore, 1968), 551. The "Colored M.E. Church" of Sharpsburg was also known as Tolson's Chapel.



Figure 123: Thomas and Lizzie King
Courtesy Sharpsburgh Museum of History

Church—Tolson's Chapel

In the final days leading up to Maryland's abolition of slavery on November 1, 1864, a new Methodist Episcopal (ME) Church conference was holding its first meeting in Baltimore. The Washington Conference was formed for Black ministers and elders to administer the Black ME churches. Some were already long-established congregations, but had been under the administration of whites. Bishop Levi Scott, the white bishop presiding over the conference formation, observed in his remarks, "That, for the first time they had exercised the functions of a Conference; they had elected men to orders, and admitted Preachers on Trial and had, in their midst, the first transferred Colored Preacher."[63] A young man from Virginia by the name of John R. Tolson was in attendance at the historic meeting.

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[63] "Original Minutes of the Washington Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1864 Organization of the Conference," Lovely Lane Museum and Archives, United Methodist Church, Baltimore, MD.

The following year, on October 21, 1865, Tolson was "admitted on trial" to the ministry. His first assignment was the Hagerstown Circuit, where he served through 1866 overseeing three churches and 161 members.[64] In Sharpsburg, Tolson formed a mission congregation, drawn from the Black population living in the area. In October 1866, the congregation erected a small chapel, with the occasion noted in a local newspaper: "The African Church, of which the Corner Stone was laid a few weeks ago, is framed, and will be ready for worship about the holidays" (Figure 126).[65] A year later, in October 1867, the Sharpsburg Colored Methodist Episcopal Church building was formally dedicated.[66]



Figure 124: Tolson's Chapel (restored), 2018
Courtesy NPS/Evelyn Causey

[64] Minutes of the Washington Conference, Lovely Lane Museum and Archives.

[65] *Boonsboro Oddfellow,* November 29, 1866, as cited in Herrin, "Antietam Rising," 58.

[66] Scharf, *History of Western Maryland,* 1210.

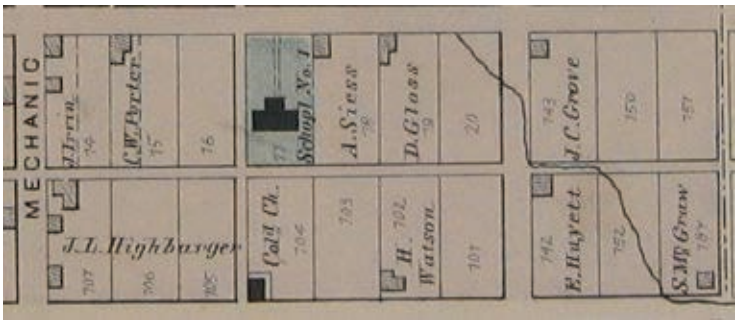


Figure 125: 1877 atlas map, Lot 104 detail

The chapel stood on a corner of Samuel Craig's Lot 104 on High Street a full year before Craig conveyed the tiny parcel to the trustees of the ME Church, which included himself, David Simons, Wilson Middleton, Jacob Turner, and John Francis. The deed, dated November 15, 1867, described the parcel as "containing 35 feet in length and 25 feet in width," barely larger than the building itself, and "situated upon the South east corner of lot No.104."[67] Oddly, the chapel building currently stands on the southwest corner of the lot, where it also appeared on the 1877 Atlas map (Figure 125).

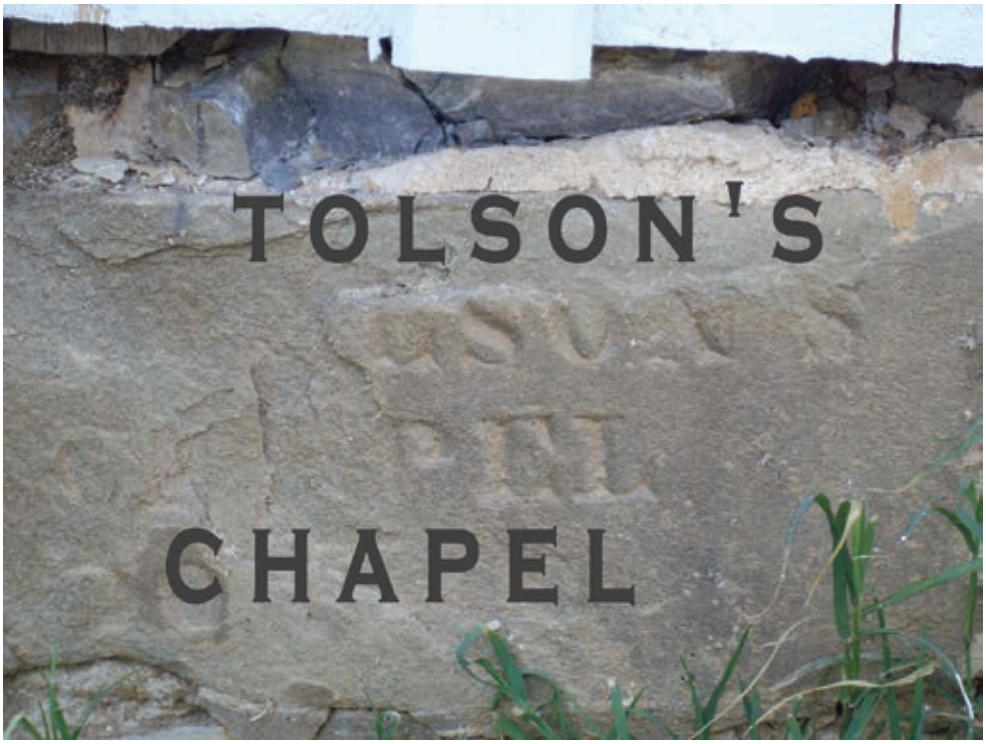


Figure 126: Tolson's Chapel cornerstone, annotated
Photo by author, 2008

[67] WC DB LBN 1, page 712.

Sometime in 1867, John R. Tolson was assigned to a new circuit in Winchester, Virginia, where he stayed until 1869. In 1870, Tolson died at the age of thirty.[68] It is likely the Sharpsburg chapel was dedicated to Tolson shortly after his death, with the inscription "Tolson's Chapel" added to the red sandstone cornerstone (Figure 126). The earliest documented reference to the building being called "Tolson's Chapel" was in 1881, in which the local newspaper reported a festival being held at "Tolson's M.E. Church."[69] Perhaps an earlier indication of the name change appears in the chapel's Sunday school hymnals inscribed "Sharpsburg T C 1875."[70]



Figure 127: "T C 1875" Sunday School hymnal
Friends of Tolson's Chapel collection

The "charge" of Tolson's Chapel was shuffled between the Hagerstown, Jefferson, and Williamsport Circuits, and possibly the Middletown Circuit, from year to year. After leaving Hagerstown in 1867, Tolson was reportedly replaced by Jarrett Bowman.[71] Bowman

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[68] John R. Tolson Memoir/obituary, *Methodist Episcopal General Minutes,* Vol. XIII, 1870–1871, 37, Lovely Lane Museum and Archives, Baltimore, MD.

[69] *Sharpsburg Enterprise,* December 23, 1881, MSA SC 5195, Special Collections, Maryland State Archives, http://speccol.msa.maryland.gov/pages/speccol/collection.aspx?speccol=5195.

[70] Listed in the Inventory of Artifacts found in Tolson's Chapel, Dr. David H. Wallace, February 27, 2003.

[71] Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (1882), 1210. Washington Conference records indicate the replacement minister was C.G. Keyes.

was born enslaved in 1816 in Charles Town, (West) Virginia. He purchased his freedom for $650 in 1857.[72] As was common in the Methodist church, ministers were moved frequently to other circuits within their district. Others who served at Sharpsburg through the 1870s included Alexander N. Kennedy (1869–71), Philip Scoot (1871), Daniel Aquilla (1872), Jacob M. Gross (1873), George Washington Wesley Jenkins (1874–75; 1879–81), Samuel S. Brown (1876–77), and Henry Williams (1878).[73]

In 1871, the chapel had twenty-five members and six probationers (people hoping to become full members). Ten children were baptized into the faith that year. Significantly, there were two Sunday schools with nine "officers & teachers" and a total of fifty-five "scholars." At a time when the county was not yet providing public education for Sharpsburg's Black children, these two Sunday schools may have served a dual purpose for both religious and secular curricula.[74] The chapel's congregation plummeted to just twelve members in good standing and six probationers in 1872, but rebounded by 1874 to thirty-seven members with nineteen on probation. The Sunday school offering in 1874 was reduced to one class, though there were forty-five students.[75] This change may be associated with the establishment of the county-run "Sharpsburg Colored School," held in the chapel beginning in 1873. The chapel's membership appears to have stabilized through the second half of the decade and into the 1880s. In 1882, Benjamin W. Brown Jr. was ministering to a congregation of thirty-five at Sharpsburg.[76]

Tolson's Chapel played a central role in the Black community of Sharpsburg. Less than two years after Maryland emancipation, the community, including town and surrounding district residents, had formed a congregation and built their own church on land they owned. The chapel became the spiritual center for the community. Local newspapers published reports of bush meetings held by the "colored people of Sharpsburg," including one held in David Otto's woods on September 29, 1888. The notice indicated "Revs. John H. Bailey, preacher in charge, Francis Peck, Frank Thomas and several others are expected to attend and to aid in the services," and to which "the public is cordially invited."[77] Like the white Methodist bush meetings, the gatherings were heavily attended (often including

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[72] Minutes of the Washington Conference, Lovely Lane Museum and Archives; Methodist Episcopal General Minutes, 1879, Jarrett Bowman, 38.

[73] "Preacher File," Lovely Lane Museum and Archives, Baltimore, MD.

[74] Minutes of the Washington Conference, Lovely Lane Museum and Archives.

[75] Minutes of the Washington Conference, Lovely Lane Museum and Archives.

[76] Based on a list in Scharf, *History of Western Maryland,* 1210, with annotations from the "Preacher File," Lovely Lane Museum and Archives.

[77] *Antietam Wavelet,* September 29, 1888, Western Maryland Room, Washington County Free Library (WCFL), Hagerstown, MD. Bailey was the preacher in Jefferson (Frederick County, MD), Peck ministered at the Asbury ME Church in Baltimore, and Thomas at the Waugh Chapel in Baltimore. *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist ... 1888* (New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1888), 43, *HathiTrust Digital Library,* https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/006771726.

white attendees at the Black meetings) and could last for days. In mid-December 1892, a revival was held inside the chapel in Sharpsburg, about which, according to the editor of the local paper, "Considerable interest is manifested."[78] Fundraising fairs or festivals were held regularly, often by the women of the church. In December 1881, the "colored ladies of Sharpsburg," advertised their "fair and festival for the benefit of the M.E. Church." Held in the chapel, confectionaries and supper were supplied for twenty-five cents. The event was managed by Teany Watson, Harriet Gray, Emma J. Cook, Mary E. Smith, Harriet Brown, and Louisa Green.[79] In 1892, a "grand rally" fundraiser was held at which the King Band was featured and $33.65 was raised "for the benefit of their church."[80]

In addition to its role in the spiritual uplift of the community, Tolson's Chapel was a center for the community's educational opportunities. Initially focused around their heavily attended Sunday schools, the chapel housed a library of books which by 1872 included "twenty volumes" and added a set of Bibles from F. Markell Books and Stationery Store in the 1880s.[81] They expanded into secular learning when the chapel housed the Freedmen's Bureau–sponsored "American Union" school in 1868 and 1869, and later the county-run public school through 1899 (see the "Education" section that follows). The Tolson's Chapel congregation also provided "Benevolent Contributions" to church and Sunday schools, and likely to their own members as well.

Another important role filled by the church on High Street was providing a place to bury loved ones who had died. Although the town of Sharpsburg had three church cemeteries by the 1860s, there are only a few African American burials identified in those cemeteries. The Lutheran cemetery on the south side of Main Street reportedly contains about eight African American burials, the earliest being John Troup, who died January 9, 1872.[82] In February 1892, Ida Malone, daughter of Elenora and Andrew Malone, was also interred in the Lutheran cemetery.[83] These were the exceptions, however, and the Black community of Sharpsburg was in need of a burial ground. In June 1883, Dennis Harper sold the remaining west half of Lot 104 bordering the church to then trustees Hillary (Hilary)

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[78] *Antietam Valley Record,* December 16, 1892, Western Maryland Room, WCFL, Hagerstown, MD.

[79] *Sharpsburg Enterprise,* December 23, 1881, Special Collections, Maryland State Archives.

[80] *Antietam Valley Record,* December 9, 1892, Western Maryland Room, WCFL, Hagerstown, MD.

[81] Minutes of the Washington Conference, Lovely Lane Museum and Archives. Included in the current collection of artifacts in Tolson's Chapel is a Bible purchased from F. Markell Books and Stationary. The F. Markell Books and Stationary store was located in Frederick, Maryland.

[82] "Sharpsburg Death Records, 1832–1923," Western Maryland Room, WCFL, Hagerstown, MD. This resource is said to have been compiled from Dr. A.A. Biggs records by John P. Smith. Others include Andrew McComas Cross (12/9/1889), Mrs. John (Eliza [Stanback]) Lee (5/11/1895), Josephine Malone (9/14/1895), Robert L. Lee s/o John (6/7/1900), Frank Haskins (11/12/1901), Otto Lakins h/o Sophia Stanbach (10/1/1905) "93 yrs., 3m., 19d. was born: 6/12/1812 near Frederick, called Uncle Otto, Father Bob, a slave and a good old man everyone liked," John Lee h/o Stanbach (6/24/1910). It appears likely that many of the Stanback (Stinebaugh) family members attended the Lutheran church in Sharpsburg.

[83] *Antietam Valley Record,* February 12, 1892, Western Maryland Room, WCFL, Hagerstown, MD.

Watson, David B. Samons (Simons), and William H. Gray.[84] This was the cemetery lot, and although there are a number of unmarked graves in the cemetery, none of the marked graves pre-date this 1883 conveyance. The earliest stone appears to be for "Mehalay Thomas, age 100y[ears]." Mahala (Mehalay) Thomas died in September 1888, reportedly at the age of 104 (Figure 128).[85] The ME Washington Conference minutes recorded among the Sharpsburg statistics two deaths in the church in 1871, one death in 1872, and three deaths in 1874, so it is likely that burials began as early as 1871, more than ten years prior to the official lot conveyance.[86]



Figure 128: Mehalay Thomas gravestone in Tolson's Chapel cemetery
Photo by the author, 2017



Figure 129: Wilson Middleton military gravestone in Tolson's Chapel cemetery
Photo by the author, 2017

[84] WC DB GBO 84, page 304.

[85] *Antietam Wavelet,* September 29, 1888, Western Maryland Room, WCFL, Hagerstown, MD. The newspaper described Mahala Thomas as a member of the Reformed Church where her funeral was preached; however, she may have been buried in the only "black" cemetery in town, regardless of denomination. According to the census, Mahala Thomas was likely closer to ninety years old. She was formerly enslaved by Daniel Miller (who was possibly the father of Henry) and sold by his estate in 1857 to Jacob Ross, a free black man, for one dollar. Her daughter Melinda married Jesse Gray and, later, George Nurse. Melinda Nurse's stone is located in the Tolson's cemetery near her mother.

[86] Minutes of the Washington Conference, Lovely Lane Museum and Archives. The Keedysville/Sharpsburg death record, included in S. W. Piper's *Washington County Cemeteries,* noted Catharine Craig's death in 1871 and Samuel Craig's death in 1873. Given that the Craigs conveyed the cemetery lot to their son-in-law in 1871, it is highly probable that they were interred in unmarked graves in the lot and that the lot was always intended to serve as the chapel's cemetery.

Beginning in the 1890s, the Tolson's Chapel cemetery was relatively active with burials. In May 1891, Wilson Middleton died, "an aged and highly respected colored man and an ex-union soldier," noted the local newspaper. In 1890, Middleton had applied for his soldier's pension, which he was awarded in July 1891, two months after his death. He was buried in the Tolson's Chapel cemetery, his grave marked by his government-issued military stone (Figure 129).[87] Perhaps the youngest person in the cemetery, Minnie May Beeler, was the infant daughter of George W. and Julia (Simons) Beeler. She died in 1893 at the age of just nine months. Her stone stands among the other Simons family stones, including her grandfather David B. Simons (d. 1908) and grandmother Margaret (Stanback) Simons (d. 1902) (Figure 130). Carlina (Summers) Jackson, daughter of Jeremiah and Susan Summers, died November 24, 1893, and in 1895, Harriet A. Robinson passed away.



Figure 130: Simons family plot
Photo by author, 2020

[87] *Antietam Valley Record,* May 15, 1891, Western Maryland Room, WCFL, Hagerstown, MD; Antietam Valley Record, July 3, 1891, Western Maryland Room, WCFL, Hagerstown, MD. Rev. Ralph Monroe recalled that Middleton was thought by members of Tolson's Chapel to have been enslaved by a member of the Piper family; however, this has not been confirmed.

Most of the burials in the chapel cemetery occurred through the twentieth century. Several of Sharpsburg's formerly enslaved people survived into the twentieth century and were buried there, including Hilary Watson (1917) and Christina Watson (1915), Jeremiah Summers (1925) and Emory W. Summers Sr. (d. 1941, with no stone (Figures 131 and 132). The last burial occurred in 1996 when Mary Virginia Cook passed away, the last member of the Tolson's Chapel congregation still living in Sharpsburg. In 2015, the residents of Sharpsburg established a memorial fund to purchase a stone for Virginia Cook's grave. In all, there are forty-eight known burials with gravestones, many with footstones, and thirty-three suspected burials (through visual and Ground Penetrating Radar evidence).[88]



Figure 131: Hilary and Christiana [*sic*] Watson stone
Photo by author, 2016



Figure 132: Jeremiah and Susan Summers stone
Photo by author, 2016

[88] In 1955, Mary Elizabeth (Lizzie) (Simons) King devised in her will "One Hundred ($100.00) Dollars, for the express purpose of erecting a fence around the grave yard adjoining said Tolson Methodist Church" (WC Will Book 23, page 18). The fence, which lined just the north half of the eastern boundary and a gated section on the south boundary, is no longer extant.

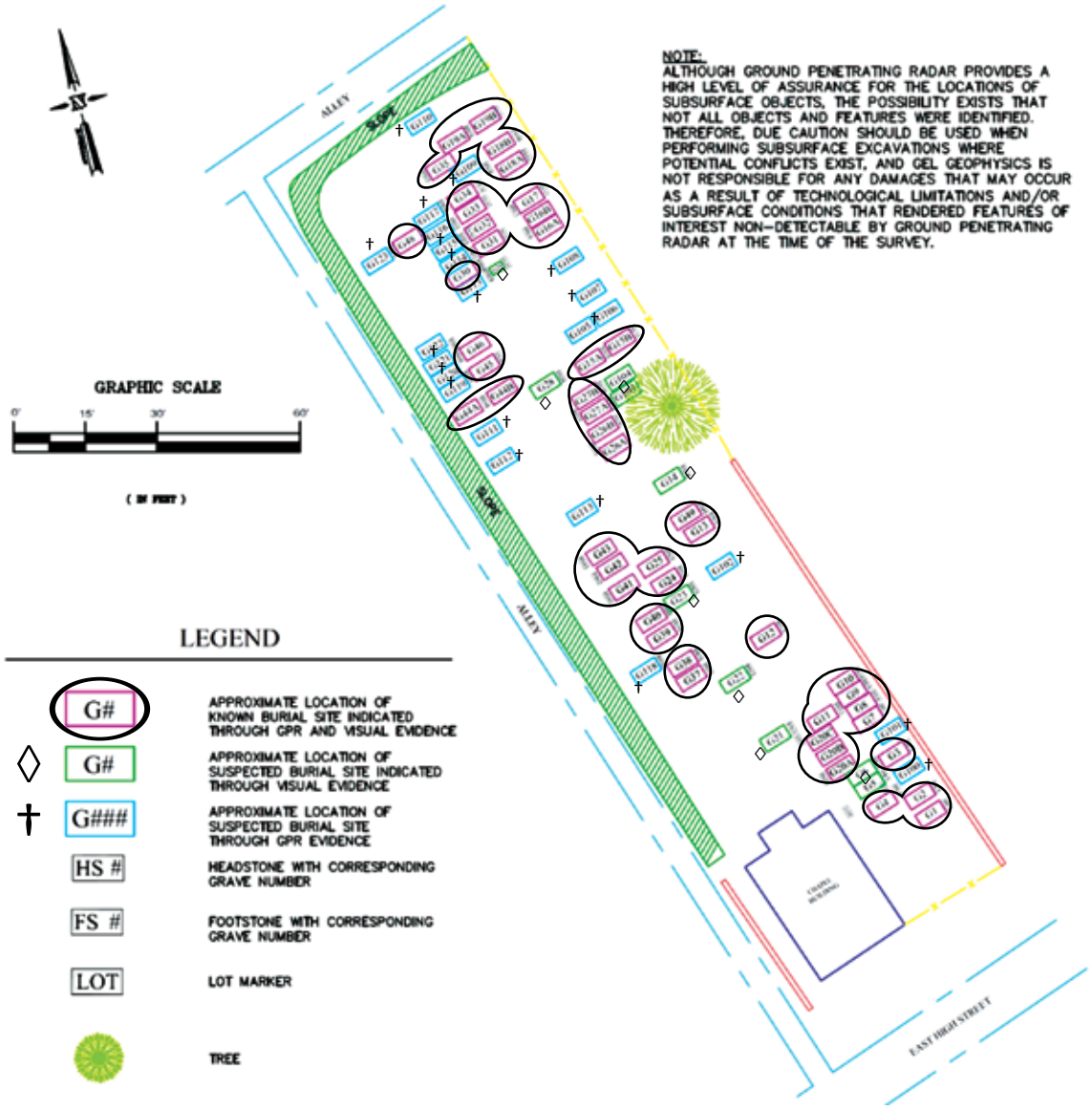


Figure 133: Ground penetrating radar (GPR) / visual map of Tolson's Chapel cemetery
Cemetery Assessment Report, Chicora Foundation for Friends of Tolson's Chapel, 2015

Schools

In 1867, Washington County officials reported to the Freedmen's Bureau that the county had "paid what the law allows" toward the establishment of schools for its African American citizens. In reality, that did not translate into schools in the rural districts. Thus Sharpsburg was one of seven rural towns in Washington County that benefited from the aid of the Freedmen's Bureau in establishing opportunities for education shortly after the conclusion of the Civil War. This aid did not begin in Sharpsburg until 1868, however.

Despite the lack of available formal education, some individuals did find pathways to literacy prior to that.[89] In 1870, ten Black adults reported they could read and write, and eight said they could read but not write. By then, a small number of children (under twenty years) had joined the ranks of the literate, due in large part to the efforts of the community centered around Tolson's Chapel and the Freedmen's Bureau.

"American Union" Freedmen's Bureau School

In March of 1868, discussions were underway within the Freedmen's Bureau about where to send several available teachers. The town of Boonsboro was viewed as promising, but upon visitation by Capt. J.C. Brubaker, then in charge of the Freedmen's Bureau in the Harpers Ferry Region, he reported, "[T]here are not a sufficient number to open a school." Brubaker suggested instead that the teacher be sent to Sharpsburg, noting, "The colored people are very anxious to have the school opened and from the spirit manifested I am assured that they will fulfill their part of the contract."[90] He estimated approximately thirty daytime students and an equal number of adults in the evening would attend the Sharpsburg school.

Though the Black community in Sharpsburg was enthusiastic about the prospect of a school, they only reluctantly agreed to make their chapel available for use as a school, according to Brubaker.[91] They were also expected to arrange for housing for the teacher and to pay for his board. When Ezra A. Johnson, a white teacher supplied from Philadelphia, arrived in Sharpsburg in early April 1868, he found the white residents of Sharpsburg unwelcoming and the arranged-for housing had been withdrawn. Johnson reported to Rev. Kimball, Superintendent of Education for the region, "The fact of the matter is, Mr. Kimble, the citizens would allow a coloured man to teach here, but if possible, they won't allow a white teacher to come here and teach the coloured people; and they have made up their minds to freeze me out with cold shoulders."[92] Johnson later wrote that he was staying with Samuel Craig, who he described as "the Methodist pastor here (colored)."[93]

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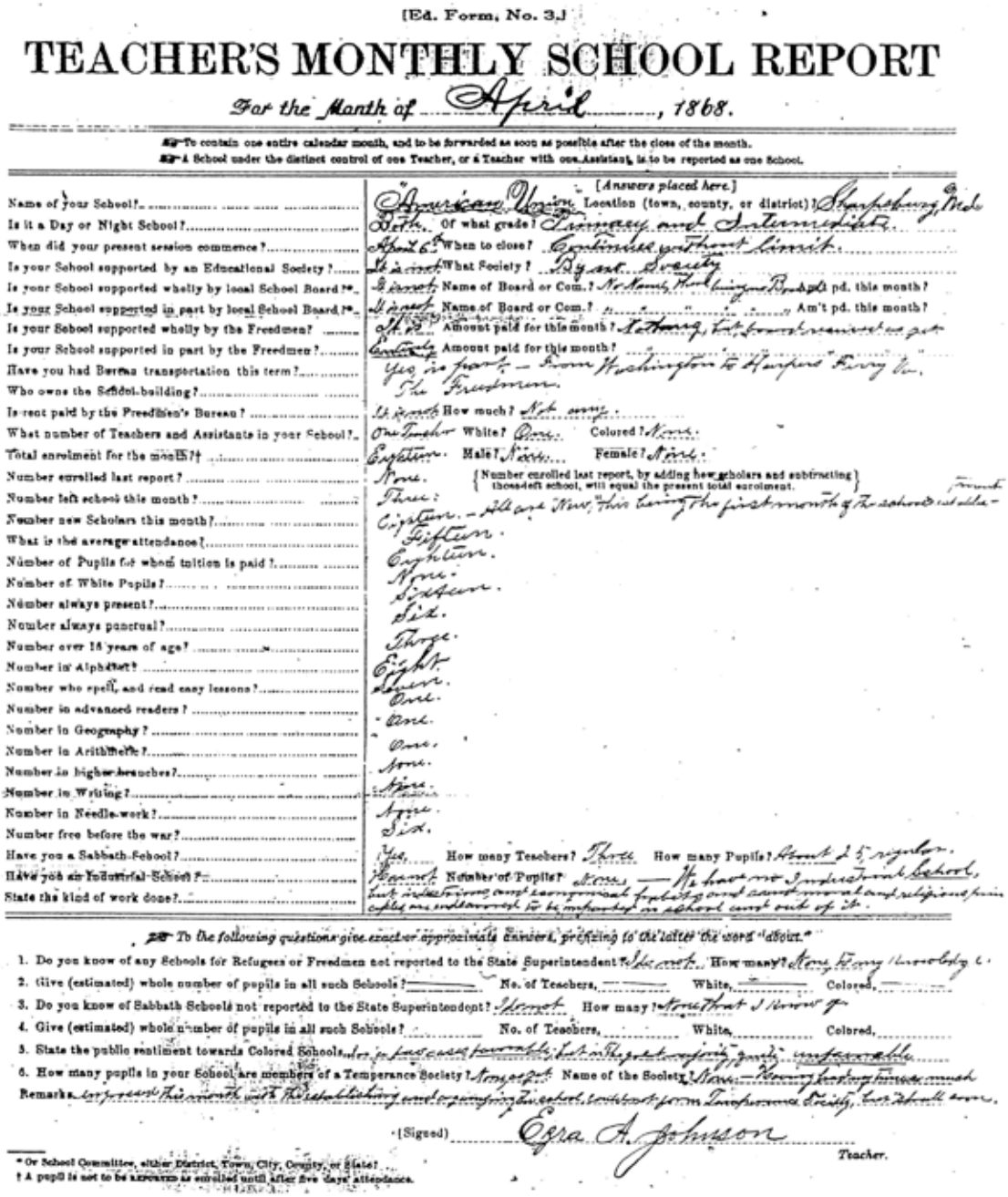
[89] In 1860, according to the census taker, twenty-five of the thirty-six Sharpsburg-area's Black adults aged twenty years or older claimed they could read and write.

[90] Capt. J.C. Brubaker to Rev. John Kimball, Supt. of Education (Maryland), March 28, 1868, Registered Letters Received, Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, National Museum of African American History and Culture, NMAAHC-007675721_00717.

[91] Capt. Brubaker to Rev. John Kimball, March 27, 1868, Registered Letters Received, NMAAHC-007675721_00715. Brubaker wrote, "Like at other points they object to having the school in their Church."

[92] E.A. Johnson to Rev. John Kimball, April 6, 1868, Registered Letters Received, Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, NARA, M1056, Roll #7.

[93] E.A. Johnson to Capt. J. C. Brubaker, April 3, 1868, Registered Letters Received, NMAAHC-007675721_00744. As a church trustee, it is likely that Craig filled in as a "lay preacher" while the assigned ME minister fulfilled his duties elsewhere on the circuit.



[Ed. Form, No. 3.]

TEACHER'S MONTHLY SCHOOL REPORT

For the Month of April, 1868.

To contain one entire calendar month, and to be forwarded as soon as possible after the close of the month.
A School under the distinct control of one Teacher, or a Teacher with one Assistant, is to be reported as one School.

[Answers placed here.]

Name of your School? American Union Location (town, county, or district)? Sharpsburg Md
Is it a Day or Night School? Both. Of what grade? Primary and Intermediate.
When did your present session commence? April 6th When to close? Continues without limit.
Is your School supported by an Educational Society? It is not. What Society? By our Society
Is your School supported wholly by local School Board?* It is not. Name of Board or Com.? No Name, Rec'd from Brooks pd. this month?
Is your School supported in part by local School Board?* It is not. Name of Board or Com.? " " " Am't pd. this month?
Is your School supported wholly by the Freedmen? It is. Amount paid for this month? Nothing, but board received as per
Is your School supported in part by the Freedmen? Contract. Amount paid for this month?
Have you had Bureau transportation this term? Yes in part — from Washington to Harpers Ferry &c.
Who owns the School-building? The Freedmen.
Is rent paid by the Freedmen's Bureau? It is not. How much? Not any.
What number of Teachers and Assistants in your School? One Teacher. White? One. Colored? None.
Total enrolment for the month?† Eighteen. Male? Nearly. Female? Girls.
Number enrolled last report? None. {Number enrolled last report, by adding new scholars and subtracting those left school, will equal the present total enrolment.}
Number left school this month? None: Present
Number new Scholars this month? Eighteen. — All are New, this being the first month of the school and the
What is the average attendance? Eighteen. pupils
Number of Pupils for whom tuition is paid? Nine.
Number of White Pupils? Six.
Number always present? Three.
Number always punctual? Eight
Number over 18 years of age? Seven.
Number in Alphabet? One.
Number who spell, and read easy lessons? One.
Number in advanced readers? None.
Number in Geography? None.
Number in Arithmetic? None.
Number in higher branches? None.
Number in Writing? None.
Number in Needle-work? Six.
Number free before the war?
Have you a Sabbath-School? Yes. How many Teachers? Three How many Pupils? About 2 or 3 regular.
Have you an Industrial School? It is not. Number of Pupils? None — We have no Industrial School,
State the kind of work done? but instructions and encouragement for both young and aged in moral and religious principles are addressed to the individuals in school and out of it.

To the following questions give exact or approximate answers, prefixing to the latter the word "about."

1. Do you know of any Schools for Refugees or Freedmen not reported to the State Superintendent? I do not. How many? None to my knowledge &c.
2. Give (estimated) whole number of pupils in all such Schools? ——— No. of Teachers, ——— White, ——— Colored, ———
3. Do you know of Sabbath Schools not reported to the State Superintendent? I do not. How many? None that I know of.
4. Give (estimated) whole number of pupils in all such Schools? ——— No. of Teachers, ——— White, ——— Colored, ———
5. State the public sentiment towards Colored Schools. As in past cases favorable, but in the great majority of cases unfavorable
6. How many pupils in your School are members of a Temperance Society? None as yet. Name of the Society? None — Many seeking for it much

Remarks. Organized this month with 18 pupils and opening the school with prayer from Temperance Society, but shall soon.

[Signed) Ezra A. Johnson Teacher.

* Or School Committee, either District, Town, City, County, or State.
† A pupil is not to be reported as enrolled until after five days' attendance.

Figure 134: April 1868 Ezra Johnson Monthly School Report
"Monthly Teacher's Reports, Apr.-Oct. 1868," NMAAHC-007675733_00038

Despite these trials, Ezra Johnson did open the school in Sharpsburg on April 6, 1868, reporting that he "opened a day school, night school, and Sabbath school and will this week organize the Vanguard of Freedom" (Figure 134).[94] He christened the little school the "American Union" school. Johnson's official school report submitted to the

[94] Letter, E.A. Johnson to Rev. John Kimball, April 6, 1868, NARA, M1056, Roll #7.

Freedmen's Bureau education department provided the details of the school. Grades taught by Johnson at the school included both primary and intermediate. The school opened on April 6 and "Continues without limit," noting that it was "wholly supported by the Freedmen." Total enrollment for the month was eighteen students, significantly below the promised thirty, and of those, sixteen were described as "always present." Only six of the eighteen day-students identified themselves as "free before the war," indicating twelve of the children were previously enslaved. Eight children arrived on the first day knowing the alphabet, and seven could "spell and read easy lessons." One student was already an advanced reader, with knowledge of geography and arithmetic. It is likely the advanced student was young James Simons, the eight-year-old child of David B. Simons, both of whom later became teachers in the county-run school.

Johnson, whose opinion of the local white population was already colored by their refusal to board him, described "the public sentiment toward Colored Schools" as ranging from "indifferent" to "unfavorable" on his first official report.[95] He found himself in disagreement with the Black community as well. Johnson arrived in Sharpsburg, according to his account, expecting to be paid his salary by the Bureau via a monthly rent payment for use of the chapel building for the school. That proved not to be the case, and he began charging tuition, though he claimed it was "altogether a matter of choice with them. They are allowed to pay or not, or to pay as little or as much as they wish."[96] By the end of April, it appeared the Sharpsburg school was in peril, according to Captain Brubaker: "Complaint has been made that they are compelled to pay tuition, to sustain him entire.... As you are aware the col. people are not able to sustain a teacher without aid from some source." Noting that the religious mission society that would normally pay the teacher's salary had refused to pay, Brubaker observed, "Unless we can secure aid from some source, I apprehend the school will have to close."[97] Johnson closed the school on June 1, 1868, and according to Brubaker's report on July 6, "has not been heard from."[98]

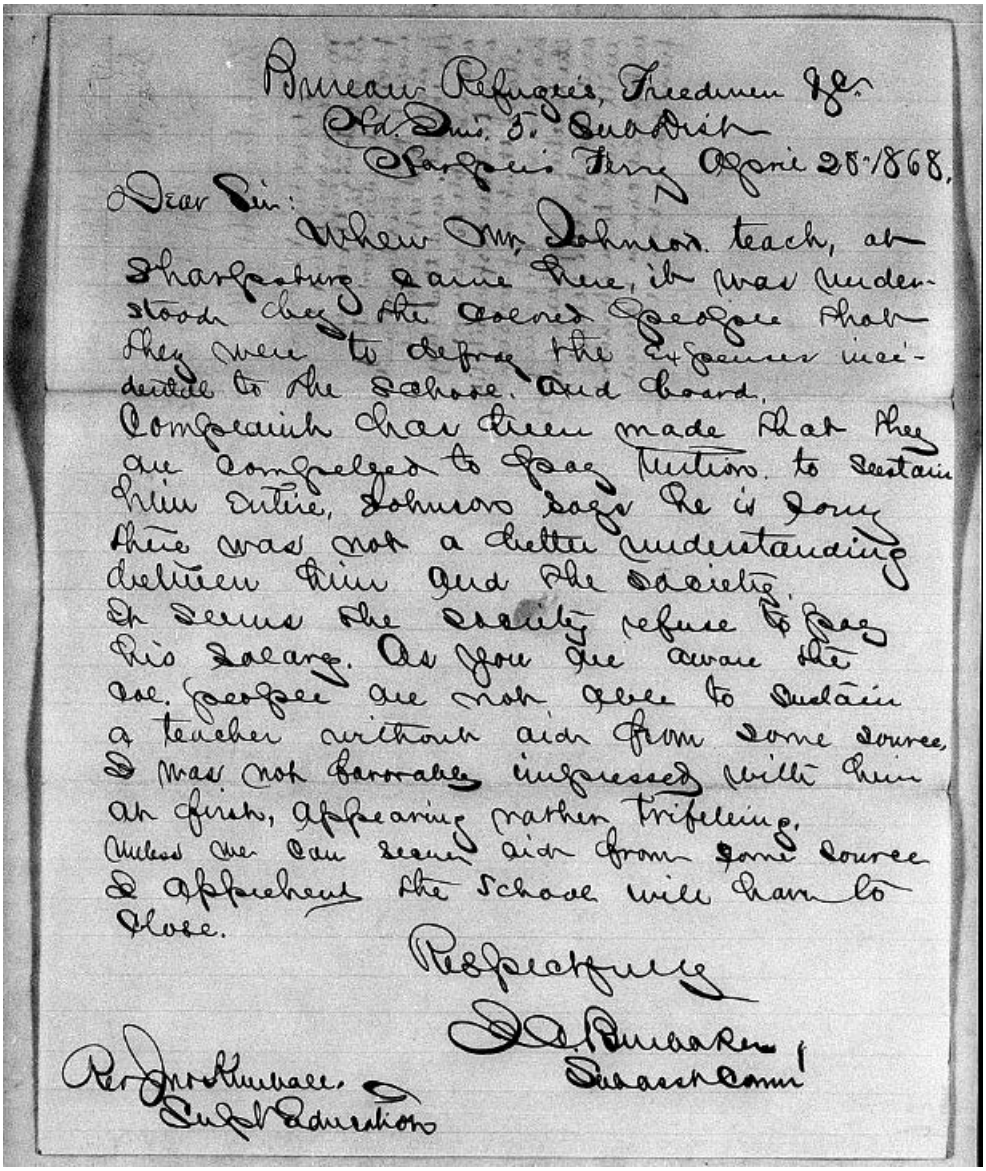
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[95] Teacher's Monthly School Report, April 1868, National Archives, RG 105, M1056, Roll #7.

[96] E.A. Johnson to Capt. J. C. Brubaker, April 27, 1868, Registered Letters Received, NMAAHC-007675721_00759.

[97] Brubaker to Kimball, April 28, 1868, Registered Letters Received, NMAAHC-007675721_00757. In fact, Johnson was paid sixty dollars by his sponsors, Benjamin Coates and R.R. Corson, prior to his leaving Philadelphia. Apparently, Johnson spent the money before arriving in Sharpsburg. See the correspondence between Johnson and Coates in Werner-Lapsansky and Bacon, *Back to Africa*, 230–31, 237–39.

[98] Brubaker to Kimball, July 6, 1868, Registered Letters Received, NMAAHC-007675721_00805.



Bureau Refugees, Freedmen &c.
Md. Dist. 5. Quadrich
Sharpsburg Washington Co. April 28th 1868.

Dear Sir:

When Mr. Johnson teach, at Sharpsburg came here, it was understood by the colored people that they were to defray the Expenses incidental to the School and board. Complaints have been made that they are compelled to pay Tuition to sustain him alone, Johnson says he is sorry there was not a better understanding between him and the society. It seems the society refuse to pay his salary. As you are aware the col. people are not able to sustain a teacher without aid from some source. I was not favorably impressed with him at first, appearing rather trifling. Unless we can secure aid from some source I apprehend the School will have to close.

Respectfully

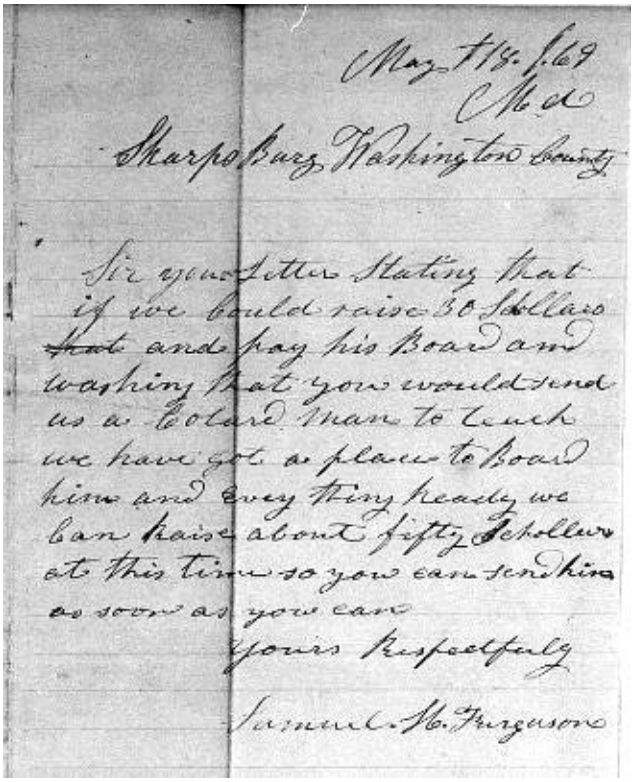
D. B. Brubaker
Sharpsburg

Rev. Jno. Kimball
Supt Education

Figure 135: Brubaker to Kimball, April 28, 1868
"Registered Letters Received," NMAAHC-007675721_00757

A full year passed after Ezra Johnson's departure before the Sharpsburg school acquired a new teacher through the Freedmen's Bureau. Beginning on May 8, 1869, twenty-two-year-old Samuel Ferguson, who lived in the household of David B. Simons, was the signee on a series of three letters (each written in a different hand) to Captain Brubaker, urgently requesting a teacher. Brubaker apparently replied that the community would need to raise at least thirty dollars and agree to pay the teacher's board, to which Ferguson replied on May 18 that they could raise fifty dollars, requesting a "Colored man" for the teacher (Figure 136). Brubaker promised the Black male teacher would arrive by June 18,

but on June 21, Ferguson wrote again to say that the teacher had not yet arrived and stated, "We are readey to receve hiem at eney Time if Et Will meet, your abprobathion" (spelled as written).[99]

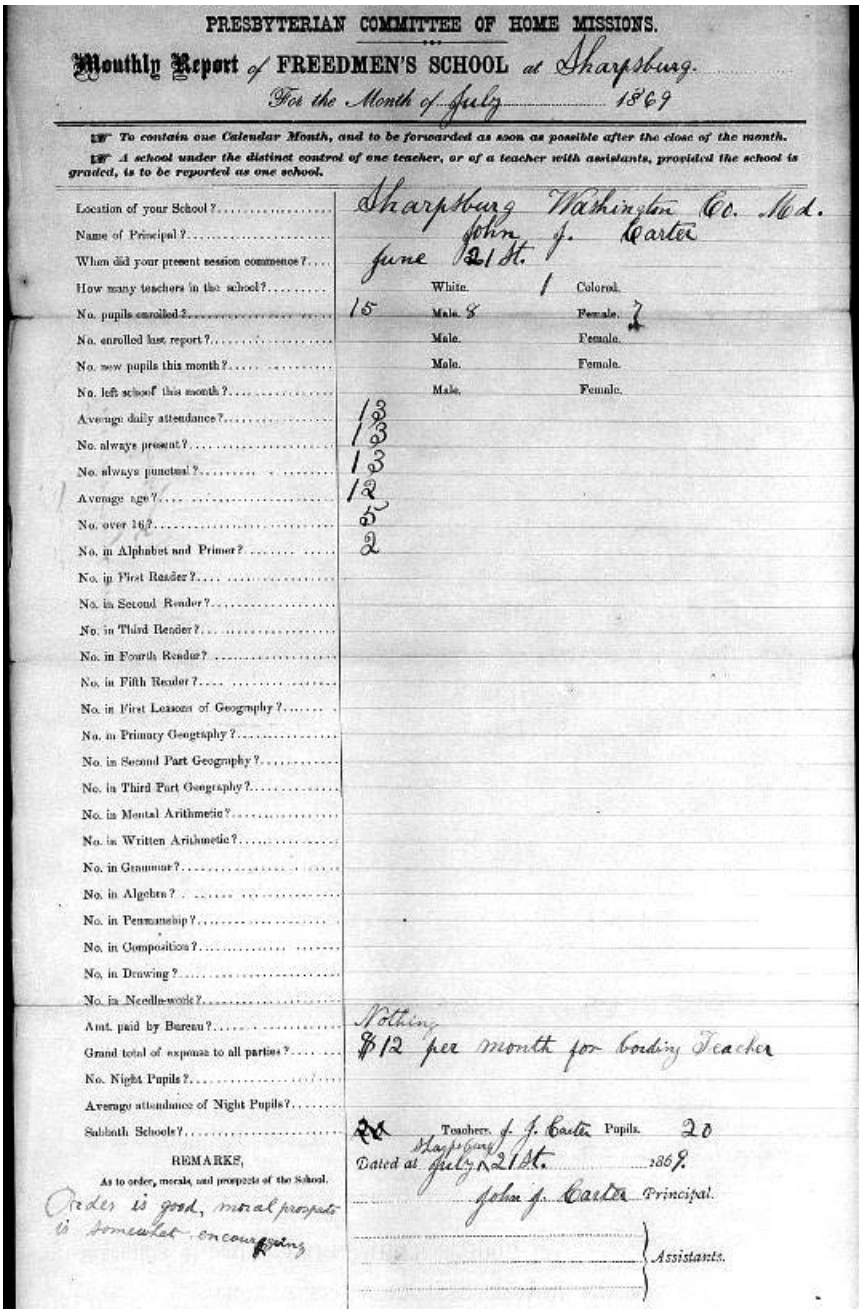


May 18th 1869
Md
Sharpsburg Washington County

Sir your letter stating that if we could raise 30 Dollars that and pay his Board and washing that you would send us a Colard Man to teach we have got a place to Board him and every thing ready we can raise about fifty Dollers at this time so you can send him as soon as you can
Yours Respectfuly
Samuel H. Ferguson

Figure 136: May 18, 1869, letter from Samuel Ferguson to Captain Brubaker
"Registered Letters Received," May 18, 1869, NMAAHC-007675722_01387

[99] Samuel Ferguson to Capt. Brubaker, Registered Letters Received, May 8, 1869, NMAAHC-007675722_01384; May 18, 1869, NMAAHC-007675722_01387; June 21, 1869, NMAAHC-007675722_01392. The letters may have been a writing lesson for several students, including Ferguson. All three were penned by a different hand. The first letter (May 8), written in a clear, flourished style with no misspellings or corrections, may have been written by David Simons. The second letter (May 18), with corrections, misspellings, and a less-flourished signature, appears to have been written by Ferguson himself. The third letter (June 21), again full of misspellings, was penned in a completely different style, but it appears to be again signed by Ferguson in his own hand.



PRESBYTERIAN COMMITTEE OF HOME MISSIONS.

Monthly Report of FREEDMEN'S SCHOOL at Sharpsburg.

For the Month of July 1869

☞ To contain one Calendar Month, and to be forwarded as soon as possible after the close of the month.

☞ A school under the distinct control of one teacher, or of a teacher with assistants, provided the school is graded, is to be reported as one school.

Location of your School?	Sharpsburg Washington Co. Md.			
Name of Principal?	John J. Carter			
When did your present session commence?	June 21st.			
How many teachers in the school?		White.	1	Colored.
No. pupils enrolled?	15	Male. 8		Female. 7
No. enrolled last report?		Male.		Female.
No. new pupils this month?		Male.		Female.
No. left school this month?		Male.		Female.
Average daily attendance?	13			
No. always present?	13			
No. always punctual?	13			
Average age?	12			
No. over 16?	5			
No. in Alphabet and Primer?	2			
No. in First Reader?				
No. in Second Reader?				
No. in Third Reader?				
No. in Fourth Reader?				
No. in Fifth Reader?				
No. in First Lessons of Geography?				
No. in Primary Geography?				
No. in Second Part Geography?				
No. in Third Part Geography?				
No. in Mental Arithmetic?				
No. in Written Arithmetic?				
No. in Grammar?				
No. in Algebra?				
No. in Penmanship?				
No. in Composition?				
No. in Drawing?				
No. in Needle-work?				
Amt. paid by Bureau?	Nothing			
Grand total of expenses to all parties?	$12 per month for Boarding Teacher			
No. Night Pupils?				
Average attendance of Night Pupils?				
Sabbath Schools?	20 Teachers. J. J. Carter Pupils. 20			

REMARKS,
As to order, morals, and prospects of the School.

Order is good, moral prospects is somewhat encouraging

Dated at Sharpsburg July 21st. 1869.

John J. Carter Principal.

Assistants.

Figure 137: "Monthly Report of the Freedmen's School at Sharpsburg, for the Month of July 1869"
"School Reports," NMAAHC-007675736_00874

Sharpsburg's new African American teacher, John J. Carter, actually arrived on June 21, 1869, the day Ferguson sent his final letter, and commenced teaching in the school immediately. Carter was a recent graduate of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, working through the support of the Presbyterian Home Mission. Carter began his session in late June with just fifteen students, likely due to the busy agricultural season underway. In August, Carter reported twenty-five students, who "learn very fast," but noted "they need

much moral instruction." Carter was disappointed by the size of his Sharpsburg school, but believed that "in the faul [*sic*] and in the winter the school will efford [*sic*] about 35 or 40 Pupils" (Figure 137).[100] In fact, Carter did not wait for the next term. In August 1869, he wrote to Reverend Kimball that he had requested of Dr. Hatfield (Presbyterian Home Mission) that he be given a new assignment at the end of the term.[101]

In October 1869, Bvt. Maj. D.G. Swain, the Acting Superintendent of Education, contacted Samuel Ferguson in Sharpsburg inquiring if they were "ready for a teacher." If so, he wrote, "I can send you a colored lady, and expect you to get up a good school of about 30 pupils. You will pay the teacher's board, and incidentals of the school. I will be responsible for her salary. Answer at once, and give directions how the teacher should come from Baltimore to your place."[102] Ferguson was unfortunately slow to answer, sending his return letter in late November (spelled as written; see Figure 138):

> Sharpsburg, Nove the 29 1869
>
> Mr D. G. Swaim
>
> Dear Sir I resived your letter on the November the 26 1869 as did not get it before I was [gooming?] When I came home ~~It was~~ your letter was handed to me I was verry sorry that I did not get it before as was not home When I saw your letter I was glade to see that you would sen us a teacher
>
> We Would like to have a teacher Verry much as have about 26 young men and married men besids a school about 21 little Children that wants to go
> Please Send us a teacher as we want one very bad Please Send us a man if Can as our shooll is very large and a good meny men to go We will thak a lady if can not get a man.
>
> Please Write at atonce and let me now as we have got evry thing Redday[103]

The letter was signed by Samuel H. Furguson [*sic*], "Sec of the School Community," and cosigned by Robert Leakins (in Ferguson's hand). Ferguson's letter came too late, however, as Swain responded in early December that all of the available teachers had already been

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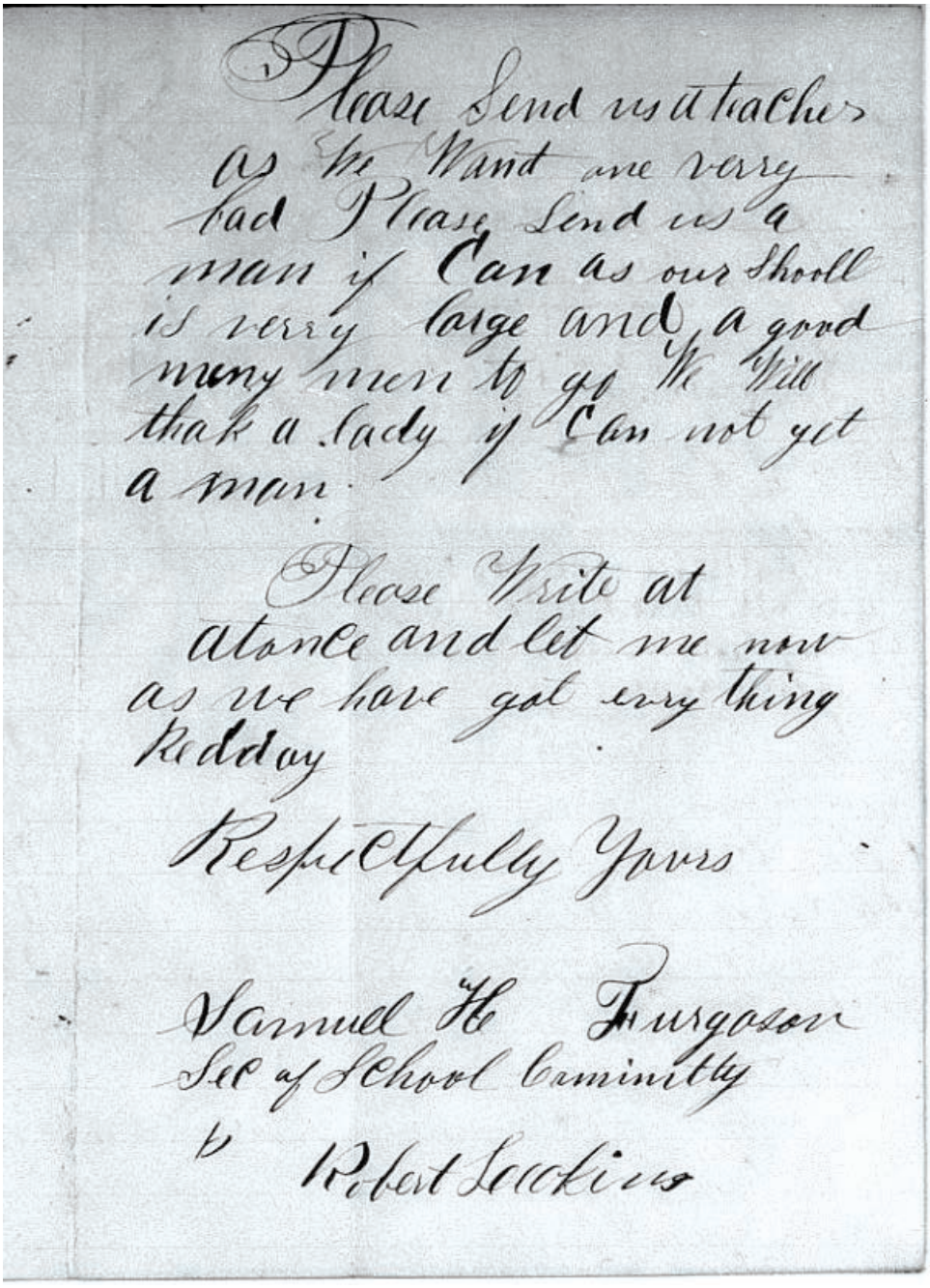
[100] School Reports, Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, NMAAHC-007675736_00874 (July report) and NMAAHC-007675736_00976 (August report).

[101] Registers of Letters Received, Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, NMAAHC-007675720_00206.

[102] Fair Copies of Letters Sent, Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, NMAAHC-007675717_00418.

[103] Registered Letters Received, Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, NMAAHC-007675722_01443 and NMAAHC-007675722_01444.

assigned to other schools. It was the last chance for the community to have a school aided by the Freedmen's Bureau.[104]



Please Send us a teacher
as we Want one verry
bad Please Send us a
man if Can as our Shoull
is verry large and a good
meny men to go We Will
thak a lady if Can not get
a man.

Please Write at
atance and let me now
as we have got every thing
Redday

Respectfully Yours

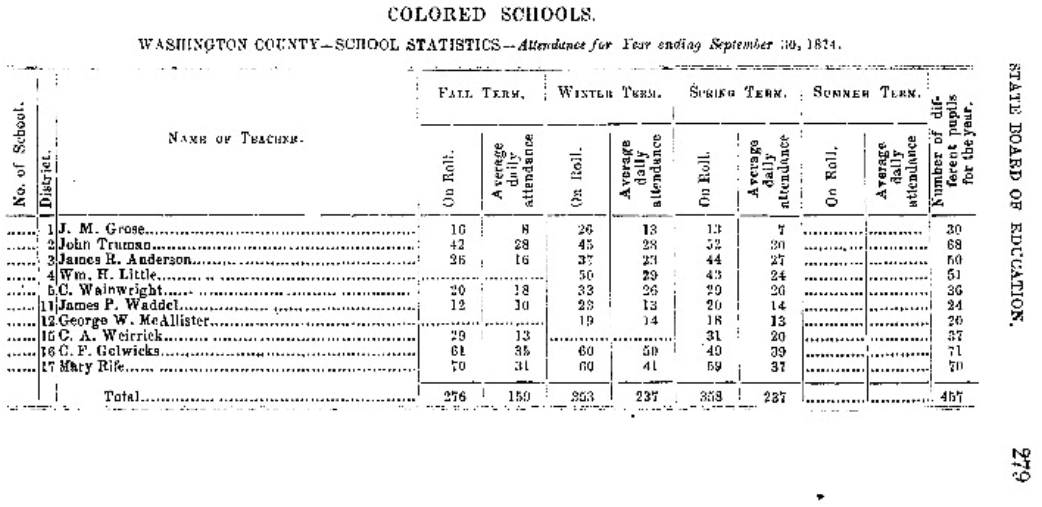
Samuel H Ferguson
Sec of School Committy
to Robert Lockies

Figure 138: Samuel Ferguson to D.G. Swain, page 2
"Registered Letters Received," NMAAHC-007675722_01444

[104] Fair Copies of Letters Sent, Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, NMAAHC-007675717_00455.

Sharpsburg Colored School

In 1870, Congress discontinued the Freedmen's Bureau operations, and it fell to the county to provide educational opportunities to its Black residents. The Washington County School Board appointed trustees for the "Colored Schools" for the first time in May 1871. The schools, one per Election District (ED), were to be established in the districts of Williamsport, Clear Spring, Sandy Hook, Indian Springs, Beaver Creek, Hagerstown, and Sharpsburg, each to be overseen by three trustees appointed for three-year terms. The Sharpsburg District trustees appointed in 1871 were Thomas H. Sliner, George Hopewell, and Nathan Keller. All three of these men lived in the Red Hill area, perhaps indicating the first Sharpsburg District "colored" school was held at Red Hill. Teacher Laura Craig was assigned to the district in the Winter and Spring Terms of 1871, but apparently no teacher was assigned in the 1871–72 school year. Classes resumed in the 1872–73 school year, when Mary P. Williams was listed as the Sharpsburg District's "Colored School" teacher.[105]



COLORED SCHOOLS.

WASHINGTON COUNTY—SCHOOL STATISTICS—*Attendance for Year ending September* 30, 1874.

No. of School.	District.	Name of Teacher.	Fall Term.		Winter Term.		Spring Term.		Summer Term.		Number of different pupils for the year.
			On Roll.	Average daily attendance	On Roll.	Average daily attendance	On Roll.	Average daily attendance	On Roll.	Average daily attendance	
	1	J. M. Grose	16	8	26	13	13	7			30
	2	John Truman	42	28	45	28	32	20			68
	3	James R. Anderson	26	16	37	23	44	27			60
	4	Wm. H. Little			50	29	43	24			51
	5	C. Wainwright	20	18	33	26	29	20			36
	11	James P. Waddel	12	10	23	13	20	14			24
	12	George W. McAllister			19	14	18	13			26
	15	C. A. Weirick	29	13			31	20			37
	16	C. F. Gelwicks	61	35	60	50	49	39			71
	17	Mary Rife	70	31	60	41	59	37			70
		Total	276	159	353	237	358	237			457

STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

279

Figure 139: 1873–1874 Colored School Statistics
Annual Report…1873/1874, page 279

The Sharpsburg District Colored School (officially ED 1, No. 5, later No. 4) was likely moved to Tolson's Chapel in 1873 when Jacob M. Gross, the chapel's preacher from 1873 to 1876, was appointed by the county to teach at the school during the 1873–74 school year. That year, the school had the worst average daily attendance in the county, perhaps as a direct result of the move (Figure 139).[106] In 1874, Gross was appointed as one of the

[105] *Annual Report, Showing Condition of the Public Schools 1870–1871,* 311; 1871–1872, 272; 1872–1873, 227, *HathiTrust Digital Library,* https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000057122.

[106] *Annual Report, Showing Condition of the Public…1873/1874* (Annapolis: L.F. Colton, Printers, 1875), 279, *HathiTrust Digital Library,* https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000057122.

school trustees, along with Andrew N. Malone and Hilleary (Hilary) Watson, while David Samons (Simons) was confirmed by the county to teach in the school. David B. Simons continued as the teacher at the Sharpsburg Colored School until 1877, when he was appointed as one of the trustees alongside Hilary Watson and George Tyler (Figure 140).[107] In that same year, for the first time, the state record noted that the county paid an annual rent of twenty-four dollars for use of the chapel as a schoolhouse. The county also paid for fuel, repairs, and furniture.

COLORED SCHOOLS.

WASHINGTON COUNTY—SCHOOL STATISTICS.

For the Year 1876–77.

Number of School.	District.	Number of different Pupils for the year.	Average Attendance for the year.	Rent.	Fuel.	Repairs.	Other Incidental Expenses.	Furniture, Black-Boards, Stoves.	Teachers' Salaries for the year.
5	1	30	16	$24 00	$14 38	$ 2 25	.....	$ 75	$208 68
7	2	48	24	.....	15 25	17 40	.....	.....	210 00
5	3	73	44	60 00	21 28	.....	$1 05	24 24	210 00
11	4	67	31	.....	12 00	.....	.....	35	261 50
9	5	69	29	30 00	21 25	30	.....	1 40	208 72
7	6	27	15	25 00	21 38	2 50	87	4 90	208 68
5	10	27	16	15 00	17 60	.....	52	6 25	195 00
6	11	31	16	22 50	19 00	.....	.....	45	210 00
7	12	40	18	30 00	17 50	75	53	80	210 00
10	15	25	16	10 00	6 75	30	.....	25	155 46
7	16	34	17	.....	11 50	2 75	35	1 95	238 49
6	17	74	45	.....	21 71	18 35	53	17 65	240 00
5	19	33	19	20 00	17 38	30	.....	30	209 23
		.....	.....	$236 50	$216 98	$44 90	$3 85	$50 29	$2,765 76

COLORED SCHOOLS.

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for Colored School Purposes, for the Year ending September 30, 1877.

RECEIPTS.

Amount Received from State Treasurer		$1,508 67
" " " County School Board		1,847 16
		$3,355 83

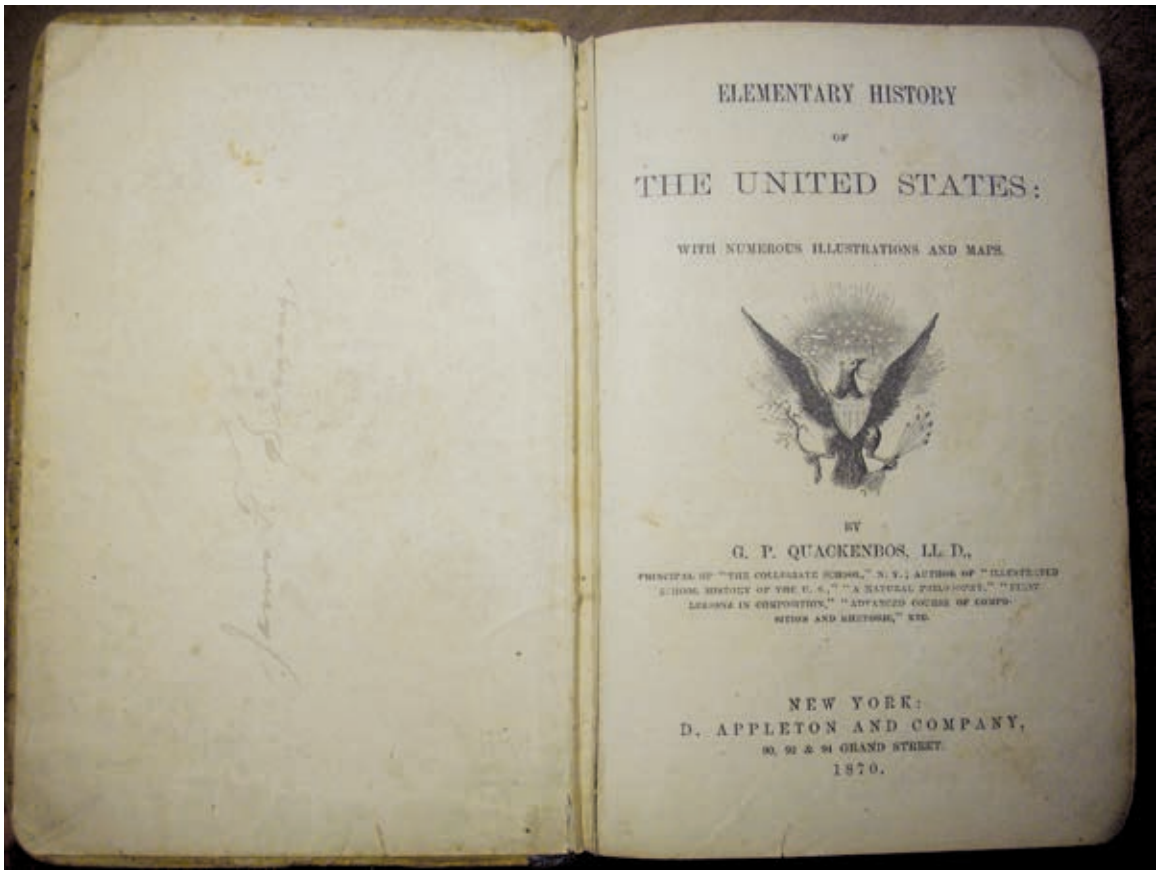
DISBURSEMENTS.

Paid for Teachers' Salaries	$ 2,765 76	
Incidental Expenses	3 85	
Rent	236 50	
Fuel	216 98	
Books and Stationery	28 55	
Repairs	44 90	
Furniture, &c	59 29	
		$3,355 83

Figure 140: 1876–1877 Colored School Statistics
Annual Report…1876/1877, page 166.

[107] Washington Co. School Board Minutes, 1865–1908.

James F. Simons (Samons) was confirmed as the teacher in 1879; he was just nineteen years old. Simons was the son of the county teacher and church trustee, David B. Simons. He would have been eight years old in April 1868, so he was almost certainly one of the students in the American Union Freedmen's Bureau school, and likely the advanced student under teacher Ezra Johnson. The 1881 report for County Colored School No. 4 in Sharpsburg listed twenty-two pupils with James F. Samons (Simons) as their teacher.[108] The *Sharpsburg Enterprise* reported William Nelson teaching the school in 1882 with twenty students, while "James Samons" taught the Red Hill school that year.[109] Simons returned to the Sharpsburg school in 1883 and remained there through 1906.[110]


ELEMENTARY HISTORY

OF

THE UNITED STATES:

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS.

BY

G. P. QUACKENBOS, LL.D.,

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,
90, 92 & 94 GRAND STREET.
1870.

Figure 141: James F. Simons's signature in an 1870 US history book
Friends of Tolson's Chapel collection.

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[108] *Annual Report, Showing Condition of the Public…1881/1882* (Hagerstown: Mail Job Print, 1883), 300, *HathiTrust Digital Library,* https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000057122; Scharf, *History of Western Maryland,* 976. Some of James Simons's schoolbooks survive in a collection of books found in Virginia Cook's house after her death and are now part of the Tolson's Chapel collection.

[109] *Sharpsburg Enterprise,* September 8, 1882, Special Collections, Maryland State Archives

[110] Washington Co. School Board Minutes, 1865–1908, Washington County Board of Education, Hagerstown, MD.

Throughout the initial period of county administration, no mention was made of the construction of a new school for the Black students of Sharpsburg. Indeed, it appears that the school continued to be held in Tolson's Chapel. State records show the county paid rent for the use of Tolson's Chapel through the 1898–99 school year. In 1899, the county built a frame schoolhouse at a cost of $682, ending more than thirty years of secular education housed in the chapel.[111]

The Sharpsburg Colored School saw its highest attendance, with as many as thirty-one students enrolled in the 1899–1900 school year, by then occupying their new purpose-built schoolhouse and under the continued tutelage of James F. Simons.[112] Harriet A. (Gray) Callaman took over teaching in the Sharpsburg school after Simons left at the end of 1906. Callaman taught at the Sharpsburg Colored School for several decades and later moved with her students to the Weverton Colored School when the schools were consolidated.[113]

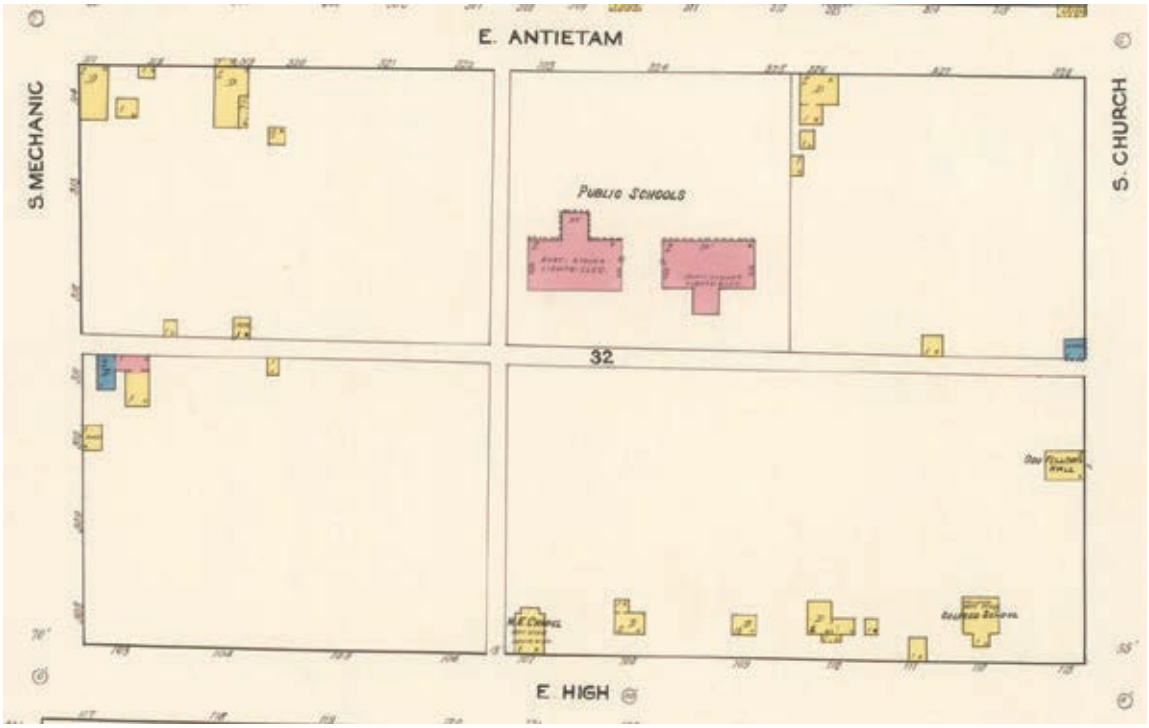


Figure 142: 1922 Sanborn Insurance Map showing the Sharpsburg white and "colored" schools
Library of Congress

[111] Washington Co. School Board Minutes, 1865–1908.

[112] *Annual Report, Showing Condition of the Public…1900* (Baltimore: Wm. J.C. Dulany Co., 1901), 370, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000057122.

[113] Harriet A. Callaman was daughter of William and Harriet (later Robinson) Gray and granddaughter of Max (Alexander) and Ida Gray (the adopted daughter of Hilary and Christina Watson). She reportedly graduated from Storer College in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia (interviews with Rev. Ralph Monroe, February and November 2002). This information has not yet been confirmed, however. The Gray/Robinson/Callaman house burned down circa 1945.

Benevolent Societies

In 1842, Maryland had banned Black membership in benevolent or mutual aid societies to prevent large gatherings of Blacks that might foment a rebellion against slavery. This Black code was lifted with the 1864 Maryland Constitution. Shortly thereafter, in 1869, the D.R. Hall Lodge No. 1416 of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, or Black Odd Fellows, was "granted dispensation" to establish a lodge in Sharpsburg. They were sponsored by the Needham Lodge of "Burlin [Brunswick], Maryland."[114] The Sharpsburg membership would construct their lodge building sometime after 1877 on part of Lot 101, which they purchased from Hilary and Teany Watson in 1901 (Figure 143).[115] Little is actually known about the membership, though it is likely that many Sharpsburg men were members (Figure 144). There also is no known record of a women's House of Ruth organization associated with the lodge.



Figure 143: D.R. Hall Odd Fellows Lodge, 1991
MIHP #WA-II-698

[114] Brooks, *The Official History,* 106.

[115] WC DB GBO 115, page 344.



Figure 144: Unknown Sharpsburg men in Odd Fellows attire
Courtesy of the Sharpsburgh Museum of History

An important function of the "Odd Fellowship" was to help with the cost of burials. Many of the stones in the Tolson's Chapel cemetery may be a result of aid from the D.R. Hall Lodge. One in particular, the stone for Thomas Monroe (d. 1919), may use Odd Fellows symbolism in its decorative details.



Figure 145: Thomas Monroe stone
Photo by the author, 2019

Other examples of shared charity among Sharpsburg's Black community members were noted in newspaper briefs. On November 22, 1878, a "Pound Party" was reported in the *Sharpsburg Enterprise:* "The friends of Mr. and Mrs. Hilleary Watson, colored, of this town, surprised them on Wednesday evening, November 18th, with a number of pounds of the necessaries of life. The articles consisted of sugar, soap, salt, crackers, raisins and many other articles. After [unintelligible] that the guests quietly dispersed to their homes. Mr. and Mrs. Watson extend their heartfelt thanks to the kind donors."[116] Church fairs and festivals also served to raise money, perhaps aiding in the congregation's "Benevolent Contributions," which amounted to $250 in 1872.[117]

[116] *Sharpsburg Enterprise,* November 22, 1878, Special Collections, Maryland State Archives.

[117] Minutes of the Washington Conference, Lovely Lane Museum and Archives.

Civic Engagement

Sharpsburg African Americans were active supporters of their church and school operations. The opportunity to serve as school trustees and teachers, appointed by the county school board and paid with county taxes, brought community members nominally into the sphere of the American citizenry. Though the schools were still separate and unequal, the Sharpsburg community showed a determination to build on whatever foundation was available to them.

In 1870, civic participation in the form of the voting franchise for Black men came with the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment—passed without the help of Maryland, which declined to ratify the amendment. In the Sharpsburg District (including the town), thirty-two African American men ages twenty-one and older were then eligible to vote. It appears that at least some of those men did exercise their right to vote, helping to seat a Republican majority state delegation from Washington County in 1871. The local newspapers were silent on voting disturbances involving Blacks and whites in Sharpsburg, until the 1879 election, when the newspaper reported on a "Disorderly Election" in Sharpsburg, disrupted by "drunken persons": "One colored man, we understand, was denied the right to vote by some standing near the polls, because he would not show his ticket. It reminded one of war times when persons were driven away from the polls and mob law reigned supreme."[118]

Already by 1878, the Washington County legislative delegation had begun to shift to include more Democratic members. The disorderly election of 1879 did not appear to be the norm in Sharpsburg, however, as later elections again passed quietly in the newspapers. In 1882, the *Sharpsburg Enterprise* reported a total of twenty-four "colored" men registered to vote in the district.[119]

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[118] *Sharpsburg Enterprise,* November 7, 1878, Special Collections, Maryland State Archives.

[119] *Sharpsburg Enterprise,* October 6, 1882, Special Collections, Maryland State Archives. There were approximately forty-five black men of eligible age based on the 1880 census. The article noted that forty men (black and white) were absent from the registration due to railroad and canal jobs that took them out of the district.

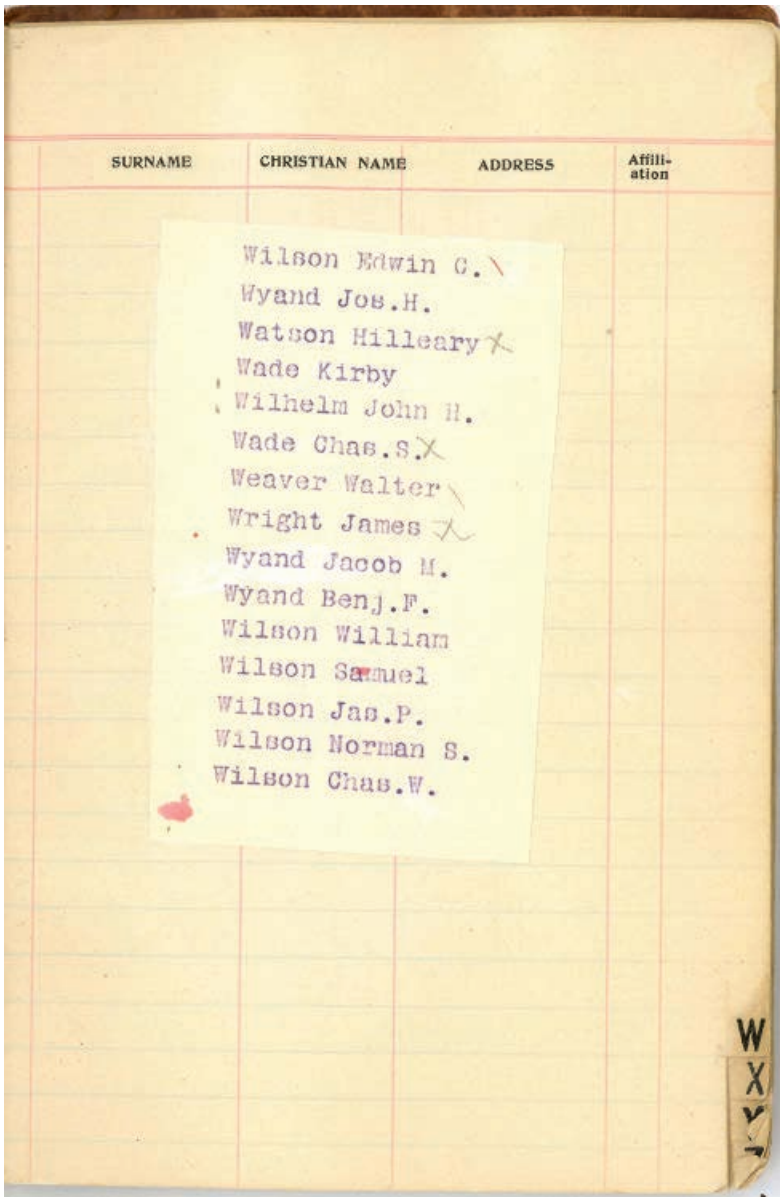


Figure 146: 1905 Sharpsburg District 1 Poll Book
Western Maryland Room, WCFL

Black men in Sharpsburg were still registering and voting at the turn of the twentieth century, though their numbers were dwindling as many families moved to seek urban job opportunities. The 1905 Sharpsburg Polling Book listed 512 total registered (male) voters in the district (Figure 146). Among those registered were twenty-seven African American men:

African American men registered to vote in Sharpsburg District, 1905

(**X** = voted)

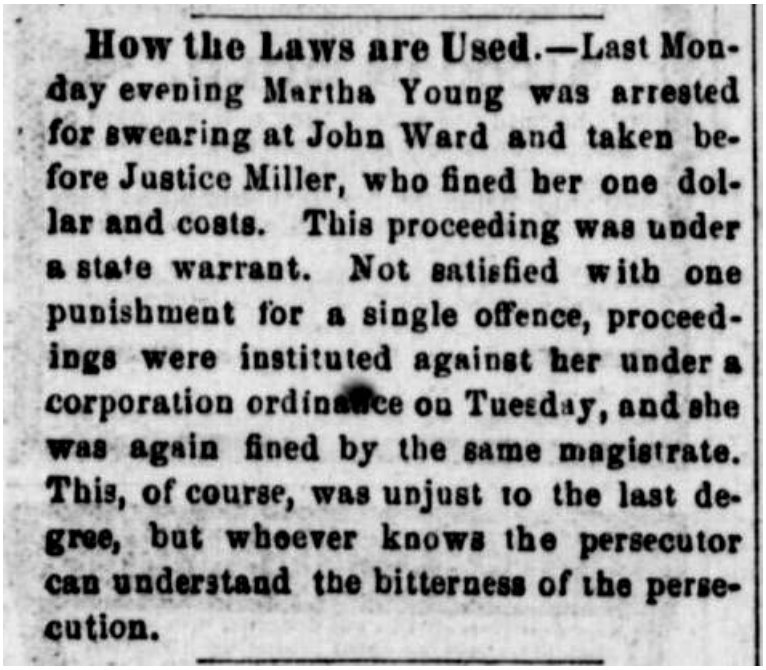
George W. Beeler **X**
Samuel Brown **X**
Millard F. Clark
Lafayette Cross
[George] Charles Cook
William C. Cook
Eugene Davis
John Griffith
Alexander Gray
David Herbert
Edward C. Jackson
Albert Jackson
Robert S. Jackson
Hamilton King
Thomas King
Robert Leakins
Thomas Monroe **X**
George W. Nurse **X**
John Robinson **X**
Emory W. Summers Jr.
David B. Simons
James F. Simons
Emory W. Summers [Sr]
Jeremiah C. Summers
Benjamin F. Sewell
Hilleary [Hilary] Watson **X**
James Wright **X**

Seven of the men exercised their right to vote (assuming the X indicates those who voted) in what was likely a local municipal election, including George Beeler, Samuel Brown, Thomas Monroe, George Nurse, John Robinson, Hilary Watson, and James Wright.[120]

[120] "Sharpsburg Poll Book, 1905," Sharpsburg, MD (Box), Western Maryland Room Vertical File Collection, WCFL, Hagerstown, MD. None of the men were specifically identified as Black. Of the twenty-eight African American men on the 1900 Sharpsburg District census who would have been eligible to vote in 1905 (by age), twenty-seven were listed in 1905 Poll Book. It is likely that Otho Leakins, age eighty-nine in 1900, was deceased by 1905. The 26 percent rate of voting among the Black voters of Sharpsburg was essentially the same as the white voters at 25.5 percent (485 whites registered, 124 voted).

Justice

Though Maryland Blacks were given the right to serve on juries by the 1867 constitution, jury lists given in the local newspapers never included African American men. The editor of the *Sharpsburg Enterprise p*eriodically included editorialized briefs concerning unjust actions against local Black citizens. An article in November 1881 detailed what he considered to be the wrongful conviction of Andrew Malone in 1876, based on circumstantial evidence. "The belief in his innocence, which obtained largely among our people, was shared in by his counsel, who made several unsuccessful attempts to have the executive interpose his prerogative of pardon." Five years into his six-year sentence, noted the editor, "death had done for him what the Governor refused to do."[121] In September 1882, the editor opined on "How the Laws are Used," in which Martha Young (probably Wilson Middleton's mother) was fined twice for the same offense by the local Justice of the Peace, Morgan Miller (son of Jacob Miller).[122]



How the Laws are Used.—Last Monday evening Martha Young was arrested for swearing at John Ward and taken before Justice Miller, who fined her one dollar and costs. This proceeding was under a state warrant. Not satisfied with one punishment for a single offence, proceedings were instituted against her under a corporation ordinance on Tuesday, and she was again fined by the same magistrate. This, of course, was unjust to the last degree, but whoever knows the persecutor can understand the bitterness of the persecution.

Figure 147: "How the Laws are Used," *Sharpsburg Enterprise*, September 8, 1882
Maryland State Archives

[121] *Sharpsburg Enterprise,* November 18, 1881, Special Collections, Maryland State Archives.

[122] *Sharpsburg Enterprise,* September 8, 1882, msa_sc5195_scm12445–0204, Special Collections, Maryland State Archives.

Prior to the Civil War, the Hagerstown newspapers reported on numerous injustices done to enslaved and free African Americans in the county. Free Blacks were routinely sold into slavery, for a term or for life, as punishment for various crimes. In 1839, a "near lynching" of a Black man in Hagerstown was reported by the *Hagerstown Mail*. Accused of inciting a minor white girl to elope with him, the angry crowd, intending to hang the man, was convinced to settle instead for thirty-nine lashes on the back.[123] There are no known reports of lynching murders occurring in Washington County in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Epilogue

The African American population of Sharpsburg town and district peaked in 1880 at 150 (ninety-six in town and fifty-four in the surrounding district). By 1930, their numbers had plummeted to just forty-five in town and twenty-six in the district. It was still a vibrant community, including farm laborers, barbers, shopkeepers, housekeepers, and several skilled house carpenters who continued the art of building log houses through the 1930s. Among the carpenters were Clarence M. Monroe, who built several of the houses still standing on Main Street in Sharpsburg and the Marshall Reed Clubhouse on Snyder's Landing Road north of town. George W. Beeler and Robert Jackson also built log houses in the area as well as the Conococheague Sportsmen's Lodge on Canal Road on the south side of Sharpsburg.[124] Their handiwork, and the small white chapel on East High Street, stand as a tangible legacy of the resilience and determination of Sharpsburg's African American community.

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[123] "Near Lynching in Hagerstown, 1839," *Hagerstown Mail,* June 14, 1839, "Slaves and Free African Americans," WHILBR, http://www.whilbr.org/WesternMDSlaves/index.aspx.

[124] Interview by the author with Rev. Ralph Monroe, February 2002.

Case Study: Red Hill, *Cluster Community*

Introduction



Figure 148: 1910 USGS map showing Red Hill area
TopoView, USGS.gov

Located just east of Sharpsburg, Red Hill is situated just beyond the north end of Elk Ridge at the head of Pleasant Valley in southern Washington County. Red Hill is approximately equidistant from Sharpsburg (four miles to the west) and Keedysville (three miles to the north). The prominent hill appears to have been part of the tract called *Roots Hill*, warranted by Moses Chapline in 1755 (patent 1760), from which the Red Hill moniker was likely derived. It was surrounded by several of the county's earliest settled tracts and richest farmland, including Thomas Swearingen's 1737 *Fell Foot* tract, enlarged to 2,100 acres in 1752 and renamed Fellfoot Enlarged, and Joseph Chapline's 1749 *Hills and Dales*,

resurveyed as *Hills and Dales and the Vineyard* in 1771 for over 2,200 acres.[125] Red Hill itself remained largely unoccupied through the first decades of the nineteenth century, its old-growth forest cut to supply the charcoal fuel used at the Antietam Iron Works nearby.

Red Hill Area Development before 1865

As early as 1800, the US population census showed a small group of free Black families living in the Red Hill vicinity. Joseph Patterson, Ross Lett, and Betsy Callomell (Calaman, Caliman, Calamon) headed free households near some of the largest landowners in the district (then known as Lower Antietam Hundred). In 1830, the same families remained in the area, including Jonathan Caliman and Weast (Wesley?) Caliman, both apparently with white wives, and William Caliman. Also listed were two Black families identified under the names "Negro Patterson" and the family of "Negro Let." Several new households were listed nearby, including Benjamin Luckett with his family of eight, and Charles Adams, who, along with his wife Lucy, had been released from enslavement by Dr. Zachariah Clagett in 1823.[126] Though it is difficult to determine exactly where these families were residing, all appear to have been tenants on the land on or around Red Hill. In 1835, Thomas Caliman, likely the son of John Caliman, appears to have been the first to purchase land, a three-acre parcel located on "the main road leading from Sharpsburg to Jefferson" (today's Mt. Briar/Trego Road) and adjoining Antietam Iron Works land, then owned by John McPherson Brien.[127]

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[125] Frederick County Circuit Court (Certificates, Patented, FR) Patented Certificate 3857, MSA_S1197_4276 (*Roots Hill);* Prince George's County Circuit Court (Certificates, Patented, PG) Patented Certificate 808, MSA S1203-880 *(Fell Foot);* FR Circuit Court (Certificates, Patented, FR) Patented Certificate 1354, MSA S1197-1418 *(Fellfoot Enlarged);* FR Circuit Court (Certificates, Patented, FR) Patented Certificate 1929, MSA S1197-1995 *(Hills and Dales);* FR Circuit Court (Certificates, Patented, FR) Patented Certificate 3513, MSA S1197-3931 *(Hills and Dales and The Vineyard),* Maryland State Archives, https://plats.msa.maryland.gov.

[126] 1830 US Population Census, Ancestry.com. In 1823, Zachariah Clagett manumitted his "negro man," Charles Adams, forty-five years old, along with his wife Lucy, for the price of $150 (WC DB GG, page 514). Their daughter Ara, age twenty-four in 1830, married John Booth, "a free man of color," sometime before 1847 (WC DB IN3, page 60).

[127] WC DB PP, page 924.



Figure 149: 1859 Thomas Taggart Map of Washington County, annotated by the author
Library of Congress

The 1859 Thomas Taggart "Map of Washington County" shows the close proximity of Brien's Antietam Iron Works, located near the mouth of Antietam Creek, to the Red Hill area (Figure 149). Brien was listed on the 1830 census, with his forty-three enslaved workers, on the page following the Red Hill community. Around 1838, newly ordained AME preacher Rev. Thomas Henry, who was born enslaved on a southern Maryland farm, ministered to the enslaved people at the Antietam Iron Works and to a congregation at Red Hill. In his autobiography, Reverend Henry recalled that he "went to a place called Red Hill, in Pleasant Valley.... My appointment was at the school house on Red Hill for nine years in succession, and I could always find a good congregation of good Christians."[128] Reverend Henry noted that he received room and board at the home of Jacob Snavely during his nine-year tenure at Red Hill. Snavely was a member of the Mount Olivet United Brethren in Christ, located in the mill village of Eakles Mills at the base of Red Hill. The log schoolhouse in the village, called Pleasant Hill, was where the United Brethren

[128] Jean Libby, ed., *From Slavery to Salvation: The Autobiography of Rev. Thomas W. Henry of the A.M.E. Church (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1994), 25.*

congregation also held their church school.[129] United Brethren in Christ members were pacifists and opposed to slavery, and it appears that Snavely and the Eakles's Mills community went out of their way to aid the free Blacks in the area.

The 1850 census indicates the Black community around Red Hill had grown, with early residents' children beginning to settle with their own families, particularly the Calamans (Calimans) and Pattersons. Charles Adams, listed as sixty years old, occupied a home with his daughter Ara Booth (age twenty-five) and her eight-year-old son Aaron Booth. There were a few "new" free Black families, many of whom had actually settled there by 1840, including Charles Adley, James Keith (Kietz/Keets/Keats), and the mixed family of Henry Metz, a white man whose wife and children were all listed on the census as "mulatto." Virtually all of the men and boys were occupied as laborers, likely working either on the nearby farms or at the Antietam Iron Works.

Most of the Black residents in the Red Hill area remained tenants on the land. However, there were four landowners before 1850, including Thomas and John Caliman, Charles Adley, and Charles Adams. John Caliman purchased land in 1849 on which his house was already standing. During this period, all of the land sales were from white landowners, including John McPherson Brien (until his death in 1849), Jacob Snavely, Felix Hess, and Jacob Keedy.[130] The largest property sale came in 1857, when Henry Griffith purchased twenty-seven acres from Snavely, located on the corner of the Sharpsburg Road (Porterstown Road) and the road to Eakles Mills (Mt. Briar Road).[131]

It appears that much of the Antietam Iron Works land, sold in smaller parcels after John McPherson Brien's death in 1849, was purchased by local white landowners, including Jacob Snavely and Jacob Keedy. An 1859 deed for part of that mountain land, from Jacob H. Keedy to Aaron Booth (grandson of Charles Adams), indicates that Booth was

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[129] *History of U.B. Churches in Western Maryland,* U.B./EUB Va. Conference Archives, Volume 5, September 2, 2017, 143, "Evangelical United Brethren (EUB) Historical Archive," *Shenandoah University Libraries,* https://www.su.edu/university-libraries/library-collections/evangelical-united-brethren-eub-historical-archive. The name "Pleasant Hill" became the name used by the Red Hill AME congregation when they later built their own church on the peak of Red Hill.

[130] Thomas Caliman added to his holdings in 1842 and 1849, first with a purchase of three acres from John McPherson Brien and second with a purchase of Lot 80 from the Antietam Iron Works division, located on the east side of Elk Ridge (actually fairly distant from Red Hill, near the village of Trego) (WC DB ZZ, page 76 [Brien to T. Caliman, 1842]; IN4, page 390 [Brien trustees to T. Caliman, 1849]). Jacob Snavely sold two parcels in 1849, one two-acre lot to John Caliman and the other a twelve-acre lot sold to Charles Adley. Both were located in the Mt. Briar area known also as Maple Swamp, at the foot of Red Hill. Also in 1849, Charles Adams and his son-in-law John Booth bought a two-acre parcel from Felix Hess in the Mt. Briar/Maple Swamp area. In 1851, Samuel Keedy sold four acres on Mt. Briar Road "near Eakles Mills" to Wesley Calaman (IN6, page 177). IN2, page 457 (Hess to Adams/Booth, 1847); IN3, page 60 (Booth to Adams, 1847); IN7, page 807 (Snavely to Adley, 1849); IN4, page 93 (Snavely to J. Caliman, 1849); IN6, page 177 (Keedy to W. Calaman, 1851). It is interesting to note that while most Washington County deeds from this and earlier periods do not identify grantor/grantees by race, in the deed from John Booth to Charles Adams, the two men referred to themselves as "Free persons of color" (IN3, page 60).

[131] WC DB IN12, page 472. Griffith paid a whopping $500 for the tract, described as part of the *Boston* patent land.

perhaps planning to facilitate landownership among the Black families already living on the hillside. Booth began with a purchase of just four acres, part of Lot 106; however, the conveyance included a ten-foot-wide "wagon road" leading from Booth's lot to the Sharpsburg Road (part of today's Porterstown Road). After acquiring an additional seven acres in 1860, Booth apparently rented lots along the wagon road to residents until they were able to purchase the land themselves.[132]

The 1860 US Population Census provides a window on the remarkable community of free Blacks living in the Red Hill area just prior to the Civil War (see Appendix E for the census database). By 1860, there were approximately twenty independent Black households in the Red Hill area. Only 7 of the 115 African Americans lived in white households. Five owned land, with Aaron Booth and Henry Griffith among the largest Black landowners in the area. Aaron Booth was the son of John and Ara (Adams) Booth, grandson of Charles and Lucy Adams. On the 1860 census, Booth was twenty-one years old, working as a day laborer and living in the household of Harry and Arey King (Ara Booth, now remarried; Figure 150).[133] Aaron Booth already owned $300 worth of real estate, though he did not yet live on his property. Henry Griffith was listed as "mulatto" and working as a lime burner. Griffith was living on his Red Hill tract adjoining his neighbors Grafton Calaman (a tenant) and Edward Lee, who owned his own small tract ($100). Griffith's brother Abraham, a quarrier, owned a smaller tract nearby valued at just $40.

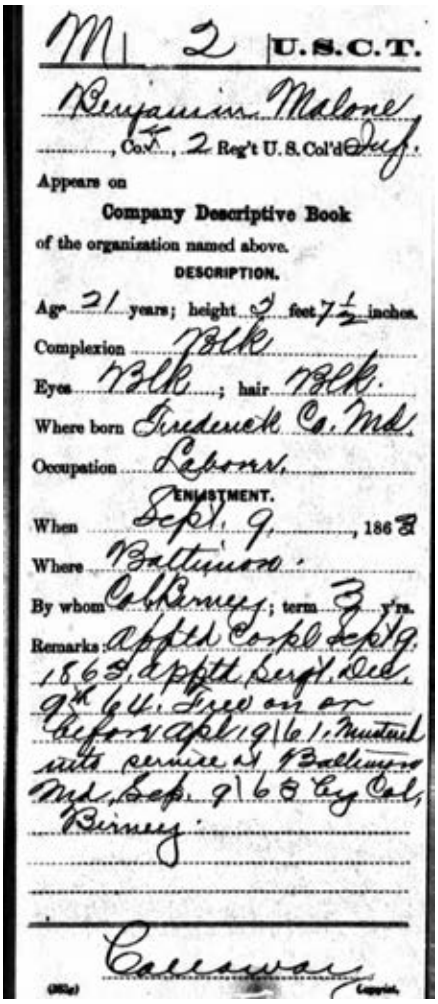
[132] WC DB IN13, page 746 (Keedy to Booth, 1859); IN15, page 237 (Keedy to Booth, 1860); IN15, page 240 (Stine to Booth, 1860).

[133] Harry King and family, including stepson Aaron Booth, were listed in Pleasant Valley District on the census (later Rohrersville District), perhaps mistakenly as their house was on the district boundary. They lived on the lot purchased by Henry (Harry) King from Wesley Calaman in 1853 (IN7, page 469; Wesley Caliman purchased three acres, "on the east side of the road from Keedysville to Pleasant Valley" [today's Mt. Briar/Trego Road], from Samuel Keedy in 1851 [IN6, page 177]).



Figure 150: 1877 atlas map detail, showing the "Mrs. King" house near the district boundary
Johns Hopkins University Sheridan Libraries

Notably, it was the adult members of the long-established families, Patterson, Calaman, and Adley—many of them over the age of fifty—who were listed on the 1860 census as able to read and write. They, along with Henry Griffith and Edward Lee, both thirty, were the exceptions as most of the adult African Americans were noted as unable to read or write and virtually none of their children had attended school in the previous year. This was in stark contrast to their white neighbors, including many laboring families, where most adults were literate and the children were attending school.



M 1 2 U.S.C.T.

Benjamin Malone,

....., Co. F, 2 Reg't U. S. Col'd Inf.

Appears on

Company Descriptive Book

of the organization named above.

DESCRIPTION.

Age 21 years; height 5 feet 7½ inches.

Complexion Blk

Eyes Blk; hair Blk.

Where born Frederick Co. Md.

Occupation Laborer.

ENLISTMENT.

When Sept. 9, 1863

Where Baltimore.

By whom Col Birney; term 3 yrs.

Remarks Apptd Corpl Sept 9, 1863. Apptd Sergt. Dec. 9th 64. Free on or before April 9 1861. Mustered into service at Baltimore Md. Sept. 9 1863 Cpy Col. Birney.

Calloway

Figure 151: Benjamin Malone USCT record
Ancestry.com

During the Civil War, seven men (five free and two enslaved) from the Red Hill area contributed to the Union cause through service with the United States Colored Troops (USCT). Thomas Calaman (Calloman) was drafted into the USCT, 29th Regiment, Co. G, in October 1864. At the time he was thirty years old and married. In August 1865, Calaman died in New Orleans from disease.[134] Benjamin Malone, John R. Brown, and Aaron Booth all enlisted on September 9, 1863, joining Company F of the 2nd Regiment, an infantry regiment based in Arlington, Virginia. The regiment was attached to the Department of the Gulf in Florida throughout its nearly three-year existence from November 1863 through January 1866. Benjamin Malone enlisted at the age of twenty-one (Figure 151). Malone, who was able to read and write according to the 1860 census, was immediately appointed to the rank of

[134] "U.S., Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863–1865," Ancestry.com. His wife Susan later remarried Elie Stewart, who also lived in the Red Hill community.

Corporal and later promoted to Sergeant during his service.[135] John R. Brown also enlisted on the same day and was promoted from Private to Corporal one month into his service. Like Malone, Brown returned to Red Hill after mustering out in 1866 and his military-issue stone still stands in the Red Hill cemetery (Figure 152).[136] Aaron Booth, who enlisted at the age of twenty-four, was appointed to the rank of sergeant on the day of his enlistment. His military records note that although he was a sergeant as of September 9, 1863, he was mistakenly paid as a "free private" through February 29, 1864, with the difference still due to him as late as April 1865. Booth mustered out of service in Key West, Florida, along with the rest of his regiment, on January 5, 1866. He returned to Washington County, but moved with his wife Mary to Hagerstown, where by 1870 he was operating a "Notions Store."[137]



Figure 152: Stone of Corporal John R. Brown in Red Hill Cemetery
Photo by the author, 2020

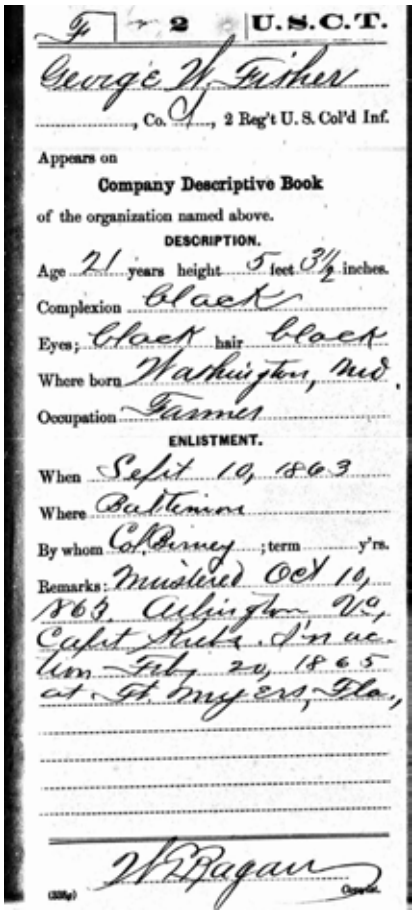
George W. Fisher enlisted in Baltimore on September 10, 1863, as a Private in Company I of the 2nd Regiment, USCT (Figure 153). At the time of his enlistment, Fisher gave his age as twenty-one and described his occupation as "farmer." Fisher was not listed

[135] 1870, 1880, 1890 US Census records, Ancestry.com; "U.S., Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863–1865," Ancestry.com. After his regiment was mustered out of service in January 1866, Malone lived on the farmstead of his wife Elenora's father, Lewis Wright. Benjamin Malone was listed on the 1890 census schedule of "Surviving Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines, and Widows, Etc.," noted as disabled by "Chronic diarrhea, with which [he is] still troubled." He died at the age of seventy-one in 1913 and was buried in the Pleasant View AME Church cemetery on Red Hill. "Red Hill Cemetery Memorials," https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/2582558/memorial-search?page=1#sr-148095002.)

[136] 1870, 1880, 1890 US Census records, Ancestry.com; "U.S., Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863–1865," Ancestry.com; "Red Hill Cemetery Memorials," https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/2582558/memorial-search?page=1#sr-148095002.

[137] "Civil War Service Records (CMSR)—Union—Colored Troops 2nd–7th Infantry," *fold3 by Ancestry,* https://www.fold3.com/image/109262662; 1870 US Census Records, Ancestry.com.

on the 1860 census, indicating he may have been enslaved at that time. In fact, Washington C. Snively submitted claims for remuneration on his two former slaves, George W. and John W. Fisher. Both claims failed, as George Fisher's military record notes that he was "free on or before April 19, 1861" and the army found no record of John W. Fisher's enlistment or service.[138] Pvt. George Fisher's Company I was among those who saw action during the February 1865 Battle of Fort Myers. Fisher mustered out in 1866 and returned to Red Hill (Figure 154).[139]



I 2 U.S.C.T.

George W. Fisher

, Co. I, 2 Reg't U. S. Col'd Inf.

Appears on

Company Descriptive Book

of the organization named above.

DESCRIPTION.

Age 21 years height 5 feet 3½ inches.

Complexion black

Eyes; black hair black

Where born Washington, Md.

Occupation Farmer

ENLISTMENT.

When Sept 10, 1863

Where Baltimore

By whom Col Birney ; term y'rs.

Remarks: Mustered Oct 10, 1863. Arlington Va, Capt Hall's Co. Dunn's Regiment Feb 20, 1865 at Ft Myers, Flo.,

W. Bagan

Figure 153: George W. Fisher USCT record
Ancestry.com

[138] Claims #1145 (George W. Fisher) and #1950 (John W. Fisher), "Maryland Slave Claims Commission," US Adjutant General Collection (NARA RG 94-348), digitized in Special Collections, Maryland State Archives, http://speccol.msa.maryland.gov/pages/speccol/unit.aspx?speccol=4678&serno=1&item=1&subitem=-1. Snively's claim for George W. Fisher was noted as "doubtful" and "abandoned." His claim for John W. Fisher was later rejected with the note that there was no record of John W. Fisher's service in Co. I, 2nd Regiment, USCT. See https://www.fold3.com/image/309242077?terms=war,civil,john,union,877,fisher,w.

[139] 1870, 1880, 1890 US Census records, Ancestry.com; "U.S., Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863–1865," Ancestry.com. After mustering out of service in 1866, George Fisher worked and lived on the farm of Samuel I. Piper for several years, then returned to the Red Hill community by 1880, listed as a laborer, and caring for his mother and two aunts, all of whom were widowed and disabled. Fisher was also listed on the 1890 "Surviving Soldiers" census schedule and appeared to be still in good health. He died in February 1929 at the age of eighty-seven. "Red Hill Cemetery Memorials," https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/2582558/memorial-search?page=1#sr-148095002.

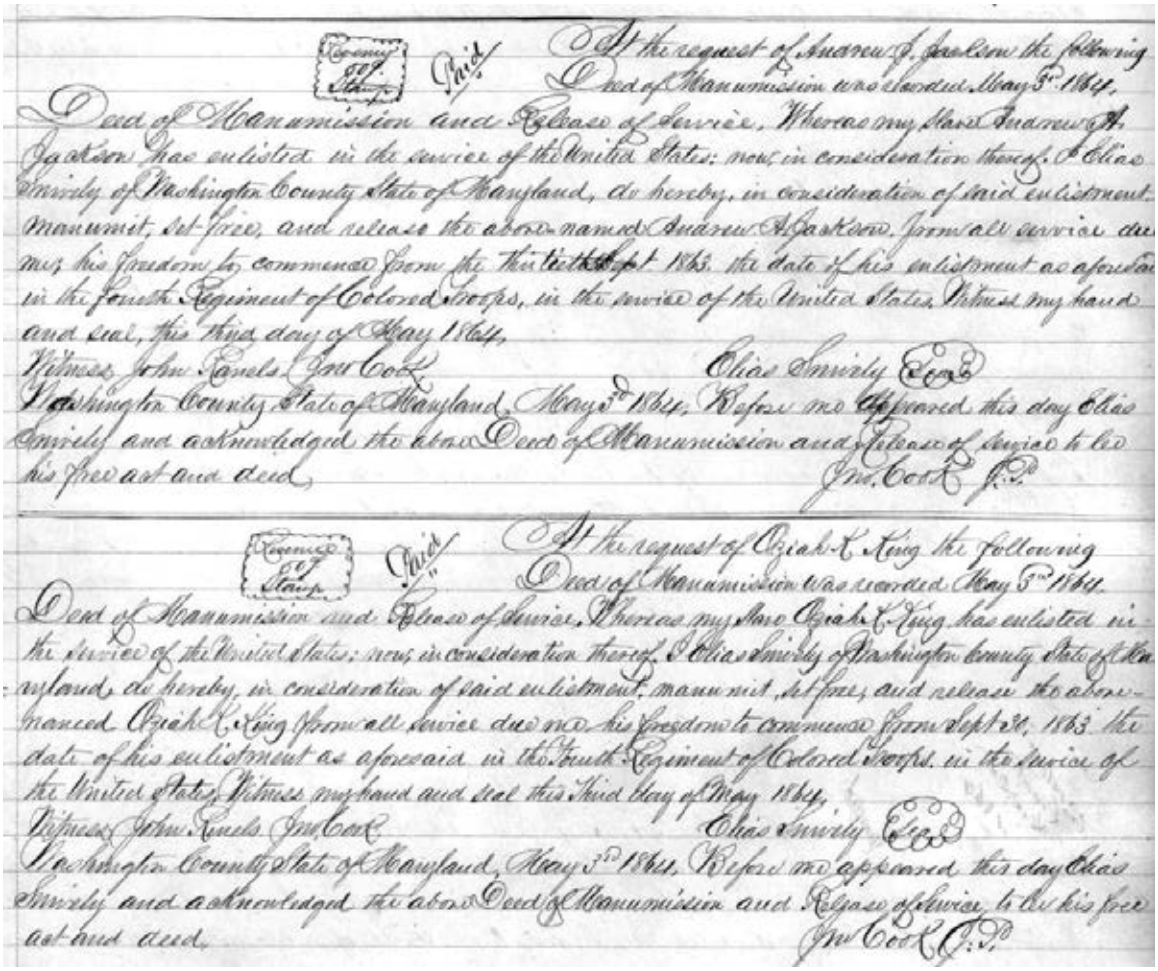


Figure 154: George W. Fisher stone, Red Hill Cemetery
Photo by the author, 2020

Oziah King and Andrew A. Jackson, who were enslaved on the farm of Elias Snively (Felfoot Farm) at the time of the Civil War, were freed from bondage as a result of their enlistment in the USCT (Figure 155).[140] Their enlistment papers indicate they were both members of the 2nd Regiment, Company F, like their free neighbors, Benjamin Malone and John R. Brown. King mustered out of service in Key West, Florida, in January 1866, then disappeared from the historic record. Andrew A. Jackson died of Yellow Fever while stationed in Florida in August 1864, just three months after his manumission by Snively

[140] WC DB IN18, page 141. Elias Snively also submitted claims for remuneration for both King and Jackson. Claim #1987 (Andrew A. Jackson) and #1988 (Oziah King), "Maryland Slave Claims Commission," *Maryland State Archives,* http://speccol.msa.maryland.gov/pages/speccol/unit.aspx?speccol=4678&serno=1&item=1&subitem=-1.

(Figure 156). He was buried in the military cemetery in Key West, his headstone assigned the number fifty-four. Jackson was twenty-four years old and left an unnamed widow in Boonsboro.[141]



Deed of Manumission and Release of Service. Whereas my Slave Andrew A. Jackson has enlisted in the service of the United States: now in consideration thereof, I Elias Snively of Washington County State of Maryland, do hereby, in consideration of said enlistment, manumit, set free, and release the above-named Andrew A. Jackson, from all service due me; his freedom to commence from the thirtieth day of Sept 1863 the date of his enlistment as aforesaid in the Fourth Regiment of Colored Troops, in the service of the United States. Witness my hand and seal, this third day of May 1864.

Witness John Daniels Jno Cook — Elias Snively [Seal]

Washington County State of Maryland, May 3rd 1864. Before me appeared this day Elias Snively and acknowledged the above Deed of Manumission and Release of Service to be his free act and deed. Jno Cook J.P.

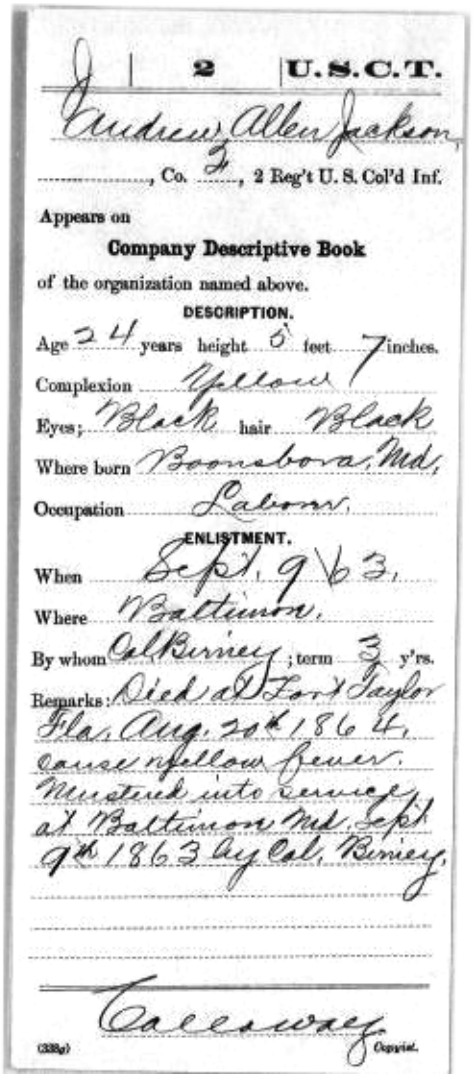
Deed of Manumission and Release of Service. Whereas my Slave Oziah K. King has enlisted in the service of the United States: now in consideration thereof, I Elias Snively of Washington County State of Maryland do hereby, in consideration of said enlistment, manumit, set free, and release the above-named Oziah K. King from all service due me; his freedom to commence from Sept 30, 1863 the date of his enlistment as aforesaid in the Fourth Regiment of Colored Troops, in the service of the United States. Witness my hand and seal this third day of May 1864.

Witness John Daniels Jno Cook — Elias Snively [Seal]

Washington County State of Maryland, May 3rd 1864. Before me appeared this day Elias Snively and acknowledged the above Deed of Manumission and Release of Service to be his free act and deed. Jno Cook J.P.

Figure 155: Oziah King and Andrew [A.] Jackson manumissions, May 3, 1864
WC DB IN18, page 141

[141] "Compiled Military Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served With the United States Colored Troops, 2nd through 7th Colored Infantry including 3d Tennessee Volunteers (African Descent), 6th Louisiana Infantry (African Descent), and 7th Louisiana Infantry (African Descent)," *Fold3 by Ancestry,* https://www.fold3.com/image/108555447 (Oziah K. King), and https://www.fold3.com/image/144102608 (Andrew A. Jackson). Osborne Duckett, enslaved by Jacob Snively and freed for his service in the 30th Regiment, Co. D, USCT, is sometimes mistakenly noted as coming from the Sharpsburg area, but was actually in Hancock, Maryland (also in Washington County), where another Jacob Snively was a miller and held seven enslaved people in 1860.



2 U.S.C.T.

Andrew Allen Jackson

....., Co. F, 2 Reg't U. S. Col'd Inf.

Appears on

Company Descriptive Book

of the organization named above.

DESCRIPTION.

Age 24 years height 5 feet 7 inches.

Complexion Yellow

Eyes; Black hair Black

Where born Boonsboro, Md.

Occupation Laborer.

ENLISTMENT.

When Sept. 9 '63.

Where Baltimore.

By whom Col Birney; term 3 y'rs.

Remarks: Died at Fort Taylor Fla. Aug. 20th 1864. cause of fellow fever. Mustered into service at Baltimore Md. Sept 9th 1863 by Col. Birney.

Callaway

Captain.

(238)

Figure 156: Andrew Allen Jackson enlistment card with record of death
Fold3 Military Database

In 1863, Aaron Booth began to sell smaller lots along the east side of the reserved lane, starting with a less than one-acre lot sold to Harriet Calaman, wife of Grafton Calaman. The lot was located on the corner of the lane and "the public road from Maple Swamp [Mt. Briar] to Porterstown" (today's Porterstown Road).[142] Harriet and Grafton Calaman were already living in their small log house on the corner when they were listed on the 1860 census with their eight children (Figure 157). They were soon joined by a growing community of African Americans, many of whom were newly freed by the new Maryland constitution abolishing slavery in l864.

[142] WC DB IN17, page 281.



Figure 157: Calaman House
Photo by the author, 2003

Red Hill Community Growth—1865–1900



Figure 158: 1867 Michler map showing the south-end Red Hill community
Library of Congress

The map of Antietam battlefield, drawn in 1867 by US Army Engineer, General Nathaniel Michler, shows remarkable detail of the African American occupants of the Red Hill area, indicating property boundaries and buildings. Several names on the map were relative newcomers, including (Henry) Hopewell and (Lewis) Wright, who both were tenants on Booth's land, and William Somers (Summers), a tenant on land in the north Red Hill

cluster. The Summers lot, located on the ridge at the north end of Red Hill, at least a mile distant from the cluster of Black homes on the southern east face, marked the physical expansion of the community. Though Lewis Wright was listed as a landowner near Sharpsburg in 1860, Summers and Hopewell were both likely enslaved prior to 1864, as neither appears to be named in the 1860 census.[143] William Summers's (a cousin of Henson Summers) whereabouts before emancipation is unknown. Henry Hopewell was likely enslaved on one of the Clagett farms in Pleasant Valley.[144]



Figure 159: Henry Hopewell Farmstead
Photo by the author, 2003

[143] Interestingly, in 1859, Wright sold his household furniture to Charles Adams for ten dollars. The lot of furniture included "two beds and bedding, one stove, 1 bureau, one safe, ½ doz. Chairs, one mantle clock, lot of iron ware and tubs, and sundries" (WC DB IN14, page 183).

[144] There is currently no documentation of Henry Hopewell's enslavement; however, his daughter Lettie Ann (later Warfield) was likely Zachariah Clagett's "negro girl Liddy," devised to his granddaughter Elizabeth Garrott (Garrett) in 1825 (WC Will Book C, page 267). In 1823, the same year Clagett manumitted Charles and Lucy Adams, he also freed thirty-two-year-old Peter Hopewell, perhaps Henry's older brother (WC DB GG, page 512). In 1819, Clagett's father, Posthumus Clagett, manumitted Elijah Hopewell (age 38), possibly another brother (WC DB DD, page 567).

Between 1867 and 1869, Aaron Booth and his wife Mary sold their land on Red Hill in several parcels, prior to their move to the City of Hagerstown. Booth first sold his nine-acre tract to Henry Hopewell in 1867 (Figure 159). In 1868, James Toyer purchased a small lot between Hopewell and Grafton Calaman. The 1868 deed noted Toyer's "dwelling house" in the boundary description, indicating that he was already established on the lot from Booth. Finally, in 1869, Booth sold a small, two-acre lot adjoining Hopewell to Amaza (Mary?) Wright, wife of Lewis Wright.[145]

In 1870, Jonathon Mentzer, the man responsible for collecting the US census data in District 1 (the area surrounding and including the towns of Sharpsburg and Keedysville), described for the local newspaper, a community on Red Hill already humming with activity: "Along the mountain we found quite a number of colored families. They all seemed to be industrious, well-to-do and intelligent. At Red Hill, they have erected a neat little church, where, we believe they have school in the winter months, and preaching at regular stated periods."[146] Among the Black or "mulatto" landowners identified by Mentzer on the 1870 census were Lewis Wright, Henry Hopewell, Henson Summers, and John Brown. Tenants included William Summers, Henry Keets, Henry Watson, Benjamin Sewell, Andrew Jackson, John Brown, Nathan Kellar, and Benjamin Malone, a USCT veteran.[147] Mentzer also listed several families as "white" that were "mulatto" in earlier census records, including Grafton Calaman and his family, Archibald Patterson and his family, and Zachariah Keith (Kietz, Keets) and his family.[148]

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[145] WC DB LBN 2, page 691 (Booth to Hopewell, 1867); McKK1, page 625 (Booth to Toyer, 1868); McKK1, page 711 (Booth to Wright, 1869).

[146] *Boonsboro Oddfellow,* August 12, 1870.

[147] The 1867 Michler map indicates George Hamilton King was living on the Snively family's Felfoot Farm. King does not appear on the 1870 census, but in 1880 he is listed as a tenant after Elias Snively. Benjamin Sewell had been a tenant on the J. S. Deaner farm "for a number of years" when his house burned in 1889 (*Antietam Wavelet,* February 2, 1889, microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library).

[148] At the time of his death in 1890, Zachariah Keets was noted in the *Antietam Wavelet* as "colored" (January 18, 1890, microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library). Abraham and Henry Griffith, both listed as mulatto in 1860 and white in 1880 (with mulatto family members) and 1900, were not listed at all on the 1870 census.



Figure 160: 1867 Michler map, north cluster detail
Library of Congress

Through the 1870s, land ownership increased among the Black families living in the Red Hill community. In 1873, William Summers, whose lot and house appeared on the 1867 Michler map, purchased the lot on which he was already living, located "on the summit of what is called the red hill." In an unusual move for the time, Summers was given a mortgage by the sellers, the heirs of Dr. Otho B. Smith, a former slaveholder. A few

months later, Summers conveyed a small part of his lot to his neighbor John Brown.[149] Brown appeared to be already living there by 1870, with a large household including his wife and daughter, two foster children—Willie Johnson and George Adly, and the James Sliner family of three. Others who appear to be living in this cluster (from the 1870 census) include the households of Henson Summers, Henry Keits, Henry Watson, Nathan Kellar, and John Kellar. By 1880, it appears that George W. Fisher, a USCT veteran, had joined this grouping of homes with his mother Ann (see Figure 150). The 1877 Atlas Map of the county does not show the north end cluster of African American homes; however, it does indicate the county-run "Colored School No. 5" (ED 19, No. 5) in the same area. This was likely the Pleasant Hill AME church (discussed later), which doubled as a school in 1870 and was located near the homes of Summers and Brown.

The 1877 map indicates that the Red Hill community had grown to encompass three clusters, including the two already established around Booth's reserved lane (Toyer Road) and on the north end of the hill (Red Hill Road), as well as a relatively new grouping on the southwest side of the hill along the road from Porterstown (Porterstown Road). Not apparent on the 1867 map, this new group of homes appears to have begun in 1872 with a land purchase by Margaret Ellen Thomas, a seventeen-acre parcel carved from Antietam Iron Works Lot 115 (see Figure 149). Margaret Thomas was the wife of Alfred Thomas (see "A. Thomas" on the map), whose young family was living as tenants in the area in 1870. By 1880, the narrow stretch of Porterstown Road perched on the west side of Red Hill, now known as Flickersville, was populated by several families. It included the "mulatto" family of Alfred Thomas, whose father was English; the "mulatto" family of Morris Lewis, whose wife Elizabeth was noted as white on the 1880 census; the all-white family of Israel Churchy; and the "mulatto" family of Otho Churchy, who himself was white.[150] The Flickersville residents were part of a tradition of integrated families that extended deep into the history of the Red Hill community.

The Red Hill community grew to include 138 residents by the time of the 1900 census, living in twenty-six independent households. Twenty of the households owned the land on which they lived. Thus, as the period of Reconstruction drew to a close and the post-Reconstruction period of so-called "redemption" solidified segregationist practices, the Red Hill African American community spread over the hillside in three groupings of mostly landed residents (see Figure 148). A church and school provided moral and educational advancement. Though the residents of the three clusters were physically separated,

[149] WC DB McKK5, page 382 (heirs of O.B. Smith to Summers, 1873), part of Antietam Iron Works Lot 132; McKK6, page 21.

[150] An 1895 mortgage release for a half-acre lot on the west side of the "road from Porterstown to Rohrersville" confirms the Churchy family was living in the Flickersville area (WC DB 103, page 188). Members of the Thomas family still live in the area and have ancestors buried in the Red Hill cemetery.

they were tied together by kinship, marriage, church, school, and social activities. Over the decades following the Civil War, these bonds extended also from Red Hill to the African American community in nearby Sharpsburg.

Occupations

The 1870 census gave "day laborer" as the occupation of nearly every Black man living in the district including Red Hill, while most of the women were "keeping house" at home. Only those living in white households were listed with specific jobs such as "domestic servant" for women or "farm laborer" for men. It is likely that the men did, in fact, take whatever work was available, whether farm work, work on the railroad or canal, or work in the mills or lime kilns in the area. The 1880 census was nearly as vague, listing the men's occupations as "laborer" or occasionally "farm hand" or "works on farm" (for sons who labored on their family plot). Servants, both men and women, often lived at home rather than in the home of their employer in 1880. Only Abraham Griffith, listed in 1870 as a quarrier, held a skilled labor position as stone mason ten years later. In 1900, day laborers were differentiated from farm laborers, these two occupations making up the bulk of the work done by Red Hill community residents. Those with more specific jobs included a preacher (John H. Keatz), a hostler (Sheridan Malone), several pensioners (soldier and county), three washer women, two domestics, and two boatmen presumably working on the C&O Canal.[151]

The C&O Canal ran the length of Washington County along its Potomac River border. From the time the canal opened in the county in 1836 through its final closing in 1924, canal maintenance and boat operations offered work opportunities for laborers. In 1860, young Mahlon Adly gave his occupation as boatman, likely working as a crew member on one of the local canal boats (Figure 161). Black deck hands were employed throughout the history of the C&O Canal, notes canal chronicler, Harlan Unrau, and it is likely that at least a few of the Red Hill laborers listed in 1870 and 1880 were among them.[152] On the 1900 census for the Keedysville District (Red Hill area), two Black residents gave their occupation as boatmen: Garfield Clark, aged fifteen, and William Clark, aged twenty-one.

[151] 1870, 1880, 1900 US Population Census records.

[152] Harlan D. Unrau, *Historic Resource Study: Chesapeake & Ohio Canal* (Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park, National Park Service, Hagerstown, MD, 2007).



Figure 161: "Henry Williams and Andrew Jenkins with a canal boat"
Library of Congress, as cited in https://www.nps.gov/articles/a-chance-at-freedom.htm

In 1832, a dispute between the C&O Canal and the B&O Railroad occurred over the narrow right-of-way along the Potomac River at Weverton at the southern tip of Washington County. The railroad was forced to cross the Potomac River into Virginia (later West Virginia) at Harpers Ferry. To compensate for the county's loss of the railroad, the Washington County Branch (WCB) of the B&O was completed in 1867. On its way to the growing regional rail hub at Hagerstown, the WCB passed along the eastern base of Red Hill through Eakles Mills, with a stop at Keedysville. This railroad line was a likely source of periodic day labor opportunities in the Red Hill area.

Both the C&O Canal and B&O Railroad were a boon to area farmers. Canal boats carried flour, wheat, and corn, as well as other produce. With the introduction of the refrigerated rail car in 1875, fruit production blossomed on the hillsides of Washington County. In 1887, the editor of the *Antietam Wavelet,* the local Keedysville weekly newspaper, noted he had received a basket of peaches from Barbara Hughes, wife of William Hughes, the proprietor of the Highland Fruit Farm. In July 1888, the Wavelet reported "Mr. W. D. Hughes, of Highland Fruit Farm is now busily engaged in shipping peaches. It is

estimated that his orchard will produce 10,000 bushels this summer."[153] The Hughes fruit farm was located on the south end summit of Red Hill, according to the 1900 census record, their nearest neighbors, including the AME preacher, John Keatz, and George W. Fisher, Josephus Keatz (Keits, Keets), David Steward, and John Malone, were all day laborers who likely worked the peach harvest. Three of George Fisher's sons were specifically occupied as farm laborers nine months of the year, while attending school in their three months off.

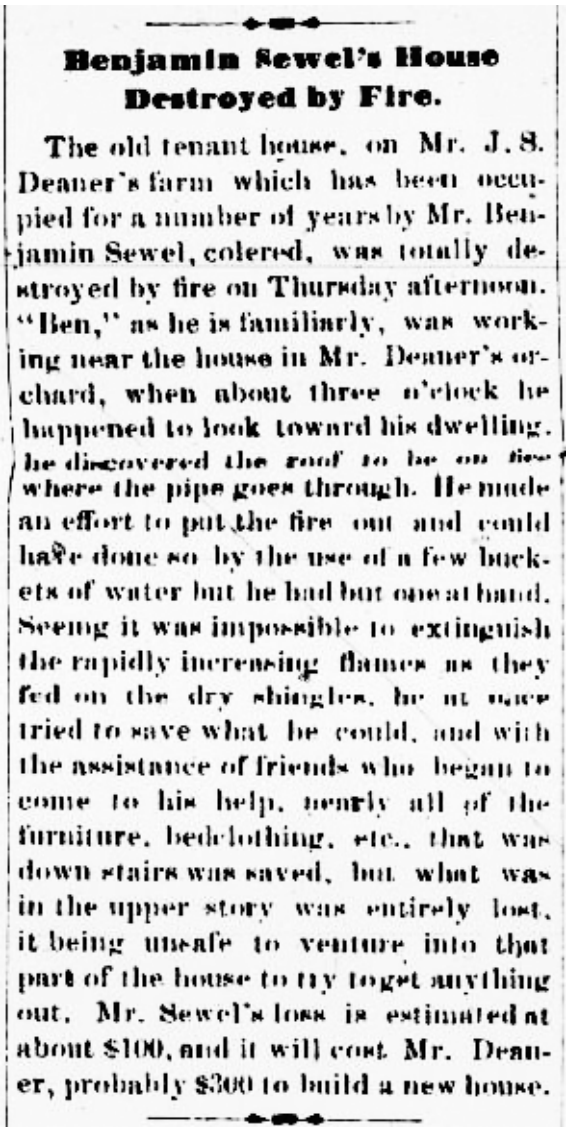
Hughes was not the only likely agricultural employer of African Americans in the Red Hill area. The 1880 census identified two Black men, John T. Crummer and Fillmore Clark, as farm hands on the Elias Snively farm (Felfoot Farm), seated in the valley near the north end of Red Hill. Both Crummer and Clark boarded on the farm, probably in dedicated farm hand quarters. George Hamilton King was a tenant on the Felfoot Farm (see Figure 160). Elias Snively was the largest farm employer in the Keedysville District (No. 19) in 1879, according to the agriculture census schedule of 1880, employing 192 weeks of labor (indicating multiple employees), with $1,000 in wages paid out for the year.[154] Snively's operation was large, with twelve milk cows producing five hundred pounds of butter, forty-six sheep, thirty-three hogs, and fifty chickens. The farm produced corn, oats, and ninety-two acres of wheat, with a total of seventy-five apple trees. His nearby neighbor Jonas Deaner, on whose farm Benjamin Sewell was a tenant and worked as a farm hand, was significantly smaller in scale with just four cows, forty chickens, eighteen acres of corn, forty-five acres of wheat, one acre of potatoes, and sixty apple trees. Deaner employed eighty hours of labor in 1879, paying $550 in wages. In February 1889, Sewell's tenant house on the Deaner farm was destroyed in a fire (Figure 162). Deaner rebuilt the small (twenty-by-twenty-six-feet) frame tenant house the following month.[155]

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[153] *Antietam Wavelet,* September 24, 1887, and July 28, 1888, newspaper microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

[154] US Census, 1880 Agriculture Schedule, "Agriculture, Somerset-Worcester," SM61–342, *Maryland State Archives,* http://guide.msa.maryland.gov/pages/viewer.aspx?page=census.

[155] "Benjamin Sewell's House Destroyed by Fire," *Antietam Wavelet,* February 2, 1889, and March 2, 1889, newspaper microfilm collection, Western Maryland Room, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.



Benjamin Sewel's House Destroyed by Fire.

The old tenant house, on Mr. J. S. Deaner's farm which has been occupied for a number of years by Mr. Benjamin Sewel, colored, was totally destroyed by fire on Thursday afternoon. "Ben," as he is familiarly, was working near the house in Mr. Deaner's orchard, when about three o'clock he happened to look toward his dwelling. he discovered the roof to be on fire where the pipe goes through. He made an effort to put the fire out and could have done so by the use of a few buckets of water but he had but one at hand. Seeing it was impossible to extinguish the rapidly increasing flames as they fed on the dry shingles, he at once tried to save what he could, and with the assistance of friends who began to come to his help, nearly all of the furniture, bedclothing, etc., that was down stairs was saved, but what was in the upper story was entirely lost, it being unsafe to venture into that part of the house to try to get anything out. Mr. Sewel's loss is estimated at about $100, and it will cost Mr. Deaner, probably $300 to build a new house.

Figure 162: "Benjamin Sewell's House Destroyed by Fire," *Antietam Wavelet*, February 2, 1889
Western Maryland Room, WCFL

In both 1870 and 1880, the agriculture census enumerated farms as well as "considerable nurseries, orchards, and market gardens…which are cultivated for pecuniary profit." It also included farmsteads of less than three acres, but only if they produced more than $500 of product.[156] This effectively eliminated many of the African American subsistence farmsteads in the Red Hill community. None appeared in the 1870 agriculture census, and only two Black-owned farms were recorded on the 1880 census—those owned by Elias and Henry Griffith. Both were the only African American men on Red Hill who

[156] "Agricultural Schedules: 1850 to 1900," *US Census Bureau,* https://www.census.gov/history/pdf/agcensusschedules.pdf.

described their occupation as "farmer" in 1880, and both owned the land they farmed.[157] Henry Griffith began purchasing his land in 1857, but gave his occupation in 1860 as "lime burner," likely working at the Antietam Iron Furnace, where lime kilns were then in operation. By 1880, Henry Griffith owned seventy-eight acres, with forty-five acres tilled, twenty in grass (hay), twelve in woods, and one acre of meadow. Elias Griffith, the oldest son of Abraham Griffith (brother of Henry), was just twenty-nine in 1880. He owned one hundred acres, fifty of which were tilled, nineteen of grass, twenty-five of woods, and five acres of meadow. Both men cultivated corn, wheat, and potatoes, maintained small apple orchards, and had milk cows, cattle, hogs, and chickens. Elias Griffith also raised eight sheep for wool. Both men also paid wages for farm labor, though Elias paid only $25 for two weeks of work. Henry Griffith paid $100 for seven weeks of work, likely to his son David (age nineteen), who gave his occupation as "works on farm," which implied he was working on the family farm.[158]

By 1900, none of the Black men in the Red Hill community gave their occupation as farmer. Noah Griffith, who did give his occupation as farmer, was listed as white in 1900 ("mulatto" in 1860), along with his entire family including his recently widowed mother Annie Griffith. Noah was the oldest son of Henry Griffith, who died in 1899, and was probably working his father's farm. His three oldest sons were occupied as farm laborers three months of the year. Of the fifty-four men and boys over the age of ten listed in the community, thirty-three gave their occupation as day laborer; nine of them boys under the age of eighteen. Of the remaining boys ages ten to seventeen, one was a servant living in a white household, four were farm hands, one was a boatman, and five were "at school" eight months of the year. Seven of the men eighteen or older gave their occupation specifically as farm hand or farm laborer. William Clark (age twenty-one) was the only adult male boatman; Benjamin Malone lived on his soldier's pension, and his oldest son was a "hostler." Malone's wife worked as a washer woman, one of four in the community. Five young women (including two girls) were occupied as a "domestic," working in white homes but living with their own families.[159]

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[157] While Elias Griffith, son of Abraham Griffith, was described a "mulatto" in 1880, both Abraham and Henry Griffith, listed as "mulatto" in 1860, were listed in 1880 as white with "mulatto" families (neither man was listed in the 1870 census). The Henry Griffith farmhouse and barn foundation still stand on Porterstown Road near its intersection with Mt. Briar Road.

[158] 1880 US Census Agricultural Schedule.

[159] 1900 US Population Census.

Churches

Pleasant Hill AME Church

The Pleasant Hill AME congregation was active as early as 1840, according to circuit minister Rev. Thomas Henry. The chapel, later constructed on Red Hill, was apparently named for the Pleasant Hill school, located at the base of Red Hill in Eakle's Mills, where the congregation initially met.[160]

Sometime before July 1870, a church building was constructed on the northern summit of Red Hill. It was this building that Jonathon Mentzer the 1870 census taker commented upon, noting, "[T]hey have erected a neat little church, where we believe they have school in the winter months, and preaching at regular stated periods."[161] Oddly, that same month in 1870, Red Hill residents Henson Summers, John Brown, Nathan Keller, John Keller, and James Sliner purchased a lot on the west edge of Boonsboro as trustees for a new AME church and school.[162] This puzzling Boonsboro lot purchase, located miles from the trustees' and the Red Hill congregation's homes, seems an odd choice given the still active building on the Red Hill lot. However, the Red Hill lot, part of "Antietam Works" Lot #136, was not owned by the congregation. It was in fact owned by Ann Sophia (Keedy) Ecker (later Mrs. Sophia Eversole), daughter and heir of John J. Keedy, who may not have been willing at the time to sell the lot to the congregation.[163]

The Boonsboro AME church was never constructed. Instead, the Pleasant Hill AME church at Red Hill continued to grow as an important community building. The 1877 Atlas of Washington County, Keedysville District, showed the church location as "Colored School No. 5," indicating the building continued its dual purpose as church and school (see Figure 150). In 1879, the Pleasant Hill AME congregation decided to construct a new church building on the old lot. The *Hagerstown Daily* newspaper reported in August of 1879: "On Saturday next, Aug. 30th, the M.E. [*sic*] colored people of Red Hill, near

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[160] Libby, *From Slavery to Freedom,* 25.

[161] *Boonsboro Oddfellow,* August 12, 1870.

[162] WC DB McKK3, page 165 (Elias Davis to AME trustees, 1870). The lot in Boonsboro adjoined the existing Methodist church lot and the back alley along the land belonging to Robert J. Shafer (later the cemetery). Henson Summers owned a small farmstead northwest of Boonsboro (Benevola) (WC DB LBN1, page 28 [Henry A. & Mary Williams to Henson Thomas Summers, May 1865]). This property was located in District 6, Benevola post office, but the 1870 census listed Summers in the Red Hill community. Henson Summers sold the Benevola property in 1871 to Jerry Balls (DB McKK3, page 621 [Summers to Balls, 1871]).

[163] WC Will Book F, pp. 197–200, "Maryland Register of Wills Records, 1629–1999," images, *FamilySearch,* http://FamilySearch.org, citing Prerogative Court, Maryland Archives, Annapolis. In his will, written in 1867, John J. Keedy devised to his daughter Ann Sophia Ecker, "a piece or parcel of land situated on what is called 'The Red Hill' and bounded…on the East by the Waggon Road leading along the summit of the Red Hill…said parcel of land to be so laid off to include the Dwelling House occupied by Keller and the one known as the Keitz House." The parcel covered eighteen acres.

Keedysville, and surrounding county, intend laying the corner stone of a new church that they purpose building on that grand hill. We have no knowledge of a more magnificent site for a church than this hill affords. It commands a view of the county for many miles around."[164] Though no deed was ever recorded for the approximately one-acre church lot, which included a cemetery, it appears that Sophia Ecker/Eversole made an agreement with the congregation by 1879—an agreement that remains intact today on the county tax record.[165] In 1880, a Black minister named William Snyder was noted on the census living in Keedysville. It is likely that Pastor Snyder tended to the AME congregation on Red Hill, the only Black church in the Keedysville/Boonsboro area.



Figure 163: Church foundation remnant
Photo by the author, 2003

The Pleasant Hill AME Church remained active into the mid-twentieth century. However, by the 1960s, the congregation had dispersed and the building was dismantled or burned, according to local memory (Figure 163). All that remains of this active community building is a stone foundation and the adjoining overgrown cemetery. When Samuel W. Piper recorded the cemetery in 1936, he identified twenty-four gravestones and noted

[164] As cited on "Red Hill Cemetery," *Find a Grave,* accessed December 17, 2020, https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/2582558/red-hill-cemetery.

[165] Washington County, District 19, Tax Account No. 011674, Tax Map 77, Parcel 241, https://sdat.dat.maryland.gov/RealProperty/Pages/default.aspx. The owner of record is "Cemetery AME Pleasant Hill Chapel," with the notation "C/O" the pastor of the Ebenezer AME Church in Hagerstown.

there were "a great many graves" with "no stones."[166] The earliest interment appears to be Lloyd Bowman in 1872. The last recorded interment was James Washington Calaman, which occurred in 1955.[167] Today (2021) at least forty-three gravestones still stand (some are fallen) in the Red Hill Cemetery. The following list of interments is taken from the *Find a Grave* site for the Red Hill Cemetery:

> Red Hill Cemetery, forty-three memorials found
> Grace A. Stewart Adams, 1888—1 Mar 1938
> Lloyd Bowman, 1822—20 Feb 1872
> Cora E. Braxton, 6 Dec 1875—7 May 1906
> Ellen Brown, 1819—14 May 1894, Wife of John Brown
> Corp John R. Brown, Birth and death dates unknown.
> Daniel Calaman, 1867—7 Dec 1939
> James Washington Calaman, 8 Jun 1889—26 Aug 1955
> Ella Calamon, 1 Apr 1870—19 Jul 1903
> Frances Carter, 1917—6 Apr 1933
> Bertha M. Clark, 5 May 1898—1909
> Cora E. Clark, 15 Jun 1896—18 Dec 1909
> James R. Clark, 15 Jun 1924—18 Apr 1925
> Margaret V. "Maggie" Wright Clark, 27 Sep 1856—6 May 1935
> Otha W. Clark, 5 Jun 1876—20 Jan 1933
> George Cross, 1837—31 Jan 1897
> Alexander Neill Edemy, 16 Oct 1880—8 Dec 1940
> Maud Fisher Edemy, Jan 1890—10 Dec 1939
> Barbara E. Fisher, 16 Jan 1857—3 Jan 1928
> George W. Fisher, 21 Jun 1841—Feb 1929
> Lavina Keets, unknown—Feb 1908
> Lizzie Keets, unknown—14 Oct 1898
> William Keets, 1859—15 Feb 1922
> Daughter Keith, 1881—27 Dec 1897
> Susan Lee, 1862—6 Mar 1942
> Benjamin Lyles, Birth and death dates unknown.
> Edward Lyles, Birth and death dates unknown.
> Emariles Lyles, 1854—17 Apr 1888
> Harry Lyles, Birth and death dates unknown.
> Sgt Benjamin F. Malone, Mar 1842—12 Nov 1913
> Ella V. Malone, 16 Apr 1850—14 Feb 1923

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[166] "Red Hill Cemetery Memorials," *Find a Grave*, accessed December 17, 2020, https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/2582558/memorial-search?page=1#sr-148095002; Samuel Webster Piper, "Listing of the Markers in Cemeteries in Keedysville, Washington County, Maryland, as recorded by Samuel Webster Piper in 1936. List typed by members of Conococheague Chapter of DAR, 1942," "Colored Graveyard, on Red Hill, near Keedysville," page "Keedysville 37," *WHILBR, Western Maryland's Historical Library,* https://digital.whilbr.org/digital/collection/p16715coll31/id/480/rec/957.

[167] "Red Hill Cemetery Memorials," *Find a Grave*, accessed December 17, 2020, https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/2582558/memorial-search?page=1#sr-148095002.

Joseph Sheridan Malone, 4 Jun 1877—24 Feb 1926
Nellie Malone, 1819—14 May 1894
Mary C. Sewall, 1873—Nov 1897
Catharine Sewel, Jan 1812—14 Jan 1880, Wife of Darius Sewel
Child Sewell, unknown—5 Feb 1897
Mary Sewell, unknown—14 Nov 1897
Susan E. Stewart, 1840—31 Jan 1918
Mary E. Suel/Sewell, 1840—15 May 1891, Wife of Benjamin Suel
George Summer, unknown—Mar 1895
Carrie Summers, unknown—6 Feb 1900
Child Summers, unknown—10 Dec 1896
Carrie Evelyn Keets Thomas, 21 Oct 1888—14 Sep 1947
Reason Asbury Thomas, 22 Jun 1872—19 Apr 1930[168]

Mount Briar Church of God

A second church in the Red Hill area, the Mount Briar Church of God, was constructed in the last decades of the nineteenth century. In 1881, Henry Griffith, who was identified as white on the 1880 census while his family was identified as "mulatto," was among the three trustees of the church who purchased the land from his son, Noah Griffith.[169] From the start, the church served an integrated congregation. Members of the Griffith family make up a large number of the burials in the cemetery, as do many local white families. Also buried there are other local "mulatto" (Black in 1900) families, including Charles E. and Alice Keets, and Morris Lewis and his numerous descendants.[170] Mount Briar Church of God continues to be an active church today (2021).[171]

Schools

Red Hill School/Colored School No. 5

As early as 1870, according to the census taker for the Red Hill area (see the quote at the beginning of this chapter), a school was held in the Pleasant Hill AME church during the winter months. The school was not one of the seven Freedmen's Bureau-sponsored schools

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[168] "Red Hill Cemetery Memorials," *Find a Grave*, accessed December 17, 2020, https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/2582558/memorial-search?page=1#sr-148095002.

[169] WC DB 97, page 564 (Noah Griffith to Trustees of Mt Briar Church, 1881).

[170] "Mount Briar Cemetery Memorials," *Find a Grave*, accessed December 17, 2020, https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/81207/memorial-search?page=1#sr-28710094.

[171] Mount Briar Church of God is a member of the Churches of God, General Conference, based in Pennsylvania (https://www.cggc.org/location/mt-briar-church-of-god).

in Washington County, so it was likely locally run by one of the educated Black residents in the Red Hill community. The 1870 census included a checkbox for individuals who "cannot read" or "cannot write," as well as one for those who "attended school within the year." Only four African American children, ages ten to seventeen, all from the Zachariah Keith (Keitz) family, were noted as having attended school, though none of them could read or write. Two other children, Cecelia Barton (age thirteen) and Sophronia Sliner (age fifteen), were marked as able to read and write. Just five adults were able to read and write, including John W. Lee, Benjamin and Elenore Malone, James Sliner, and Eli Stewart. James Sliner, a day laborer who was also listed as a trustee for the Boonsboro AME church, and whose daughter (probably stepdaughter) Sophronia was also educated, is a likely candidate for teaching the school during the off-season.[172]



Figure 164: John W. Lee
Courtesy of the Sharpsburgh Museum of History

[172] 1870 US Census records, Ancestry.com. James Sliner was twenty-four in 1870. He (age twenty-four) and his wife Henrietta (thirty-six) and (step?)daughter Sophronia (fifteen) lived in the household of John Brown, neighbors to Nathan and John Keller, and William Summers (cousin of Henson Summers), all on the north end of Red Hill. Sliner, Brown, the Kellers, and Henson Summers were the (hoped-for but never-built) Boonsboro AME church trustees and likely headed the Pleasant View congregation.

When the Washington County School Commission appointed its first "Colored School" trustees in May 1871, the Red Hill school was not specifically named among the list of schools. However, the men appointed for three-year terms as trustees for the Sharpsburg District school in 1871, J.H. Sliner, George Hopewell, and Nathan Keller, all lived in the Red Hill area.[173] The law required only one "colored" school per election district, and both Sharpsburg and the Keedysville/Red Hill area were included within the Sharpsburg District. It is not clear whether this "district" school operated on Red Hill, where the trustees were located, or in Sharpsburg where the Freedmen's Bureau school had recently operated in Tolson's Chapel. In 1874, the Keedysville Election District (No. 19) was carved out of the Sharpsburg District. The Red Hill area was included within the new Keedysville District boundary, where "Colored School #5" was located, with thirty students in attendance.[174]

The 1877 Atlas Map of Washington County showed "Colored School #5" in the location of the Pleasant Hill AME Church (not identified; see Figure 150). Like Tolson's Chapel in Sharpsburg, it is likely that the school occupied the still-active AME church building. In 1882, the trustees for the (ED 19) No. 5 school were "G. Fisher, Henry Keats, and William Summer," according to Scharf's *History of Western Maryland*. During the 1881–82 school year, the teacher was reportedly named Truelove McDaniel and the number of students enrolled ranged from twenty-six in the fall term to thirty-one in the winter term.[175] At the start of the 1882 school year, the *Sharpsburg Enterprise* reported that James Samons (Simons) was teaching at "the school on the Red Hill" with twenty students in attendance.[176] In 1889, Cora MacKay was confirmed by the School Commissioners as the teacher for "E.D. 19, S.D. 5."[177] On the 1880 census, thirty-five of the sixty-one children aged five to eighteen were listed as having attended school in the previous year. Only seven adults (over eighteen) were able to read and write and another seven could only read. At age seventy-five, the remarkable Sophia Bivins, a servant in the home of Martin H. Miller, attended school in 1879, though she was as yet unable to read and write.

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[173] Washington County School Board Minutes, 1865–1908. In 1871, the county identified only seven "colored" schools although there were thirteen election districts.

[174] *Annual Report, Showing Condition of the Public…1874/1875,* 178, *HathiTrust Digital Library,* https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000057122. 1874 also happened to be the first year a county teacher was appointed for the Sharpsburg Colored School (ED 1, No. 5).

[175] Scharf, *History of Western Maryland…Volume II,* 976–977. The author was unable to locate Truelove McDaniel in any census record between 1870 and 1900.

[176] "The Public Schools," *The Enterprise,* Sharpsburg, September 8, 1882. The article noted William Nelson as the teacher in Sharpsburg, where James Simons (Samons) had been teaching since 1879. It is possible the author of the article got the names reversed.

[177] *Herald & Torchlight,* Hagerstown, Maryland, July 25, 1889, *Newspapers Publisher Extra,* http://www.newspapers.com.

Eakles Mill Colored School



Figure 165: Eakles Mill Colored School, 1905
George M. Bushey 1905 Photo Album, Western Maryland Room, WCFL

In 1897, George Hopewell (son of Henry) sold a small parcel of the Hopewell homestead to the School Commissioners of Washington County for the Eakles Mill Colored School, which replaced the earlier "Colored School #5." The frame one-room schoolhouse was built the same year and on the same plan as the Sharpsburg Colored School, in 1899. In 1900, of the fifty-seven Red Hill area Black children, ages six to eighteen, twenty-two were listed on the census as "at school" seven to eight months of the year, and forty-two were listed as able to read and write. George Fisher's three sons, ages fifteen to twenty-two, also attended school, but only during the three months they were not employed as farm laborers. Among the sixty adults over the age of eighteen in 1900, half were able to read and twenty-seven could write, a significant increase from the fourteen adults given twenty years earlier.

By 1920, the Eakles Mill Colored School, renamed Red Hill Grade School, had just fourteen students (compared to Sharpsburg's twenty-five). Still, it remained in operation until school consolidation in the 1930s, when the children were bussed to Hagerstown. The county school building reportedly burned in the 1980s.[178]

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[178] WC DB 106, page 229. Theodore R. Hopewell, born in 1910 (grandson of Henry Hopewell and son of George and Laura Hopewell), reportedly attended the Red Hill Graded School, according to his 2009 online obituary (no longer available).

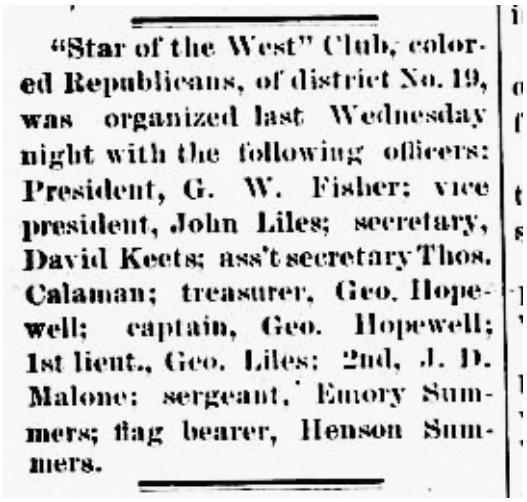
Benevolent Societies

There is no current documentation of active benevolent societies within the Red Hill community. The three USCT veterans living in the area, Benjamin Malone, John R. Brown, and George W. Fisher, were eligible to be members of the Hagerstown Lyon Post #31 of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), the only segregated GAR post established for Black veterans of the Civil War in Washington County. In May 1887, the Lyon Post, numbering fifteen members, participated in the Decoration Day ceremony held in Sharpsburg.

Red Hill men may have also participated in the D.R. Hall Odd Fellows Lodge in Sharpsburg (see the Sharpsburg case study).

Civic Engagement

In 1870, there were eighteen African American men over the age of twenty-one in the Red Hill area who were eligible to vote after the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment to the US Constitution. Of these men, the census record shows that eleven were not able to read or write, while four could read and three could both read and write.



"Star of the West" Club, colored Republicans, of district No. 19, was organized last Wednesday night with the following officers: President, G. W. Fisher; vice president, John Liles; secretary, David Keets; ass't secretary Thos. Calaman; treasurer, Geo. Hopewell; captain, Geo. Hopewell; 1st lieut., Geo. Liles; 2nd, J. D. Malone; sergeant, Emory Summers; flag bearer, Henson Summers.

Figure 166: "Star of the West Club," *Antietam Wavelet*, October 7, 1892
Western Maryland Room, WCFL

The local Keedysville weekly newspaper reported on the Red Hill men's political activity in the 1880s and 1890s. Sometime prior to the November presidential election of 1888, the men of Red Hill formed the "Colored Republican Club." On November 2, 1888, two days before the election, the club held a "mass meeting" to hear speakers on the subjects pertaining to the politics of the time. Speakers included Charles W. Trusty, an African American school teacher (in Boonsboro in 1880 and by 1892, principal of the school in

Hagerstown), Rev. J.W. Diggs—a "Professor of the Gospel" living in Accomack, Virginia, in 1880 and in Hagerstown in 1900, and Rev. Francis J. Peck—a preacher in Baltimore in 1880.[179] The club took on the name "Star of the West" in 1892, with George W. Fisher serving as president and John Lisles, David Keets, Thomas Calaman, and George Hopewell as other officers of the executive committee (Figure 166). Shortly thereafter, the local white Republican club presented the "colored republicans" with "a 6x9 foot flag, as a token of the recognition of their loyalty to the party."[180] On November 1, 1892, the club hosted their own rally "on Pleasant Hill" before participating in a Republican pageant in Boonsboro the following day.[181]

As noted previously, Red Hill community men also served as school trustees, beginning in 1871 through at least 1882. It appears that even prior to 1871, community members were involved in providing education without the help of the county or the Freedmen's Bureau. At least four Black property owners would have paid county taxes that should have helped to pay for their school, though it is doubtful the pre-1871 Red Hill school received any tax money.[182] Another county appointment came in 1888, when Benjamin Malone was appointed by the County Commissioners to serve as "Road Supervisor" overseeing county road No. 3 (unidentified).[183]

The Red Hill African American community appears to have lived and labored in relative quiet, with no notable incidents of criminality, real or perceived. Perhaps the greatest injustice was the neglect of the school on Red Hill.

Epilogue

The first half of the twentieth century was difficult for rural African Americans, both socially and economically through racial segregation, injustice, the Great Depression, and a steady decline in agricultural employment in the region. Red Hill became known for the whiskey produced there, according to the recollections shared by community members. Carrie Thomas, a Flickersville resident, reportedly made the finest mountain whiskey in

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[179] *Antietam Wavelet,* Keedysville, MD, November 3, 1888, newspaper microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

[180] *Antietam Wavelet,* Keedysville, MD, October 7 and 21, 1892, newspaper microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

[181] *Antietam Wavelet,* Keedysville, MD, November 4, 1892, newspaper microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

[182] The only post 1865 Washington County assessment records available are from 1896 to 1910 (Maryland Archives).

[183] *Herald & Torchlight,* Hagerstown, MD, March 22, 1888, Newspapers Publisher Extra, http://www.newspapers.com.

the area (Figure 167).[184] Jim Keets recalled that he and his stepfather George Clark made applejack whiskey in the cellar of the log Keets house on Toyer Road (a recipe that has reportedly been preserved by some later white residents of the road). Earl Fisher claimed to be the neighborhood beer-maker. Both Jim Keets and Earl Fisher lived on Red Hill until their deaths in the 1980s, the last Black residents of the old community.[185]



Figure 167: Gravestone of Carrie Thomas in Red Hill Cemetery
Photo by the author, 2020

[184] Personal communication, Raymond Thomas, October 2020.

[185] Personal communication, Michael Hawkins, January 2018.

Conclusion

The problem of the Twentieth century is the problem of the color-line…

W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*[1]

In his 1901 farewell speech to Congress, Congressman George H. White reviewed the accomplishments of African Americans since the start of Reconstruction in the South:

> Since that time we have reduced the illiteracy of the race at least 45 percent. We have written and published nearly 500 books. We have nearly 800 newspapers, three of which are dailies. We have now in practice over 2,000 lawyers, and a corresponding number of doctors. We have accumulated over $12,000,000 worth of school property and about $40,000,000 worth of church property. We have about 140,000 farms and homes, valued in the neighborhood of $750,000,000, and personal property valued about $170,000,000. We have raised about $11,000,000 for educational purposes, and the property per-capita for every colored man, woman and child in the United States is estimated at $75. We are operating successfully several banks, commercial enterprises among our people in the South land, including one silk mill and one cotton factory. We have 32,000 teachers in the schools of the country; we have built, with the aid of our friends, about 20,000 churches, and support 7 colleges, 17 academies, 50 high schools, 5 law schools, 5 medical schools and 25 theological seminaries. We have over 600,000 acres of land in the South alone. The cotton produced, mainly by black labor, has increased from 4,669,770 bales in 1860 to 11,235,000 in 1899. All this was done under the most adverse circumstances.[2]

Congressman White's point is well-taken. There is no denying (although it has been denied) that the period of American enslavement of Africans and African Americans, from 1619 to 1865, was among our nation's darkest chapters.[3] And the event of emancipation was among our brightest. However, the lengths to which white Americans have gone to discriminate against and often violently oppress Black Americans during Reconstruction and the decades that followed to the turn of the twentieth century (and beyond) are astounding and soul-crushing. The bright spot, as Congressman White clearly articulated, was/is the inspiring response of African American communities across the US to

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[1] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), Amazon Classics, Kindle edition, 2, 7, 18.

[2] As cited on "(1901) Congressman George H. White's Farewell Address to Congress," *Black Past*, accessed August 8, 2021, https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/1901-george-h-whites-farewell-address-congress.

[3] The displacement and genocide of Native Americans was another dark chapter, of course, and one for another discussion.

race-based social inequity, violence, and injustice. Their resilience and their determination to live, grow, and thrive, to whatever degree they could "under the most adverse circumstances," should serve as a beacon of hope for all Americans, now and in the future.

A Brief Look at the Twentieth Century

The year 1900 may seem an arbitrary cut-off point for this Special History Study, as the assault on African American civil and social rights continued and intensified into the twentieth century. Additionally, many of the segregationist policies that marked the twentieth century "Jim Crow" era were implemented to varying degrees decades before 1900. However, it was the efforts to *constitutionally* deprive African American men of the voting franchise in the southern states, which clustered around the year 1900, that marked the beginning of the Jim Crow era.[4] The disfranchisement of African Americans in the South proved to be the foundation for institutionalized and increasingly oppressive racial segregation laws across the South, spilling over into the northern states as well. This was an era supported (or ignored) at the federal level, by the US Supreme Court and Congress, and sustained through unimaginable violence perpetrated by private citizens as well as public officials through the middle of the twentieth century.

Institutional segregation began to unravel with the 1954 US Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education,* but the nation saw decades of unrest through the end of the twentieth century. The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s brought some reforms and strengthened African American cultural identity and resolve, but could not address the underlying culture of racial prejudice in the United States. This simmering, unresolved racial divide again demands our attention in the twenty-first century with the Black Lives Matter movement. As it was at the beginning of the twentieth century, the problem continues to be "the color-line." Clearly, America's reckoning with its fraught racial past (and present) is a continuing process—one that begins with viewing our history and people of all colors with clear eyes and open minds.

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[4] Steven F. Lawson, in Susan Cianci Salvatore, "Civil Rights in America: Racial Voting Rights," National Historic Landmarks Theme Study (Washington, DC: National Historic Landmarks Program, Cultural Resources, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 2007, revised 2009), 12. The efforts began in Mississippi in 1890, then South Carolina in 1895, Louisiana in 1898, Alabama in 1901, North Carolina and Virginia in 1902, and finally Georgia in 1908.

Recommendations for Further Research

The possibilities for further research within the context of this report is nearly endless, as can be seen from the number of communities and sites highlighted in Chapter Three and listed in Appendix A. In the preparation of the four case studies given in this report, each individual community study required months of research and writing. Many of the details presented in the Sharpsburg community case study were the result of nearly twenty years of research through my (the author's) association with the preservation of Tolson's Chapel, beginning in 2002. It is recommended that additional case studies be completed and appended to the report whenever possible, particularly those sites that will inform interpretation of African American history in and around the National Parks within the NCA.

A case study in Jefferson County, West Virginia should be among the first to be completed to enhance interpretation at the Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. Between the histories of John Brown and Storer College at Harpers Ferry lie the stories of the African American communities in the rural towns and districts of Jefferson County. The town communities in Charles Town and Shepherdstown are still existing communities, with many of the historic institutional and residential buildings still extant. The Jefferson County Black History Preservation Society is a strong and active group engaged in both cultural and built resource preservation.[5]

In Maryland, several sites associated with African American history along the C&O Canal are highlighted on the C&O Canal Trust website, including the historic Montgomery County African American communities of Sugarland and Martinsburg, and the Underground Railroad story at Emmanuel Parish in Cumberland, Allegany County, Maryland.[6] Detailed research into the history of these sites as case studies would add important layers to the interpretation of C&O Canal history. In Frederick County, community case studies in the rural districts south of the city of Frederick will add to the cultural history development around Monocacy National Battlefield. Several under-researched communities in the northern part of Frederick County may add to Catoctin Mountain Park historic interpretation.

In Prince George's County, Maryland, where in 2010 African Americans accounted for 70 percent of the total population, some historic rural communities have evolved into modern suburban neighborhoods. Opportunities for oral histories handed down through

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[5] *Jefferson County Black History Preservation Society,* accessed August 8, 2021, http://www.jcblackhistory.org.

[6] "African American Heritage Sites Along the C&O Canal," *C&O Canal Trust,* accessed August 8, 2021, https://www.canaltrust.org/2020/02/african-american-heritage-sites-along-the-co-canal/; *Sugarland Ethno History Project, Inc.,* accessed August 8, 2021, http://www.sugarlandproject.org/about.html (Sugarland); *Warren Historic Site,* accessed August 8, 2021, https://warrenhistoricsite.weebly.com/ (Martinsburg); "The Underground Railroad Story," *Emmanuel Parish of the Episcopal Church,* accessed August 8, 2021, https://www.emmanuelparishofmd.org/emmanuel-and-the-underground-railroad/the-underground-railroad-story/ (Cumberland).

generations are likely in this county, adding to the physical and documentary record. Case studies in Prince George's County can inform interpretation at Fort Washington and Piscataway Park.

Similar opportunities are found in the northern Virginia counties, particularly in the Mount Vernon area of Fairfax County (George Washington Memorial Parkway), Arlington County (Arlington House), and Loudoun County (Harpers Ferry and C&O Canal).

Additionally, it is recommended that this report be made available to state and local agencies that oversee parks and museums, as well as other private venues that would benefit from diversified interpretive exhibits.

The attached appendices provide lists of historic communities (Appendix A), Freedmen's Bureau schools (Appendix B), and Odd Fellows lodges (Appendix C). These lists, with some recommendations for further NR or NHL eligibility evaluations, should serve as a starting point for further case study research. The lists themselves are likely incomplete and should also be revised as new information comes available. Many counties in the region are actively updating their databases of African American sites and structures and developing more detailed local historic contexts.

Appendix A

Community Lists by State/County

See Chapter Three, "The Structure of Communities," for definitions/descriptions of community types. Note that many of the communities given below and the buildings and sites within them are listed on the various states' historic inventories. Check the Maryland Historical Trust, Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties (MIHP); the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia Landmarks Register (VLR); the West Virginia Department of Arts, History and Culture, Architectural and History Survey (AHS); and the DC Office of Planning, Historic Preservation, DC Inventory of Historic Sites.

Maryland

Prince George's County[1]

Cluster Communities (2012 list)

Rossville
Brookland
Ridgley
Croom
Chapel Hill

Scattered Communities (MPDF list)

Mitchellville
Queen Anne
Oxon Hill
Camp Springs
Meadows
Clinton
Baden
Brandywine
Fletchertown

[1] Bird, "African American Historic Resources of Prince George's County, Maryland," MPDF (there are several unidentifiable sites on the map that probably also represent scattered communities—Collington, Woodmore, and Nottingham; The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, "African-American Historic and Cultural Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland," 2012. Information regarding the MIHP can be found at *Maryland Historical Trust,* https://mht.maryland.gov/research_mihp.shtml.

Accokeek
Aquasco

Rural Town Communities

Laurel
Bowie
Bladensburg
Upper Marlboro
T.B./Tee Bee

Montgomery County[2]

Cluster Communities

Big Woods
Blocktown
Jerusalem
Jonesville
Martinsburg [*Warren Historic Site, White's Ferry Road—potential NR/NHL eligible*]
Sugarland
Thompson's Corner
Turnertown
Howard Chapel (Laytonsville)
Hawkins Lane
Good Hope
Holly Grove
Smithville
Mt. Pleasant [*Church/cemetery determined NR eligible in 2002*]
Mt. Zion
Gibson Grove
Poplar Grove
Pleasant View ME Church (Gaithersburg)
Prathertown
Scotland?
Tobytown

Rural Town Communities

Boyds/White Grounds
Sandy Spring

[2] McDaniel, "Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County"; African American Historic Sites Committee, "African American Historic Sites," *Montgomery County, MD, Montgomery Planning,* https://montgomeryplanning.org/planning/historic/african-american-historic-sites.

Frederick County[3]

Cluster Communities

Sunnyside
Halltown
Brookville
Hope Hill
Pleasant View
Mt. Ephraim [*church/school, potential NR*]
Della
Greenfield
Coatsville [*Ceres Bethel AME Church, NR listed December 2020*]
Bartonsville [*two churches, lodge(?), homes, potential NR*]
Fountain Mills
New London
Oldfields
Silver Hill
the Grotto just south of Emmitsburg

Rural Town Communities

Buckeystown
Jefferson
New Market
Petersville
Point of Rocks
Knoxville
Centerville
Libertytown
Powell Road, Lewistown
Creagerstown

Washington County[4]

Cluster Communities

Fort Frederick (scatter) [*school (Fort Frederick State Park) potential NR*]
Yarrowsburg/Garret's Mill (scatter) [*church/school/Robinson House, potential NR*]
Flickersville/Red Hill
Jugtown/Crystal Falls

Rural Town Communities

Sandy Hook
Sharpsburg [*Tolson's Chapel and School, NHL, designated January 2021; NR 2009*]

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[3] Wallace, "African-American Emancipation and Community in Frederick and Washington Counties."

[4] Wallace, "African-American Emancipation and Community in Frederick and Washington Counties." The Powell Road/Lewistown, Creagerstown, and Grotto south of Emmitsburg communities were recently identified by volunteer researcher Rick Smith.

Boonsboro
Williamsport
Clear Spring
Hancock

Virginia

Prince William County[5]

Cluster Communities

The Settlement
The Settlement/Carter's Corner
Thoroughfare
Five Forks
Lucasville
Baskerville (Occoquan)
Neabsco
Forestburg (Quantico School, several churches)
Batestown [*should be reviewed for archeological NR eligibility*]
Hickory Ridge [*should be reviewed for archeological NR eligibility*]
Antioch
Bridgett Town
Agnewville/Chinn Town
Graysontown?

Rural Town Communities

Manassas
Dumfries
Quantico?
Brentsville? (Brentsville School)
Bristow? (Chinn/Kettle Run School, New Hope Church)

Fairfax County

Fairfax County list accompanying the map "Historic African-American Communities," *School History Sources (1937–1965),* accessed January 27, 2021, https://jacksonms.fcps.edu/about/history/high/sources.

Bailey's Crossroads
Cartersville

[5] Eugene M. Scheel, "African American Heritage, Prince William County" (Waterford, VA, October 2000), "RELIC's Digital Archives," *Prince William County Library,* accessed September 21, 2019, http://eservice.pwcgov.org/library/digitalLibrary/PDF/001868.pdf. Scheel listed Batestown and Hickory Ridge as one community under the name "Batestown."

Carrolltown
Chantilly
Chesterbrook
Clifton
Cub Run (Rock Hill)
Cooktown
East Woodford
Fairfax
Falls Church
Floris
Forestville (Great Falls)
Franconia
Freedom Hill
Gum Springs
Gunston
Hughesville (Jacksonville)
Ilda
Merrifield
Mount Pleasant
Oak Grove
Odricks Corner
Ox Road (Painters)
Pearson (Burke)
Ravensworth
Seminary (Fort Ward)
Spring Bank
The Pines
Tinner Hill
Vienna
Williamstown
Woodentown
Woodlawn
Union Town
Providence Heights (Location Unknown)

Cluster Communities

Uniontown/Bush Town[6]
Woodlawn/Mount Vernon[7]
Gum Springs[8]

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[6] Scheel, "African American Heritage, Prince William County," *Prince William County Library,* accessed September 21, 2019, http://eservice.pwcgov.org/library/digitalLibrary/PDF/001868.pdf.

[7] Hellman and McCoy, "Soil Tilled by Free Men."

[8] "A Brief History," *The Gum Springs Museum,* accessed December 30, 2020, http://gumspringsmuseum.blogspot.com/p/brief-history.html; Michael K. Bohn, "Gum Springs: A Slave's Legacy, Part 1," *New Gum Springs Civic Association,* accessed December 30, 2020, https://www.ngsca.org/a-slaves-legacy.html.

Lincolnville/Mclean[9]
Ilda[10]
Lewinsville (Vienna area)[11]
Cooktown (Herndon)[12]

Rural Town Communities

Falls Church/Tinner Hill[13]
Mills Crossing/Merrifield[14]
Vienna[15]

Arlington County[16]

Cluster Communities

Freedman's Village (created by the federal government)
Hall's Hill & High View Park
Nauck/Green Valley
Penrose
Arlington View/Johnson's Hill

Loudoun County[17]

Cluster Communities

Bowmantown (Scheel map; Aldie area)
Stewartown (Scheel map; Aldie area)
Back-in-the-Hollow (Aldie area)
Farmwell (Ashburn area)
Berryman Lane (Mountville area)
Bluemont (Snickersville)

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[9] Dobbins, "Freedmen of Northern Virginia."

[10] "Page Parker Family, circa 1887," *Braddockheritage.org,* accessed December 30, 2020, http://braddockheritage.org/items/show/161.

[11] Michael K. Bohn, "Gum Springs: A Slave's Legacy, Part 2," *New Gum Springs Civic Association,* https://www.ngsca.org/a-slaves-legacy-part-ii.html.

[12] Bohn, "Gum Springs, Part 2."

[13] Dobbins, "Freedmen of Northern Virginia"; Tinner Hill Heritage Foundation, *100 Years of Black Falls Church,* accessed December 30, 2020, http://100yearsblackfallschurch.org.

[14] Dobbins, "Freedmen of Northern Virginia."

[15] "Our History (1866–1939)," *Fairfax County Public Schools,* accessed December 30, 2020, https://archeres.fcps.edu/index.php/about/history/1866.

[16] John Liebertz, "A Guide to the African American Heritage of Arlington County," *Arlington Historical Society,* https://projects.arlingtonva.us/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2016/09/A-Guide-to-the-African-American-Heritage-of-Arlington-County-Virginia.pdf.

[17] Deborah A. Lee, "Loudoun's African American Communities" (2004), *Friends of the Thomas Balch Library,* http://balchfriends.org/tour; see also History Matters, LLC, "Loudoun County African-American Historic Architectural Resources Survey," Loudoun County Board of Supervisors & The Black History Committee of the Friends of the Thomas Balch Library, Leesburg, VA, 2004.

Britain/Guinea (Morrisonville Road)
Brown's Corner (Middleburg area)
Brownsville/Swampoodle (Hamilton area)
Conklin (Oatlands area)
Cooksville (Purcellville area)
Dover (Aldie area)
Gleedsville (Oatlands area)
Greggsville (scattered, near Lincoln)
Guinea Hill/Guinea Bridge (Lincoln area)
Howardsville (Upperville area)
Little Washington (Evergreen Mills Road area)
Macsville (Middleburg area)
Marble Quarry (company town)
Mount Pleasant/Scattersville (Lucketts area)
Murphy's Corner (Bluemont area)
Nokes/Nokes Mountain (Dulles Town Center)
Oak Grove (Loudoun/Fairfax boundary)
Paeonian Springs
Powell's Grove (Airmont Road)
Rock Hill/Austin Grove/Midway (Upperville/Bluemont area)
St. Louis (southwest Loudoun)
Trammeltown (Hogback Mountain Road)
Turnertown (Philomont area)
Watson/Watson Mountain/Negro Mountain (Leesburg area)
Willard (Sterling Road-Willard Road crossroads; Dulles Airport)
Willisville (Middleburg area)

Rural Town Communities

Hamilton
Hillsboro
Hughesville
Irene-Ivandale
Leesburg
Lincoln
Lovettsville
Middleburg
Purcellville
Round Hill
Sycolin
Waterford [*part of Waterford NHL District, designated 1970*]

West Virginia

Jefferson County[18]

Cluster Communities

Johnsontown
Jamestown
Gibsontown

Rural Town Communities

Harpers Ferry [within Harpers Ferry National Historical Park]
Halltown
Shepherdstown [*potential NR district, west end of town*]
Rippon
Charles Town [*potential NR/NHL eligible buildings*]

District of Columbia

Washington County[19]

Cluster Communities

Broad Branch (Chevy Chase area)
Fort Reno (Tenleytown area)
Vinegar Hill (Brightwood area)
Good Hope/Garfield (east of Anacostia

[18] "Jefferson County West Virginia African American Heritage Trail," *Jefferson County Black History Preservation Society,* http://www.jcblackhistory.org/tour.

[19] Torrey and Green, "Free Black People of Washington County, D.C. George Pointer and His Descendants," *Washington History, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Spring 2016), 16–31,* https://www.jstor.org/stable/43799315.

Appendix B

Schools Identified in Freedmen's Bureau Records

While many historians identify these schools as "Freedmen's Bureau schools," it is important to acknowledge the key role of African Americans in establishing the schools, in some cases even before the Bureau became involved. The Freedmen's Bureau's role was limited to identifying and aiding Black communities in their efforts to open schools. The community was expected to purchase the land on which to build a schoolhouse or provide a building (church or other) to house the school. The Bureau's financial involvement was limited to providing used materials to build the school, paying rent (inconsistently) for use of a church or other building, or simply arranging with northern missionary societies to provide the teacher and paying only for the transportation of the teacher to the school. The school community often had to pay the teacher and for supplies by charging tuition. Sometimes the Freedmen's Bureau's only involvement was receiving reports from the teacher or principal of the school to provide a more complete record of African American education during the immediate postwar period (1865–71).

The Freedmen's Bureau records collection is held in the National Archives (NARA). An ongoing digitization project by NARA and FamilySearch.org is making the records available online through *FamilySearch* and the National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC). The following list of schools was compiled by the author from Freedmen's Bureau records accessed through the NMAAHC and/or from county surveys, and from a list compiled by Caroline Spencer (NPS-NCA) from the Freedmen's Bureau digital collection on FamilySearch.org (individually cited in footnotes). Each entry represents one school, unless otherwise noted. In some cases, multiple "schools" were listed, some of which appear to indicate graded classes. This compiled list is almost certainly incomplete and should be amended as new information is found.

Virginia

(Source unless otherwise noted: "Monthly School Reports of the Sub-Assistant Commissioner and the Superintendent, Oct. 1867–Feb.1869," Records of the Field Offices for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, https://edan.si.edu/slideshow/viewer/?eadrefid=NMAAHC.FB.M1913_ref152.)

Alexandria City (in Alexandria County)

Pitt Street—10 schools/classes (Stanton Union Schools) (est. 1866)
Sickle Barracks—2 schools/classes (Sickle Barracks Mission School) (est. 1867)
Alfred Street—8 schools/classes[1]
Beulah School (est. 1867)
Washington St. (est. 1867)

Alexandria County (later Arlington County)

Arlington—2 schools[2]
Arlington Heights—2 schools[3]
Fort Strong[4]
Millington[5]
Not Yet Located (1 school)[6]

Fairfax County

Great Falls (est. 1867)
Fairfax Court House (est. 1866)
Lewinsville (est. 1866)
Falls Church—3 schools/classes (est. 1866/1869)[7]
Woodlawn (est. 1866)
Gum Spring (est. 1867)
Vienna (est. 1867)
Herndon (est. 1866)
Andrews Chapel (est. 1866)

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[1] Caroline Spencer, "Freedpeoples' Schools in the National Capital Area, 1865–1871" (NPS-NCA, 2021), citing "Reports of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the month ending February 1869," image 9; "Monthly Reports of Superintendents of Aid-Society Sponsored Schools, for the Month Ending January 1866," image 42.

[2] Spencer, "Monthly Reports of Superintendents of Aid-Society Sponsored Schools, for the month ending January 1866," image 108; "Records of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending April 1866," images 440–41. Note: Alexandria County was renamed Arlington County in 1920; the City of Alexandria became an independent city in 1870.

[3] Spencer, "Records of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the month ending April 1866," images 32–33; 107–8.

[4] Ibid., images 117–18.

[5] Spencer, "Report of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the Month Ending March 1869," in United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Alexandria, 1865–1869, Alexandria, Roll 50, School Reports, Apr. 1867–Mar. 1869, images 653–54.

[6] Spencer, "Reports of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the Month Ending February 1869," image 31.

[7] Spencer, "Records of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the Month Ending April 1866," image 238; "Monthly Reports of Superintendents of Aid-Society Sponsored Schools, for the Month Ending January 1866," images 3–4; "Report of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the Month Ending March 1869," images 602–3.

Centreville (est. 1868)
Lincoln Village[8]
Painters[9]
2nd Magisterial Dist.[10]
Not Yet Located (1 school)[11]

Loudoun County

Leesburg (est. 1866)
Waterford (est. 1866)
Lincoln (est. 1866)
African (est. 1866)
Hillsborough (est. 1868)
Aldie (est. 1868)
Middleburg (est. 1868)
Lovettesville[12]
Hamilton[13]
Not Yet Located (2 schools)[14]

Prince William County

Manassas (est. 1868)
Gainesville[15]
Independent Hill[16]
Not Yet Located (2 schools)[17]

. . . . . .

[8] Spencer, "Report of Schools in the Dept. of Va., for the Month Ending Oct. 31, 1868," image 545.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid., image 50.

[12] Spencer, "Report of Schools in the Dept. of Va., for the Month Ending Oct. 31, 1868," image 548.

[13] Ibid., image 407.

[14] Spencer, "Report of Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the Month Ending March 1869," images 147–48; "Reports of the Schools of the Superintendent of Alexandria, for the Month Ending February 1869," image 16.

[15] Spencer, "Report of Schools in the Dept. of Va., for the Month Ending Oct. 31, 1868," image 549.

[16] Ibid., image 523.

[17] Ibid., image 288.

Maryland

Prince George's County

(Source unless otherwise noted: Betty Bird, "African-American Historic Resources of Prince George's County, Maryland" MPDF, 2003.)

Bladensburg (Union Institute)
Upper Marlboro (Marlboro Seminary)
Aquasco (Woodville School)
Nottingham (Meadows School)
Baden (Poplar Hill/St. Thomas School)
Oxon Hill (Oxon Hill School)
Accokeek (Sharpersville/Sumner School)
Croom (Croom School)
Chapel Hill (Chapel Hill School)
Clinton (Clinton/Robeystown)[18]
Woodville[19]
Piscataway (3 schools/classes)[20]
Forestville[21]
Broad Creek[22]
Muirkirk[23]
Saint Thomas[24]
Forest Grove[25]
Horse Head[26]
Not yet located[27]

Montgomery County

Sandy Spring (est. 1865)[28]
Norbeck (est. 1868)[29]
Poolesville (est. 1868)[30]

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[28] "Assistant Com. and Supt. of Ed. Monthly Statistical School Reports," Records of the Field Offices for Maryland and Delaware, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, NMAAHC-005413067_01043; Spencer, "Teacher's Monthly School Reports," images 365–67.

[29] "Expense of School Buildings, September 1, 1868," Misc. Reports and Lists, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1869, NMAAHC-007677223_00438; Spencer, "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865–1872," images 374–76.

[30] "Expense of School Buildings, September 1, 1868," Misc. Reports and Lists, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1869, NMAAHC-007677223_00438; Spencer, "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865–1872," images 359–61.

Barnesville (est. 1868)[31]
Darnestown (est. 1868)[32]
Oak Hill (est. 1868)[33]
Mount Pleasant/Pleasant Grove? (est. 1868)[34]
Olney[35]
Brighton[36]
Damascus[37]
Brookville[38]
Dawsonville[39]
Blue Marsh[40]
Rockville[41]

Frederick County

Liberty (est. 1866)[42]

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[31] "Expense of School Buildings, September 1, 1868," Misc. Reports and Lists, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1869, NMAAHC-007677223_00438; Spencer, "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865–1872," images 48–50.

[32] "Expense of School Buildings, September 1, 1868," Misc. Reports and Lists, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1869, NMAAHC-007677223_00438; Spencer, "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865–1872," image 187.

[33] "Expense of School Buildings, September 1, 1868," Misc. Reports and Lists, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1869, NMAAHC-007677223_00438; Spencer, "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865–1872," images 377–79.

[34] "Expense of School Buildings, September 1, 1868," Misc. Reports and Lists, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1869, NMAAHC-007677223_00438; Spencer, "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865–1872," images 144–45.

[35] Spencer, "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865–1872," images 954–55.

[36] Ibid., images 266–68.

[37] Ibid., images 356–58.

[38] Ibid., images 371–73.

[39] Spencer, "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the Month Ending June 1872," images 690–91.

[40] Spencer, "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the Month Ending July 1870," image 46.

[41] Spencer, "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the Month Ending July 1870," image 46.

[42] "Assistant Com. and Supt. of Ed. Monthly Statistical School Reports," Records of the Field Offices for Maryland and Delaware, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, NMAAHC-005413067_01034; Spencer, "Teacher's Monthly School Reports," images 323–25.

Frederick City #1 (1866); Frederick City #2 (est. 1867)[43]
Middletown (est. 1865)[44]
Burkittsville (est. 1866)[45]
Mt. Pleasant (est. 1866)[46]
New Market (est. 1867)[47]
Hope Hill (est. 1867)[48]
Petersville (est. 1866)[49]
Point of Rocks[50]
Emmitsburg (2 schools/classes)[51]
Lewistown[52]

Washington County

Hancock (2 schools/classes)[53]
Clear Spring (est. 1866)[54]
Williamsport (est. 1866)[55]

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[43] "Assistant Com. and Supt. of Ed. Monthly Statistical School Reports,"; Spencer, "Teacher's Monthly School Reports," images 123–25; "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865–1872," images 368–69.

[44] "Assistant Com. and Supt. of Ed. Monthly Statistical School Reports," NMAAHC-005413067_01043; Spencer, "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865–1872," images 380–81.

[45] "Assistant Com. and Supt. of Ed. Monthly Statistical School Reports," NMAAHC-005413067_01034; Spencer, "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865–1872," images 371–72.

[46] "Assistant Com. and Supt. of Ed. Monthly Statistical School Reports," NMAAHC-005413067_01034; Spencer, "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the Month Ending July 1870," image 191.

[47] "Assistant Com. and Supt. of Ed. Monthly Statistical School Reports," NMAAHC-005413067_01043; Spencer, "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865–1872," images 377–78.

[48] "Assistant Com. and Supt. of Ed. Monthly Statistical School Reports," NMAAHC-005413067_01107; Spencer, "Teacher's Monthly School Reports," images 545–47.

[49] "Assistant Com. and Supt. of Ed. Monthly Statistical School Reports," NMAAHC-005413067_01046; Spencer, "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the Month Ending July 1870," image 191.

[50] Spencer, "Teacher's Monthly School Reports," images 111–13.

[51] Spencer, "Teacher's Monthly School Reports," images 518–20; "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865–1872," images 386–87.

[52] Spencer, "United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Education and of the Division of Education, 1865–1872," Education Division, Roll 34, Schedules of schools and rental accounts, Alabama, Arkansas, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, and North Carolina, Oct. 1868–Dec 1870, images 168–71.

[53] Spencer, "Teacher's Monthly School Reports," images 102–5; "Reports of Schools in the Dept. of the District of Columbia, for the Month Ending June 1872," images 544–45.

[54] "Monthly Reports of Sub-Assistant Commissioners or Agents in Maryland and West Virginia, Jan.–July 1868," Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, NMAAHC-007675729_00217; Spencer, "Teacher's Monthly School Reports," images 132–34.

[55] "Assistant Com. and Supt. of Ed. Monthly Statistical School Reports," NMAAHC-005413067_01045; Spencer "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865–1872," images 401–2.

Hagerstown (est. 1866)[56]
Sharpsburg (est. 1868)[57]
Pleasant Valley[58]
Sandy Hook (est. 1868)[59]

West Virginia

Jefferson County

Harpers Ferry (est. 1865)[60]
Shepherdstown (est. 1866)[61]
Charles Town (est. 1865)[62]

[56] "Assistant Com. and Supt. of Ed. Monthly Statistical School Reports," NMAAHC-005413067_01034; Spencer, two schools, "Teacher's Monthly School Reports," images 515–17; images 135–37.

[57] "Monthly Reports of Sub-Assistant Commissioners or Agents in Maryland and West Virginia, Jan.–July 1868," NMAAHC-007675729_00233.

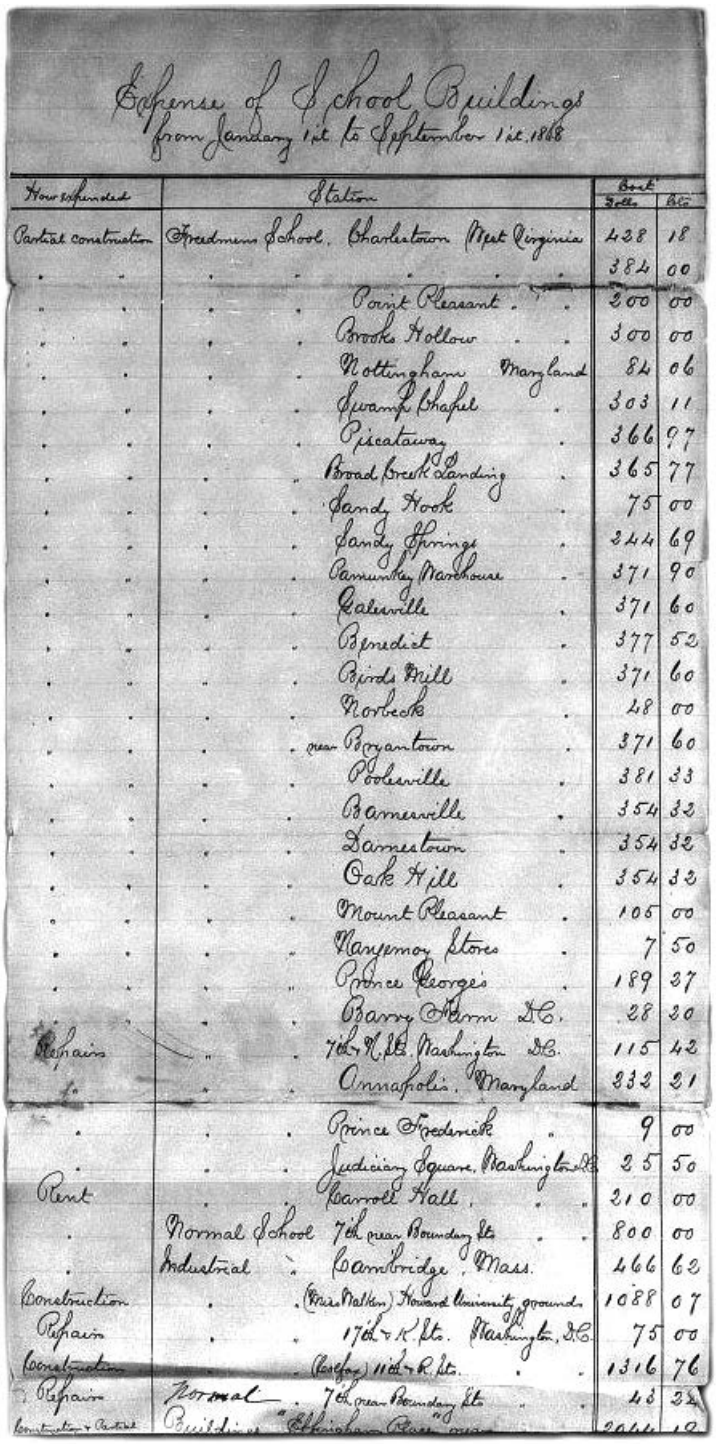
[58] Spencer, "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865–1872," images 331.

[59] Spencer, "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865–1872," images 191.

[60] Described in Reilly, *Sarah Jane Foster, Teacher of the Freedmen, 29–134; "Monthly Reports of Sub-Assistant Commissioners or Agents in Maryland and West Virginia, Jan.–July 1868," NMAAHC-007675729_00217.*

[61] Described in Reilly, *Sarah Jane Foster, Teacher of the Freedmen, 141 fn 39; "Monthly Reports of Sub-Assistant Commissioners or Agents in Maryland and West Virginia, Jan.–July 1868," NMAAHC-007675729_00233.*

[62] Described in Reilly, *Sarah Jane Foster, Teacher of the Freedmen, 29–134, "Monthly Reports of Sub-Assistant Commissioners or Agents in Maryland and West Virginia, Jan.–July 1868," NMAAHC-007675729_00227.*



Expense of School Buildings
from January 1st to September 1st 1868

How expended	Station	Book Dolls	Book Cts
Partial construction	Freedmens School, Charlestown West Virginia	428	18
" "	" " " "	384	00
" "	" " Point Pleasant	200	00
" "	" " Brooke Hollow	300	00
" "	" " Nottingham Maryland	84	06
" "	" " Swamp Chapel	303	11
" "	" " Piscataway	366	97
" "	" " Broad Creek Landing	365	77
" "	" " Sandy Hook	75	00
" "	" " Sandy Springs	244	69
" "	" " Samuels Warehouse	371	90
" "	" " Galesville	371	60
" "	" " Benedict	377	52
" "	" " Birds Hill	371	60
" "	" " Norbeck	48	00
" "	" " near Boyantown	371	60
" "	" " Poolesville	381	33
" "	" " Barnesville	354	32
" "	" " Damestown	354	32
" "	" " Oak Hill	354	32
" "	" " Mount Pleasant	105	00
" "	" " Manjemoy Stores	7	50
" "	" " Prince Georges	189	37
" "	" " Barry Farm D.C.	28	20
Repairs	" " 7th & N.Sts. Washington D.C.	115	42
"	" " Annapolis, Maryland	232	21
"	" " Prince Frederick	9	00
"	" " Judiciary Square, Washington D.C.	25	50
Rent	" " Carroll Hall, " "	210	00
"	Normal School 7th near Boundary St. " "	800	00
"	Industrial " Cambridge, Mass.	466	62
Construction	" (Miss Nailor) Howard University grounds	1088	07
Repairs	" " 17th & K Sts. Washington, D.C.	75	00
Construction	" (Rent for) 11th & R Sts. " "	1316	76
Repairs	Normal " 7th near Boundary St. " "	43	34
Construction & Partial	Building " Ebenezer Church " "	2044	19

Figure 168: "Expense of School Buildings," September 1868
NMAAHC-007677223_00439

Appendix C

Grand United Order of Odd Fellows Lodges

The Official History and Manual of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows in America was written by Charles H. Brooks, "Grand Secretary of the Order," and published in Philadelphia in 1902. It is a detailed record of the "Black Odd Fellows" from its beginnings in 1843 through the turn of the twentieth century. Embedded within the text are lists of lodges, with their location and date of establishment. This appendix provides the names, dates, and locations of GUOOF lodges formed within the subject counties of this report beginning in 1865 through 1892. (After 1892, Brooks no longer listed establishments of individual lodges.) Parenthetical page references indicate the location of the information in the Brooks *Official History.*

Note: The existence of a "lodge" did not necessarily imply a "hall" building was in place. This list does not include the Households of Ruth (the "female branch"), also listed in the Brooks *Official History.*

March 17, 1846, *Harmony Lodge, No. 818,* in Alexandria (then within the District of Columbia boundary) was the first lodge established "in Slave territory." (31)

October 31, 1865, *Evening Star Lodge, No. 713*, Frederick, Maryland (96)

December 18, 1866, *Mount Zion Lodge, No. 1335,* Frederick City, Maryland (98)

July 28, 1869, *D.R. Hall Lodge, No. 1416,* Sharpsburg, Maryland (106)
August 9, 1869, *G.W. Parker Lodge, No. 1431,* Alexandria, Virginia (106)
September 13, 1869, *Stevens Lodge, No. 1435,* Arlington, Virginia (106)

April 17, 1871, *R. Star of the West Lodge, No. 1465,* Burkittsville, Maryland (115)
May 8, 1871, *F.P. Gaskins Lodge, No. 1467,* Manassas Junction, Virginia (115)
August 14, 1871, *Mount Phillip Lodge, No. 1480,* Middletown, Maryland (115)

June 10, 1872, *Belle Haven Lodge, No. 1503,* Alexandria, Virginia (118)

January 13, 1873, *Mount Ephraim Lodge, No. 523,* Falls Church, Virginia (125)
September 14, 1873, *Aberdeen Lodge, No. 1557,* Middleburgh, Virginia (126)
November 10, 1873, *Rock Springs Lodge, No. 1603,* Hagerstown, Maryland (126)

February 9, 1874, *Silver Star Lodge, No. 1618,* Rockville, Maryland (130)

February 8, 1875, *Star of Leesburg Lodge, No. 1664,* Leesburg, Virginia (133)
November 8, 1875, *Hopewell Lodge, No. 1700,* Falls Church, Virginia (134)
December 27, 1875, *Queen City Lodge, No. 1716,* Cumberland, Maryland (134)

May 8, 1876, *Mount Ridgeway Lodge, No. 1756,* Upperville, Virginia (140)

November 12, 1877, *Oak Hall Lodge, No. 1827,* Shepherdstown, West Virginia (144)

October 27, 1880, *Rescue Lodge, No. 2155,* Williamsport, Maryland (159)

January 8, 1883, *Quantico Lodge, No. 2412,* Quantico, Maryland (169)

January 12, 1885, *Waterford Lodge, No. 2621,* Waterford, Virginia (180)

August 9, 1886, *Beautiful Empire Lodge, No. 2790,* Frederick, Maryland (183)

December 17, 1891, *Vienna Lodge, No. 3466,* Vienna, Virginia (209)

January 28, 1892, *Mt. Vernon Enterprise Lodge, No. 3488,* Accotink, Virginia (210)
May 9, 1892, *Hopewell Lodge, No. 3510,* Falls Church, Virginia (210)
December 14, 1892, *Antimonial Lodge, No. 3571,* Herndon, Virginia (211)

Appendix D

African American Population Statistics in the NPS National Capital Area, 1860–1900

Compiled by Caroline Spencer, November 2020

NPS National Capital Area[1]

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)
1860	264097	197131	24884	42082	66966	63%	25%	16%
1870	340614	241677	-	-	98914	-	29%	-
1880	412925	288977	-	-	123924	-	30%	-
1890	471177	334829	-	-	136209	-	29%	-
1900	529653	387220	-	-	141924	-	27%	-

[1] For the purposes of this study the NPS National Capital Area includes the counties of Prince George's, Montgomery, Frederick, and Washington in Maryland; the counties of Fairfax, Loudoun, Prince William, and Alexandria in Virginia (Arlington did not become a county until 1920), and the city of Alexandria (Alexandria became an independent city in 1870); the District of Columbia, and the county of Jefferson in West Virginia.

Maryland

Prince George's County (Cities and Towns Included)

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1860	23327	9650	1198	12479	13677	91%	59%	54%	US Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Maryland, "Table No. 2 Population by Color and Condition," p. 214; "Table No. 1, Population by Age, p. 211, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-18.pdf.
1870	21138	11358	-	-	9780	-	46%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, with Race, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, "Population by Counties-1790–1870, Table II, State of Maryland," p. 36, https://www2.census.gov/library/oublications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-07.pdf.
Vansville	2273	1494	-	-	779	-	34%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, the General Tables of Aggregate Population, with Race, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota (County: Anoka), "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III-State of Maryland," p. 164, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-18.pdf.
Bladensburg	3006	1795	-	-	1211	-	40%	-	Ibid., 164.
Bladensburg (City Only)	410	297	-	-	113	-	28%	-	Ibid., 164.
Marlborough	3239	1213	-	-	2026	-	63%	-	Ibid., 164.
Marlborough (City Only)	492	255	-	-	237	-	48%	-	Ibid., 164.
Nottingham	2476	1084	-	-	1392	-	56%	-	Ibid., 164.
Piscataway	1999	1132	-	-	867	-	43%	-	Ibid., 164.
Spaulding	1687	1229	-	-	458	-	27%	-	Ibid., 164.
Queen Anne	2276	819	-	-	1457	-	64%	-	Ibid., 164.

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
Aquasco	1723	746	-	-	977	-	57%	-	Ibid., 164.
Surratt	775	484	-	-	291	-	38%	-	Ibid., 164.
Laurel	1684	1362	-	-	322	-	19%	-	Ibid., 164.
Laurel (City Only)	1148	1066	-	-	82	-	7%	-	Ibid., 164.
1880	26451	13965	-	-	12486	-	47%	-	US Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V. Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, Maryland," p. 395, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1–13.pdf.
1890	26080	14867	-	-	11210	-	43%	-	US Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables, Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 9–19, "Table 15. Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890, Maryland," p. 415, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1-13.pdf.
1900	29898	17910	-	-	11985	-	40%	-	US Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 9–22, "Table 19. White, Negro, and Indian Population, By Counties: 1880–1900, Maryland," p. 542, https://ww2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.

Montgomery County (Cities and Towns Included)

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1860	18322	11349	1552	5421	6973	78%	38%	30%	US Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Maryland, "Table No. 2 Population by Color and Condition," p. 214; "Table No. 1, Population by Age," p. 211, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-18.pdf.
1870	20563	13128	-	-	7434	-	36%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, with Race, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, "Population by Counties, 1790–1870, Table II, State of Maryland," p. 36, https://www2.census.gov/library/oublications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-07.pdf.
Cracklin's	3477	1911	-	-	1566	-	45%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, with Race, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota (County: Anoka), "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III, State of Maryland," p.164, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-18.pdf.
Clarksburg	3064	2457	-	-	607	-	20%	-	Ibid, 164.
Medley's	3885	2304	-	-	1580	-	41%	-	Ibid, 164.
Rockville	5437	3706	-	-	1731	-	32%	-	Ibid, 164.
Rockville (City Only)	660	429	-	-	231	-	35%	-	Ibid, 164.
Berry's	4700	2750	-	-	1950	-	41%	-	Ibid, 164.

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1880	24758	15608	-	-	9150	-	37%	-	US Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V., Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, Maryland," p. 395, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1–13.pdf.
1890	27185	17500	-	-	9685	-	36%	-	US Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables-Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 9–19, "Table 15. Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890," Maryland, p. 415, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1–13.pdf.
1900	30451	20393	-	-	10054	-	33%	-	US Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color-Tables 9–22, "Table 19. White, Negro, and Indian Population, By Counties: 1880–1900, Maryland," p. 542, https://ww2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.

Frederick County (Cities and Towns Included)

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1860	46591	38391	4957	3243	8200	40%	18%	7%	US Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Maryland, "Table No. 2 Population by Color and Condition," p. 214; "Table No. 1, Population by Age, p. 211, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-18.pdf.
Frederick (City Only)	8142	6390	1310	442	1752	25%	22%	5%	Ibid., 214.
1870	47572	39999	-	-	7572	-	16%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, with Race, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, "Population by Counties-1790–1870, Table II, State of Maryland," p. 36, https://www2.census.gov/library/oublications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-07.pdf.
Buckeystown	2414	1711	-	-	703	-	29%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, with Race, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota (County: Anoka), "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III, State of Maryland," p.163, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-18.pdf.
Frederick (City Only)	3378	2906	-	-	472	-	14%	-	Ibid., 163.
Frederick (1st Ward)	1187	871	-	-	316	-	27%	-	Ibid., 163.
Frederick (2nd Ward)	1431	965	-	-	466	-	33%	-	Ibid., 163.
Frederick (3rd Ward)	1065	981	-	-	83	-	8%	-	Ibid., 163.
Frederick (4th Ward)	619	555	-	-	64	-	10%	-	Ibid., 163.

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
Frederick (5th Ward)	1352	1111	-	-	241	-	18%	-	Ibid., 163.
Frederick (6th Ward)	1379	1089	-	-	290	-	21%	-	Ibid., 163.
Frederick (7th Ward)	1493	1131	-	-	362	-	24%	-	Ibid., 163.
Middletown	2874	2633	-	-	241	-	8%	-	Ibid., 163.
Middletown (City Only)	746	659	-	-	87	-	12%	-	Ibid., 163.
Creagerstown	2006	1924	-	-	82	-	4%	-	Ibid., 164.
Emmittsburg	3168	3030	-	-	138	-	4%	-	Ibid., 164.
Emmittsburg (City Only)	706	675	-	-	31	-	4%	-	Ibid., 164.
Catoctin	1326	1308	-	-	18	-	1%	-	Ibid., 164.
Urbana	2359	1636	-	-	723	-	31%	-	Ibid., 164.
Liberty	3281	2586	-	-	695	-	21%	-	Ibid., 164.
New Market	3476	2636	-	-	840	-	24%	-	Ibid., 164.
Hauvers	1389	1367	-	-	22	-	2%	-	Ibid., 164.
Woodsboro	2064	1950	-	-	114	-	6%	-	Ibid., 164.
Petersville	2574	1781	-	-	793	-	31%	-	Ibid., 164.
Petersville (City Only)	159	87	-	-	72	-	45%	-	Ibid., 164.
Berlin (w/in Petersville)	208	163	-	-	45	-	22%	-	Ibid., 164.
Burkittsville (w/in Petersville)	293	272	-	-	21	-	7%	-	Ibid., 164.
Knoxville (w/in Petersville)	320	254	-	-	66	-	21%	-	Ibid., 164.
Mount Pleasant	1565	1176	-	-	389	-	25%	-	Ibid., 164.
Jefferson	1491	1224	-	-	267	-	18%	-	Ibid., 164.
Jefferson (City Only)	257	239	-	-	18	-	7%	-	Ibid., 164.
Mechanicstown	2340	2276	-	-	64	-	3%	-	Ibid., 164.
Mechanicstown (City Only)	583	562	-	-	21	-	4%	-	Ibid., 164.
Jackson	1699	1676	-	-	23	-	1%	-	Ibid., 164.
Myersville (w/in Jackson)	139	139	-	-	0	-	0%	-	Ibid., 164.
Johnsville	1642	1476	-	-	166	-	10%	-	Ibid., 164.

Frederick County (Cities and Towns Included)—continued

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1880	50482	42962	-	-	7520	-	15%	-	US Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V., Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, Maryland," p. 394, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1–13.pdf.
Frederick (City Only)	8659	6779	-	-	1880	-	22%	-	Ibid., 394.
1890	49512	42983	-	-	6528	-	13%	-	US Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables-Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 9–19, "Table 15. Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population by Counties: 1870 to 1890," Maryland, p. 415; "Table 19. Population by Sex, General Nativity, and Color, of Places Having 2,500 Inhabitants or More: 1890, Maryland," p. 460, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1–13.pdf.
Frederick (City Only)	8193	6616	-	-	1576	-	19%	-	Ibid., 460.
1900	51920	45905	-	-	6012	-	12%	-	US Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 9–22, "Table 19. White, Negro, and Indian Population, By Counties: 1880–1900, Maryland," p. 542, https://ww2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.
Frederick (City Only)	9296	7759	-	-	1535	-	17%	-	US Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 23–24, "Table 23. Population by Sex, General Nativity, and Color, for Places Having 2,500 Inhabitants or More: 1900, Maryland," p.620, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p11.pdf.

Washington County (Cities and Towns Included)

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1860	31417	28305	1677	1435	3112	46%	10%	5%	US Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Maryland, "Table No. 2 Population by Color and Condition," p. 214; "Table No.1-Population by Age," p. 211, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-18.pdf.
1870	34712	31874	-	-	2838	-	8%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, "Population by Counties-1790–1870, Table II, State of Maryland," p. 36, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-07.pdf.
Sharpsburg	2478	2300	-	-	178	-	7%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota (County: Anoka), "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III, State of Maryland," p.164, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-18.pdf.
Sharpsburg (City Only)	1001	940	-	-	61	-	6%	-	Ibid, 164.
Williamsport	3123	2749	-	-	374	-	12%	-	Ibid, 164.
Williamsport (City Only)	1283	1077	-	-	206	-	16%	-	Ibid, 164.
Hagerstown	6471	5589	-	-	882	-	14%	-	Ibid, 164.
Hagerstown (City Only)	5779	4910	-	-	869	-	15%	-	Ibid, 164.
Antietam ("Exclusive of city of Hagerstown")	854	851	-	-	3	-	Less than 1% (0.4%)	-	Ibid, 164.

Washington County (Cities and Towns Included)—continued

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
Ridgeville (w/in Antietam)	N/A	N/A	-	-	N/A	-	N/A	-	Ibid, 164.
Clear Spring	2763	2425	-	-	338	-	12%	-	Ibid, 164.
Clear Spring (City Only)	702	559	-	-	143	-	20%	-	Ibid, 164.
Hancock	2139	1886	-	-	253	-	12%	-	Ibid, 164.
Hancock (City Only)	860	739	-	-	121	-	14%	-	Ibid, 164.
Boonsboro	2579	2465	-	-	114	-	4%	-	Ibid, 164.
Boonsboro (City Only)	835	812	-	-	23	-	3%	-	Ibid, 164.
Cavetown	1899	1877	-	-	22	-	1%	-	Ibid, 164.
Cavetown (City Only)	181	181	-	-	0	-	0%	-	Ibid, 164.
Smithburg (w/in Cavetown)	459	453	-	-	6	-	1%	-	Ibid, 164.
Pleasant Valley	1183	1140	-	-	43	-	4%	-	Ibid, 164.
Leitersburg	1673	1658	-	-	15	-	Less than 1% (0.9%)	-	Ibid, 164.
Leitersburg (City Only)	335	335	-	-	0	-	0%	-	Ibid, 164.
Funkstown	1649	1544	-	-	105	-	6%	-	Ibid, 164.
Funkstown (City Only)	671	628	-	-	43	-	6%	-	Ibid, 164.
Sandy Hook	1316	1170	-	-	146	-	11%	-	Ibid, 164.
Tilghmanton	1489	1399	-	-	90	-	6%	-	Ibid, 164.
Conococheague	1402	1323	-	-	79	-	6%	-	Ibid, 164.
Ringgold	763	763	-	-	0	-	0%	-	Ibid, 164.
Indian Spring	1565	1503	-	-	62	-	4%	-	Ibid, 164.
Beaver Creek	1366	1232	-	-	134	-	10%	-	Ibid, 164.
1880	38561	35495	-	-	3066	-	8%	-	US Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V. Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, Maryland," p. 395; "Table VI. Population by Race, of Cities and Towns of 4,000 Inhabitants and Upward: 1880 and 1870, Maryland," p.419, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1–13.pdf.

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
Hagerstown	6627	5681	-	-	946	-	14%	-	Ibid, 419.
1890	39782	37274	-	-	2507	-	6%	-	US Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables-Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 9–19, "Table 15. Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890," Maryland, p. 415; "Table 19. Population by Sex, General Nativity, and Color, of Places Having 2,500 Inhabitants or More: 1890, Maryland," p. 460, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1–13.pdf.
Hagerstown	10118	9105	-	-	1012	-	10%	-	Ibid, 460.
1900	45133	42642	-	-	2488	-	6%	-	US Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 9–22, "Tables 19. White, Negro, and Indian Population, by Counties: 1880–1900, Maryland," p. 542, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.
Hagerstown	13591	12311	-	-	1277	-	9%	-	US Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 23–24, "Table 23. Population by Sex, General Nativity, and Color, for Places Having 2,500 Inhabitants or More: 1900, Maryland," p. 620, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p11.pdf.

District of Columbia

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1860 (Washington County)	75080	60764	11131	3185	14316	22%	19%	4%	US Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, District of Columbia, "Table No. 2, Population by Color and Condition" p. 588; Table No. 1, Population by Age and Sex," p. 587; "Table No. 3, Population of Cities, Towns, &c.- Continued," p. 588, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-45.pdf.
Georgetown (Total)	8733	6798	1358	577	1935	30%	22%	7%	Ibid., 588.
Georgetown (1st Ward)	1908	1601	224	83	307	27%	16%	4%	Ibid., 588.
Georgetown (2nd Ward)	2504	1642	627	235	862	27%	34%	9%	Ibid., 588.
Georgetown (3rd Ward)	1904	1684	128	92	220	42%	12%	5%	Ibid., 588.
Georgetown (4th Ward)	2417	1871	379	167	546	31%	23%	7%	Ibid., 588.
Washington (City)	61122	50139	9209	1774	10983	16%	18%	3%	Ibid., 588.
Washington (1st Ward)	8352	5980	2116	256	2372	11%	28%	3%	Ibid., 588.
Washington (2nd Ward)	9561	7570	1675	316	1991	16%	21%	3%	Ibid., 588.
Washington (3rd Ward)	9702	8399	968	335	1303	26%	13%	3%	Ibid., 588.
Washington (4th Ward)	11903	10068	1455	380	1835	21%	15%	3%	Ibid., 588.
Washington (5th Ward)	6301	4953	1216	132	1348	10%	21%	2%	Ibid., 588.
Washington (6th Ward)	5589	5260	216	113	329	34%	6%	2%	Ibid., 588.
Washington (7th Ward)	9714	7909	1563	242	1805	13%	19%	3%	Ibid., 588.
Remainder of District	5225	3827	564	834	1398	60%	27%	16%	Ibid., 588.

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1870 (DC)	131700	88278	-	-	43404	-	33%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Populations of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Alabama, Territory of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Territory of Colorado, Connecticut, Territory of Dakota, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, "Population by Counties-1790–1870, Table II, District of Columbia," p.18, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-05.pdf.
Georgetown (city)	11384	8113	-	-	3271	-	29%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, California (Counties: Tehama through Yuba), Connecticut, Territory of Colorado, Territory of Dakota, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Territory of Idaho (Counties: Ada through Idaho), "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III, District of Columbia," p. 97, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-13.pdf.
Georgetown (city-Wards 1–4)	N/A	N/A	-	-	N/A	-	N/A	-	Ibid., 97.
Washington (City Only)	109199	73731	-	-	35455	-	32%	-	Ibid., 97.
Washington (city-1st Ward)	16652	9294	-	-	7357	-	44%	-	Ibid., 97.
Washington (city-2nd Ward)	18474	11744	-	-	6718	-	36%	-	Ibid., 97.
Washington (city-3rd Ward)	15527	11343	-	-	4184	-	27%	-	Ibid., 97.
Washington (city-4th Ward)	18900	14424	-	-	4476	-	24%	-	Ibid., 97.
Washington (city-5th Ward)	10621	7332	-	-	3289	-	31%	-	Ibid., 97.
Washington (city-6th Ward)	11071	8337	-	-	2734	-	25%	-	Ibid., 97.
Washington (city-7th Ward)	17954	11257	-	-	6697	-	37%	-	Ibid., 97.

District of Columbia—continued

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
Remainder of District (Total)	11117	6434	-	-	4678	-	42%	-	Ibid., 97.
Remainder of District (East of 7th St. turnpike)	7032	3623	-	-	3404	-	48%	-	Ibid., 97.
Remainder of District (West of 7th St. turnpike)	4085	2811	-	-	1274	-	31%	-	Ibid., 97.
1880 (DC)	177624	118006	-	-	59596	-	34%	-	US Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V. Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, District of Columbia," p. 384; "Table VI. Population by Race, of Cities and Towns of 4,000 Inhabitants and Upward: 1880 and 1870, District of Columbia," p. 417, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1–13.pdf.
Washington (City)	147293	98895	-	-	48377	-	33%	-	Ibid., 417.
Georgetown	12578	8819	-	-	3758	-	30%	-	Ibid., 417.
1890 (DC)	230392	154695	-	-	75572	-	33%	-	US Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the of the United States, General Tables, Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 9–19, "Table 15, Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890," District of Columbia, p.405, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1–13.pdf.
1900 (Washington City)	278718	191532	-	-	86702	-	31%	-	US Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 9–22, "Table 19. White, Negro, and Indian Population, By Counties: 1880–1900, District of Columbia," p.532, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume1-p10.pdf.

Virginia

Prince William County (Cities and Towns Included)

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1860	8565	5690	519	2356	2875	82%	34%	28%	US Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Virginia, "Table No. 2-Population by Color and Condition," p. 517, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-36.pdf.
1870	7504	5691	-	-	1813	-	24%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Territory of Utah, Vermont, Virginia, "Population by Counties-1790–1870, Table II, Virginia," p. 69, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-10.pdf.
Brentsville	937	694	-	-	243	-	26%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Vermont, Virginia, Territory of Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Territory of Wyoming, "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III-State of Virginia," p. 282, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-27.pdf.
Cole's	1279	1138	-	-	141	-	11%	-	Ibid., 282.
Dumfries	844	678	-	-	166	-	20%	-	Ibid., 282.
Dumfries (City Only)	167	155	-	-	12	-	7%	-	Ibid., 282.
Gainesville	1908	1294	-	-	614	-	32%	-	Ibid., 282.
Manassas	1645	1089	-	-	556	-	34%	-	Ibid., 282.
Occoquan	891	798	-	-	93	-	10%	-	Ibid., 282.
Occoquan (City Only)	228	199	-	-	29	-	13%	-	Ibid., 282.

Prince William County (Cities and Towns Included)—continued

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1880	9180	6580	-	-	2600	-	28%	-	US Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V. Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, Virginia," p. 413, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1–13.pdf.
1890	9805	7210	-	-	2595	-	26%	-	US Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables, Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color- Tables 9–19, "Table 15. Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890," Virginia, p. 434, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1–13.pdf.
1900	11112	8240	-	-	2871	-	26%	-	US Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 9–22, "Table 19. White, Negro, and Indian Population, By Counties: 1880–1900, Virginia," p. 562, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.

Loudoun County (Cities and Towns Included)

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1860	21774	15021	1252	5501	6753	81%	31%	25%	US Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Virginia, "Table No. No. 2. Population by Color and Condition," p. 517; "Table No. 3. Population of Cities, Towns, &c.," p. 519, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-36.pdf.
Leesburg	1130	1083	47	0	47	0%	4%	0%	Ibid., 519.
Waterford	429	349	83	0	83	0%	19%	0%	Ibid., 520.
1870	20929	15238	-	-	5691	-	27%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Territory of Utah, Vermont, Virginia, "Population by Counties-1790–1870, Table II Virginia," p. 68, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-10.pdf.
Broad Run	2582	1925	-	-	657	-	25%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of the Aggregate Population, With Race, Vermont, Virginia, Territory of Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Territory of Wyoming, "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III, State of Virginia," p. 281, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-27.pdf.
Jefferson	3355	2534	-	-	821	-	24%	-	Ibid., 281.
Hillsboro (w/in Jefferson)	246	186	-	-	60	-	24%	-	Ibid., 281.
Waterford (w/in Jefferson)	419	321	-	-	98	-	23%	-	Ibid., 281.
Leesburg	4075	2857	-	-	1218	-	30%	-	Ibid., 281.
Leesburg (City Only)	1144	791	-	-	353	-	31%	-	Ibid., 281.

Loudoun County (Cities and Towns Included)—continued

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
Lovettsville	3020	2756	-	-	264	-	9%	-	Ibid., 281.
Lovettsville (City Only)	155	139	-	-	16	-	10%	-	Ibid., 281.
Mercer	4360	2727	-	-	1633	-	37%	-	Ibid., 281.
Mount Gilead	3537	2439	-	-	1098	-	31%	-	Ibid., 281.
1880	23634	16391	-	-	7243	-	31%	-	US Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V. Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, Virginia," p. 412, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1–13.pdf.
1890	23274	16696	-	-	6578	-	28%	-	US Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables, Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 9–19, "Table 15., Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890," Virginia, p. 434, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1–13.pdf.
1900	21948	16079	-	-	5868	-	27%	-	US Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 9–22, "Table 19., White, Negro, and Indian Population, by Counties: 1880–1900, Virginia," p. 561, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.

Fairfax County (Cities and Towns Included)

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1860	11834	8046	672	3116	3788	82%	32%	26%	US Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Virginia, "Table No. 2, Population by Color and Condition," p.516, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-36.pdf.
1870	12952	8667	-	-	4284	-	33%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Territory of Utah, Vermont, Virginia, "Population by Counties-1790–1870, Table II, Virginia," p. 68, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-10/pdf.
Centreville	1721	1137	-	-	584	-	34%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Vermont, Virginia, Territory of Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Territory of Wyoming, "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III-State of Virginia," p.280, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-27.pdf.
Dranesville	2055	1579	-	-	476	-	23%	-	Ibid., 280.
Falls Church	2461	1566	-	-	894	-	36%	-	Ibid., 280.
Lee	1346	1040	-	-	306	-	23%	-	Ibid., 280.
Mount Vernon	2233	1266	-	-	967	-	43%	-	Ibid., 280.
Providence	3136	2079	-	-	1057	-	34%	-	Ibid., 280.

Fairfax County (Cities and Towns Included)—continued

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1880	16025	10761	-	-	5264	-	33%	-	US Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V. Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, Virginia," p. 412, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1–13.pdf.
1890	16655	11580	-	-	5069	-	30%	-	US Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables-Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color- Tables 9–19, "Table 15.-Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890," Virginia, p. 433, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1–13.pdf.
1900	18580	13576	-	-	5003	-	27%	-	US Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 9–22, "Table 19. White, Negro, and Indian Population, by Counties: 1880–1900, Virginia," p. 561, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.

Alexandria County (Cities and Towns Included)

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1860	12652	9851	1415	1386	2801	49%	22%	11%	US Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Virginia, "Table No. 2.-Population by Color and Condition," p. 516, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-36.pdf.
1870	16755	9444	-	-	7310	-	44%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Territory of Utah, Vermont, Virginia, "Population by Counties-1790–1870, Table II, Virginia," p. 68–69, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-10.pdf.
Arlington	1374	517	-	-	857	-	62%	-	Ibid., 279.
Jefferson	1256	383	-	-	873	-	70%	-	Ibid., 279.
Washington	555	275	-	-	280	-	51%	-	Ibid., 279.
1880	17546	9972	-	-	7574	-	43%	-	US Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V. Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860, Virginia," p. 412, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1–13.pdf.
1890	18597	11361	-	-	7236	-	39%	-	US Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables-Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 9–19, "Table 15. Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890," Virginia, p. 433; "Table 19., Population by Sex, General Nativity, and Color, of Places Having 2,500 Inhabitants or More: 1890," Virginia, p. 483, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1–13.pdf.

Alexandria County (Cities and Towns Included)—continued

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1900	11430	8963	-	-	2467	-	22%	-	US Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 9–22, "Table 19. White, Negro, and Indian Population, by Counties: 1880–1900, Virginia," p. 561, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.

City of Alexandria[2]

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1870	13570	8269	-	-	5300	-	39%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Vermont, Virginia, Territory of Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Territory of Wyoming, "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III-State of Virginia," p. 278, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-27.pdf.
Alexandria (1st Ward)	3169	2183	-	-	986	-	31%	-	Ibid., 278.
Alexandria (2nd Ward)	1932	1228	-	-	704	-	36%	-	Ibid., 278.
Alexandria (3rd Ward)	4655	2931	-	-	1724	-	37%	-	Ibid., 278.
Alexandria (4th Ward)	3814	1927	-	-	1886	-	49%	-	Ibid., 278.

[2] The city of Alexandria became an independent city (no longer a part of Alexandria county) in 1870.

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1880	13659	8279	-	-	5380	-	39%	-	US Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of The United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table VI. Population, by Race, of Cities and Towns of 4,000 Inhabitants and Upward: 1880 and 1870, Virginia," p. 425, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1–13.pdf.
1890	14339	9226	-	-	5113	-	36%	-	US Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables, Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color- Tables 9–19, "Table 15., Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890," Virginia, p. 433; "Table 19. Population by Sex, General Nativity, and Color, of Places Having 2,500 Inhabitants or More: 1890," Virginia, p. 483, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1–13.pdf.
1900	14528	9986	-	-	4533	-	31%	-	US Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 23–24, "Table 23. Population by Sex, General Nativity, and Color, for Places Having 2,500 Inhabitants or More: 1900, Virginia," p. 644, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p11.pdf.

West Virginia

Jefferson County (Cities and Towns Included)

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
1860[3]	14535	10064	511	3960	4471	89%	31%	27%	US Census Bureau, 1860 Census: Population of the United States, Classified Population of the States and Territories, by Counties, Virginia, "Table No. 2. -Population by Color and Condition," p. 516, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-36.pdf.
Bolivar	1130	1029	74	27	101	27%	9%	2%	Ibid., 518.
Charlestown	1376	1009	127	240	367	65%	27%	17%	Ibid., 518.
Harpers Ferry	1339	1212	39	88	127	69%	9%	7%	Ibid., 518.
Shepherdstown	1219	926	39	254	293	87%	24%	21%	Ibid., 518.
1870	13219	9731	-	-	3488	-	26%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Territory of Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Territory of Wyoming, "Population by Counties-1790–1870, Table II, State of West Virginia, p. 71, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-11.pdf.
Averill	2030	1467	-	-	563	-	28%	-	US Census Bureau, 1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, The General Tables of Aggregate Population, With Race, Vermont, Virginia, Territory of Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Territory of Wyoming, "Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties, Table III-State of West Virginia," p.285, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-27.pdf.
Smithfield (w/in Averill)	361	267	-	-	94	-	26%	-	Ibid., 285.
Bolivar	2892	2455	-	-	437	-	15%	-	Ibid., 285.

[3] Jefferson County was located in Virginia until 1863 when it was annexed and became a county in West Virginia.

Decade	Total Pop.	White Pop.	Free Black Pop. (1860 Only)	Enslaved Pop. (1860 Only)	Black Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Black Pop. (1860 Only)	% of Total Black Pop. to Total Pop.	% of Enslaved Pop. to Total Pop. (1860 Only)	Source(s)
Bolivar (City Only)	N/A	N/A	-	-	N/A	-	N/A	-	Ibid., 285.
Chapline	1867	1411	-	-	456	-	24%	-	Ibid., 285.
Grant	4571	2957	-	-	1614	-	35%	-	Ibid., 285.
Charlestown (w/in Grant)	1593	1056	-	-	537	-	34%	-	Ibid., 285.
Harpers Ferry (w/in Grant)	N/A	N/A	-	-	N/A	-	N/A	-	Ibid., 285.
Shepherd	1859	1441	-	-	418	-	22%	-	Ibid., 285.
Shepherdstown (w/in Shepherd)	1389	1041	-	-	348	-	25%	-	Ibid., 285.
1880	15005	10958	-	-	4045	-	27%	-	US Census Bureau, 1880 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Population by Race, Sex, and Nativity, "Table V. Population by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1870, West Virginia," p. 413, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1–13.pdf.
1890	15553	11437	-	-	4116	-	26%	-	US Census Bureau, 1890 Census: Volume 1. Report on the Population of the United States, General Tables, Part 1, Sex, General Nativity, and Color- Tables 9–19, "Table 15. Native and Foreign Born and White and Negro Population, by Counties: 1870 to 1890," West Virginia, p. 435, ftp://ftp2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/volume-1/1890a_v1–12.pdf.
1900	15935	11994	-	-	3941	-	25%	-	US Census Bureau, 1900 Census: Volume 1. Population, Part 1, General Tables, Sex, General Nativity, and Color, Tables 9–22, "Table 19. White, Negro and Indian Population, By Counties: 1880–1900, West Virginia," p. 563, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/volume-1/volume-1-p10.pdf.

Appendix E

Census Databases for Case Study Districts

African Americans of Dumfries District, Prince William County, Virginia, 1810, 1860-1900 US Population Census

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	**1810 PAGE#**	**Dumfries Dist. SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**# in HOUSE**	**white household**	
2	257	Oliver	John	5		
3	257	Williams	Chloe	3		
4	257	[?]abbury	James	3		
5	258	Bates	John	9		wife Sally (Mackey)
6	258	Bates	Cyrus	4		
7	258	Black	John	5		
8	258	Branader?	Blythe	3		
9	258	Carr	Nelly	1		
10	258	Cole	Nelly	2		husband William, enslaved by James McDonald, can read/write, sometime preacher, 40-50 in 1816 (PWC1784, p. 91, 93)
11	258	Cole	Henry	10		
12	258	Cole	Samuel	3		
13	258	Cole	David	1		
14	258	Cole	William	10		
15	258	Cole	Sally	4		
16	258	Johnson	Frances	9		
17	258	Kendall	George	12		
18	258	Landsdown	Samuel	1		
19	258	Makee	George	3		son of Nancy
20	258	Ranger	Solomon	4		
21	258	unknown	Jesse & Jacob	3		
22	259	Burke	Polly	6		
23	259	Henderson (W)	Alexander		5	21 slaves
24	259	Nickins	James	5		
25	289	Botts	Thomas	3		
26	289	Nickins	Benjamin	1		

	A	B	C	D	E	F
27	289	Nickins	Daniel	3		
28	289	Sampson	Jesse	1		
29	289	Starke	Margaret	5		
30	289	Walker	George	4		
31	290	Calvert	Frances	6		
32	290	Lucas	Philip	4		
33	290	Tayloe (W)	John		12	212 slaves
34	291	Chapman	Samuel	6		
35	291	Webster	Daniel	1		
36	291	Burns	Henry		1	2 slaves
37	291	unknown	Fanny (free)	6		
38	291	Franklin	Isaac		1	1 slave
39	292	Lewis	William	2		
40	292	Thomas	Grace	4		
41	292	Waggoner	Margaret	2		
42	293	Buckley	Nelly	1		
43	293	Carr	Daniel	1		
44	293	Grayson	David	1		
45	293	unknown	Amy (free)	2		
46				159		
47			additional in white households		19	
48			total free	178		
49			total enslaved	1309		
50				1487		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	**1860 PAGE#**	**Dumfries Dist. SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**KEY**
2	86	Williams	John (M)	46	1	(WH - Bossel) farm laborer	**B-black**
3	86		Olley (M)	59	7	(O) farmer ($170)	**M-mulatto**
4	86		Betsy (M)	58			**W-white**
5	86		Lucy (M)	21			**WH-white household**
6	86		Mary A. (M)	16			**O-owner**
7	86		Leanna (M)	14			**R-renter**
8	86		Cecilia (M)	13			**[name]-surname within other household**
9	86		Thomas (M)	11			**(name)-original transcription**
10	87	Grayson	John (B)	45	2	(R) farm laborer	
11	87	Grayson [Burke]	Sally (M)	55			
12	88	Dean	Mary A. (M)	17	1	(WH - McNair) domestic	
13	88	Williams	Jane (B)	9	1	(WH - Evans)	
14	88	Williams	George W. (W?)	34	4	(R) farm laborer	
15	88		Julia (B)	24			
16	88		Frederic (M)	5			
17	88		Lavinia (M)	7			
18	90	Dean	Marshall (M)	30	8	(R) boatman	
19	90		Louisa (M)	30			
20	90		Lawson (M)	12			
21	90		Mason (M)	10			
22	90		William (M)	8			
23	90		John (M)	6			
24	90		Morris (M)	5			
25	90		Malicia (M)	6 months			
26	90	Dean	Derisa (M)	52	5	(O) ($25)	
27	90		Orange (M)	11			
28	90	Dean [Hill]	Mary (B)	10			
29	90	Dean [Hill]	John (B)	9			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
30	90	Dean [Williams]	Mary (M)	92, blind			
31	90	Hill	Henry (B)	53	1	(R) farm laborer	
32	90	Nickins	Lindsey (M)	10	1	(WH - Stonnel)	
33	93	Johnson	Eliza (M)	12	1	(WH - Dowell)	
34	94	Bates	Jesse (M)	52	3	(R) farm laborer	
35	94		Emily (B)	35			
36	94		Elizabeth (M)	7			
37	94	Grayson	Frank (M)	62	8	(R) farmer	
38	94		Fanny (B)	50			
39	94		Emma J. (M)	25			
40	94		Littie A. (M)	22			
41	94		Samuel (M)	20		boatman	
42	94		Joseph (M)	17		boatman	
43	94		Livinia (M)	14			
44	94		Rocksylania (M)	10			
45	97	Cole	Ann	23	1	(WH - Annis) domestic	
46	97	Ranger	Louisa (M)	12	1	(WH - Brawner)	
47	98	Cole	Julia (M)	32	6	(R)	
48	98		Elizabeth (M)	10			
49	98		John (M)	8			
50	98		George (M)	6			
51	98		Sarah (M)	4			
52	98		Catherine (M)	2			
53	98	Cole	Henry (M)	58	10	(O) farmer ($815)	
54	98		Betsy (M)	48			
55	98		Albert (M)	26		farm laborer	
56	98		Daniel (M)	23		farm laborer	
57	98		Amanda (M)	19			
58	98		Margaret (M)	18			
59	98		Mary (M)	12			
60	98		Martha (M)	11			
61	98		James (M)	11			
62	98		Nancy (M)	9			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
63	99	Arnold	Jesse (M)	45	1	(WH - Chapman) farm laborer	
64	99	Cole	Maria (B)	13	1	(WH - Shepherd)	
65	99	Thomas	Charles (M)	28	1	(WH - Keys) farm laborer	
66	100	Thomas	Maggie (M)	19	2	(WH - Keys) domestic	
67	100		Andrew (M)	11			
68	101	Grayson	George (M)	21	1	(WH-L.Cole) farm laborer	
69	102	Cole	Lewis (M)	64	6	(R) farmer (Independent Hill P.O)	
70	102		Priscilla (M)	65			
71	102		Newman (M)	25		farm laborer	
72	102		Alexander (M)	21		farm laborer	
73	102		Ann M. (M)	17			
74	102		Lucy (M)	1			
75	103	Reid	Nelly (M)	66	3	(O) ($150)	
76	103	Reid [Jackson]	Emily (M)	5			
77	103	Reid [Fountain]	Aaron (M)	25		farm laborer	
78	103	Fountain	Thomas (M)	32	1	(R) farm laborer	
79	104	Bates	Betsy (M)	55	6	(R)	
80	104		Henry (M)	19		farm laborer	
81	104		Jesse (M)	25		(O) farm laborer ($350)	
82	104		Pheobe (M)	26			
83	104		Hezekiah	3			
84	104		Isaiah	1			
85	104	Bates	Robert (M)	30	4	(R) farm laborer	
86	104		Amelia (M)	27			
87	104		Harrison (M)	8			
88	104		James (M)	4			
89	104	Johnson	Celery (M)	6	1	(WH-Curtis)	
90	104	Thomas	John (B)	26	4	(O) farm laborer ($230)	
91	104		Mary (M)	23			
92	104		Louisa (M)	4			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
93	104		Wyleman (M)	6 months			
94	104	Tuel	Caroline (M)	10	1	(WH - Love)	
95	104	Williams	Henry (M)	38	7	(R) farm laborer	
96	104		Delia (M)	15			
97	104		Dennis (M)	12			
98	104		Uriah (M)	5			
99	104	Williams [Johnson]	Hannah (M)	35			
100	104	Williams [Johnson]	Lucretia (M)	3			
101	104	Williams [Johnson]	John F. (M)	2 months			
102	105	Bates	Creary (M)	27	6	(R)	
103	105		Elizabeth (M)	20			
104	105		Martha (M)	16			
105	105		Louisa (M)	10			
106	105		James (M)	7			
107	105	Bates [Hill]	Joseph (M)	3			
108	105	Cornwall	George (W?)	74	3	(R) farm laborer, pauper	
109	105		Elizabeth (W?)	38			
110	105		Patsy E. (M)	7			
111	105	Kindrell	Thornton (M)	72	4	(R) farmer	
112	105		Sally (M)	80			
113	105		Thornton (M)	33		farm laborer	
114	105		Elizabeth (M)	24			
115	105	Florence	Benjamin F. (W)	24	5	white (O) farmer	
116	105	Florence [King]	Matilda (M)	23			
117	105	Florence [King]	James (M)	5			
118	105	Florence [King]	Thomas (M)	3			
119	105	Florence [King]	Martha (M)	1			
120	105	Williams	Zeal (M)	43	6	(R) farmer	
121	105		Catherine (M)	40			
122	105		George (M)	20		farm laborer	
123	105		Jane (M)	18			
124	105		Andrew (M)	12			
125	105		Sarah (M)	6			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
126	106	Appleby	Sarah (W?)	39	4	(R) pauper	
127	106		Emeline (M)	11			
128	106		Henry W. (W?)	5			
129	106		Sarah C. (W?)	2			
130	106	Cole	Thomas (M)	53	5	(R) blacksmith	
131	106		Mary (M)	30			
132	106		Martha (M)	15			
133	106		Nancy (M)	3			
134	106		John H. (M)	1			
135	106	Cole	Branum (M)	36	5	(R) farm laborer	
136	106		Nelly (M)	37			
137	106		Solomon (M)	25		farm laborer	
138	106		Sarah (M)	19			
139	106		Sofa (M)	10			
140	106	McKee	Fanny (M)	60	2	(O) ($300)	
141	106		William (M)	32		boatman	
142	106	Ranger	Sally (B)	60	2	(R)	
143	106		Charlotte (B)	20			
144					142		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	**1870 PAGE#**	**Dumfries Dist. SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**1877 Voter List**	**Comments**	**Agriculture Census**	**KEY**
2	2	Howard	James (M)	32	7	(R) laborer	freeholder	USCT?		**B-black**
3	2		Catherine (M)	23		house keeping				**M-mulatto**
4	2		Charlotte V (M)	5						**W-white**
5	2		Hardy C (M)	2						**WH-white household**
6	2	Gerson (Geason)	Octavia (M)	13		at home				**O-owner**
7	2	Gerson (Geason)	Charlotte (M)	72		no occupation				**R-renter**
8	2	Cole	Wesley (B)	12		at home				**[name]-surname within other household**
9	2	Lee	Lizzie (B)	70	1	(WH - Keys) no occupation				**(name)-original transcription**
10	2	Smith	Jane (B)	16	2	(WH - Chapman) domestic servant				
11	2		Martha (M)	0						
12	2	Williams	Olly (M)	68	2	(O) farming	X		yes	
13	2		Elizabeth (M)	60		keeping house				
14	2	Williams	Lucy (M)	30	6	keeping house				
15	2		George [E.](M)	30		(R) laborer	freeholder	USCT?		
16	2		John T (M)	6						
17	2		George F (M)	5						
18	2		Rythien? (M)	1						
19	2		Lewis (M)	3 mo.						
20	3	Howard	Mildred (M)	25	3	(R) laborer				
21	3		Wilford (M)	4						
22	3		James A. (M)	2						
23	3	Nicken (Wicks)	William (B)	21	4	(R) farm laborer	non freeholder			
24	3		Mary (B)	21		keeping house				
25	3		Charles A (M)	5						
26	3		William (B)	5 mo.						
27	4	Marshall	Samuel (B)	47	2	(R) blacksmith	freeholder			
28	4	Jones	Hanna A. (B)	21		(Samuel Marshall) house keeper				
29	4	Powers	Lucy (B)	15	1	(WH-John N. Tolson) domestic servant				
30	4	Williams	George (W)	58	2	(R) farm laborer	freeholder			
31	4		Mary (B)	29		house keeper				
32	5	Jones	William (M)	70	4	(R) laborer	X			
33	5		Mary (M)	69		keeping house				
34	5	Dapps	Pauline (M)	24		no occupation				
35	5	Carey (Casy)	Anna (M)	2						

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
36	5	Keys	Sandy (Slade) (M)	62	1	(WH-Davis) farm laborer	X			
37	5	Williams	John (M)	32	1	(WH-Rausel?) laborer	non freeholder			
38	6	Jackson	William (B)	32	1	(WH-Knoxville) farm laborer	X			
39	7	Reed	Laura (M)	13	1	(WH-Amidon) domestic servant				
40	7	Turner	Ludwell (B)	53	3	(R) farm laborer	X			
41	7		Mary (B)	53		keeping house				
42	7	West	Abba (B)	98		no occupation				
43	7	Nicken	Margaret (B)	13	1	(WH-Dunnington) domestic servant				
44	7	Payne	Alexander (M)	13	1	(WH-Dunnington) domestic servant				
45	8	Coleman	Mary (B)	22	1	(WH-Merchant) domestic servant				
46	8	Cornwell	Patsie (M)	18	1	(WH-Wheat) domestic servant Dumfries Town				
47	8	Dyson	Thomas (B)	72	1	(WH-Wheat) laborer Dumfries Town	X			
48	8	Jasper	Maria (B)	50	1	(WH-Wheat) no occupation Dumfries Town				
49	8	Tuel	Phillip (M)	12	1	(WH-Wheat) servant Dumfries Town		James C. Muschett (W; M in 1880) also listed in the Wheat household, occupied as a miller		
50	8	Tuell	Margaret (M)	13	1	(WH-Merchant) domestic servant, Dumfries Town				
51	9	Doil	Henrietta (M)	35	5	(R) keeping house Dumfries Town				
52	9		Louie (Louise?) (M)	17		at home	X			
53	9		Grandison (M)	15		at home	X			
54	9		William (M)	4						
55	9		Henrietta (M)	3						
56	9	Tuell	Margaret (M)	45	3	(O) keeping house Dumfries Town				
57	9		Jane E. (M)	17		no occupation				

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
58	9		John (M)	4						
59	13	Taylor	John (B)	60	6	(R) farm laborer	X			
60	13		Margaret (M)	45		keeping house				
61	13		Mary (B)	4						
62	13		Charles (M)	3						
63	13	Meredith	Phillip (B)	11						
64	13	Meredith	Samuel (B)	14		at home	X			
65	13	Meredith	Benjamin (B)	9	1	(WH-Weedon) domestic servant				
66	14	Bates	Betsy	75	2	(R) keeping house				
67	14		Henry (B)	28		laborer	non freeholder			
68	14	Cole	Henry (B)	70	8	(O) farming ($1000)	freeholder		yes	
69	14		Betsey	60		keeping house				
70	14		Martha E. (M)	22		domestic servant				
71	14		James E. (M)	22		works on farm				
72	14		Nancy (M)	20		no occupation				
73	14		Julia (M)	40		domestic servant				
74	14		George (M)	16		at home	non freeholder			
75	14		Sarah A. (M)	14		at home				
76	14	Cole	Brannon (M)	50	4	(R) farm laborer	non freeholder			
77	14		Nellie (B)	52		keeping house				
78	14		Soloman (B)	30		farm laborer	non freeholder			
79	14	Davis	George (M)	6						
80	14	Thomas	John (B)	35	6	(R) laborer	non freeholder			
81	14		Mary (B)	31		keeping house				
82	14		John W. (B)	7						
83	14		Wileman (B)	8						
84	14		Betty A. (B)	4						
85	14		Jane (B)	2						
86	15	Bates	Jesse (M)	37	9	(R) laborer	freeholder			
87	15		Phebe (M)	39		keeping house				
88	15		Hezekiah (M)	14		at home	X			
89	15		Thomas (M)	11						
90	15		Noah (M)	10						
91	15		Jesse (M)	3						
92	15		Mary (M)	5						
93	15		Fanny (M)	2						
94	15		Archie (M)	1						
95	15	Cole	Edward (M)	30	7	(R) laborer	X			
96	15		Eliza (B)	25		keeping house				
97	15		Mary C. (M)	4						
98	15		Adeline (M)	5 mo.						

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
99	15		Nancy (B)	14		at home				
100	15		John H. (B)	8						
101	15	Ranger	Sally (B)	75		no occupation				
102	16	Burke	Charles (M)	25	3	(R) farm laborer	freeholder			
103	16		Mary F. (M)	21		keeping house				
104	16		Ida (M)	5 mo.						
105	16	Cole	Albert (M)	35	4	(R) farm laborer	non freeholder			
106	16		Rebecca (M)	25		keeping house				
107	16		William (M)	1						
108	16		Martha (M)	1 mo.						
109	16	McKey	William	46	4	farm laborer	freeholder		yes	
110	16		Fanny (M)	28		keeping house				
111	16		Fanny (B)	80		(O) no occupation				
112	16	Thomas	Henry (M)	14		at home	non freeholder			
113	17	Blew	Oscar (B)	13	1	(WH-Maddox) servant				
114	17	Davis	Mary (B)	27	2	(WH-Clagget) domestic servant				
115	17		Willie (B)	6						
116	17	Fisher	Tasker (B)	15	1	(WH-Brawner) domestic servant	X			
117	19	Davis	James (M)	30	6	(R) farm laborer	non freeholder			
118	19		Sarah (M)	40		keeping house				
119	19		George (M)	5						
120	19		Lucy (M)	3						
121	19		Willie (M)	4 mo.						
122	19	Cole	Gusta (M)	9						
123	19	Long	Thornton (M)	68	2	(R) farm laborer	X			
124	19		Cassy (M)	69		keeping house				
125	19	Porter	Catherine (B)	18	2	(WH-Stonnell) domestic servant				
126	19		Milton (M)	6 mo.						
127	19	Washington	George A. (M)	27	1	(WH-Fairfax) laborer	X			
128	20	Brown	Thomas (M)	50	1	(WH-Kincheloe) farm laborer	non freeholder			
129	20	Brown	Maria (M)	48	1	(WH-Kincheloe) domestic servant				
130	20	Henderson	Ellen (M)	37	6	(O) keeping house ($650)				
131	20		Robert (B)	16		works about	X			
132	20		William W. (B)	18		farm laborer	X			
133	20		Ann M. (B)	13		at home				
134	20		Edward (B)	10						

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
135	20		Henry (M)	1						
136	20	Long	George (M)	31	10	(R) farm laborer	X			
137	20		Ellen (M)	33		keeping house				
138	20		Ann M. (M)	9 mo.						
139	20	Fisher	Fanny (M)	6						
140	20	Fisher	Esau (B)	5						
141	20	Fisher	Jacob (B)	5						
142	20	Fisher	Henry (B)	2						
143	20	Keys	Mary (B)	59		no occupation				
144	20	West	Mary (B)	24						
145	20	West	Peter (M)	2 mo.						
146	20	Nash	Stephen (B)	60	7	(R) farm laborer	X			
147	20		Dianna (M)	48		keeping house				
148	20		James H. (M)	17		laborer	X			
149	20		Ann E (M)	5						
150	20		Jesse E. (M)	2						
151	20		Stephen (M)	1 mo.						
152	20	Howison	Paricilla (B)	80		no occupation				
153	20	Porter	Caroline (B)	50	6	(R) keeping house				
154	20		Charles E. (B)	21		boatman	holding not indicated			
155	20		Edmonia (B)	14		domestic servant				
156	20		Hayward (B)	9						
157	20		Andrew (B)	3						
158	20		Caroline (M)	18		no occupation				
159	20	Porter	Alice (B)	2	1	(WH-Frazier)				
160	21	Thomas	Richard (M)	69	7	(R) farm laborer	freeholder			
161	21		Sophia (M)	44		keeping house				
162	21		Theodore (M)	13		at home				
163	21		Arthur (M)	11		at home				
164	21		Luther (M)	8						
165	21		Ellen (M)	6						
166	21		James E. (M)	4						
167	22	Alexander	Harry (B)	80	1	(WH-Keys) laborer				
168					165					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	**1880 PAGE#**	**Dumfries Dist. SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**1877 Voter List**	**Comments**	**Agriculture Census**	**KEY**
2	1	Henderson	Bush (B)	24	1	(WH-Alexander) servant	X			**B-black**
3	1	Johnson	Georgianna (B)	18	1	(WH-Alexander) servant				**M-mulatto**
4	2	Tewell	Margaret (B)	22	1	(WH-Merchant) servant				**W-white**
5	3	Davis	Nellie (B)	10	1	(WH-Merchant) servant				**WH-white household**
6	4	Holms	Daniel (B)	22	3	(R)				**[name]-surname within other household**
7	4		Sarah (B)	23						**(name)-original transcription**
8	4		Edward (B)	1						
9	4	Reid	David (B)	18	1	(WH-Keys) servant				
10	4	Washington	George (B)	18	1	(WH-Ennis) servant				
11	5	Baits	Betsey (M)	90	2	keeping house				
12	5		King (B)	35		laborer				
13	5	Cole	Betsy (M)	70	5	keeping house			yes, owner	
14	5		Julia (M)	54		keeping house				
15	5		Mary (M)	34		keeping house				
16	5		George (M)	22		farmer				
17	5		William (M)	2						
18	5	Cole	James (B)	32	3	farmer	X			
19	5		Permilia (B)	24		keeping house				
20	5		Tompson (B)	1						
21	5	Monroe	Rusel (M)	27	1	(WH-Wood?) servant	X			
22	5	Thomas	John (B)	46	7	farmer	X			
23	5		Mary (B)	43		keeping house				
24	5		Wileman (B)	20		farmer				
25	5		John (B)	17		farmer				
26	5		Betsy A. (B)	13		attending school				
27	5		Margy (B)	9		attending school				
28	5	Thomas [Reid]	Joseph (M)	6		adopted son				
29	5	Thomas	John (B)	8	1	(WH-Benj.Cole) servant				
30	6	Thomas	Ada (B)	12	1	(WH-Chapman) servant				
31	7	Baits	Phebe (B)	45	10	keeping house				
32	7		Isikiah (B)	24		farmer	X			
33	7		Thomas (B)	21		farmer				
34	7		Noah (B)	19		farmer				
35	7		Mary (B)	17				can read/write		
36	7		Jesse (B)	15		laborer		cannot read/write		
37	7		Fanny (B)	14				cannot read/write		
38	7		Archie (B)	12				cannot read/write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
39	7		Thorsby (B)	9						
40	7		Robert (B)	3						
41	7	Brown	Thomas (M)	69	2	laborer	non freeholder			
42	7	Brown [Simes] (Sunes)	George (M)	24		(Thos. Brown) school teacher	X			
43	7	Bumay? (Barney)	Charles (B)	20	2	(WH-Clark) servant				
44	7	Bumay? (Barney)	Martha (B)	9		(WH-Clark)				
45	7	Davis	James (B)	45	11	farmer	non freeholder			
46	7		Sarah (B)	40		keeping house				
47	7		Gustavus (B)	19		laborer				
48	7		George (B)	16		laborer				
49	7		Lucy (B)	13		attending school				
50	7		Nellie (B)	9		attending school				
51	7		Albert (B)	8		attending school				
52	7		William (B)	6						
53	7		Frances (B)	4						
54	7		Lucy (B)	3						
55	7		Harriet (B)	3 mo.						
56	7	McKey	William (M)	50	4	farmer	freeholder		yes, owner	
57	7		Fanny (M)	34		keeping house				
58	7		George (M)	14		attending school				
59	7		Maria (M)	6		attending school				
60	8	Cole	Alexander (B)	43	6	farmer	X		yes, share tenant	
61	8		Margaret (B)	30		keeping house				
62	8		Louisa (B)	15		at home		cannot read/write		
63	8		Robert (B)	14		at home		cannot read/write		
64	8		Jane (B)	12		at home		cannot read/write		
65	8		Maria (B)	10		at home				
66	8	Long	George (B)	47	11	laborer	X		yes, tenant	
67	8		Mary (B)	40		keeping house				
68	8		Tasker (B)	24		laborer				
69	8		Harriet (B)	18		at home		cannot read/write		
70	8		Esau (B)	17		laborer		cannot read/write		
71	8		Jacob (B)	17		laborer		cannot read/write		
72	8		Ann (B)	12				cannot read/write		
73	8		Henry (B)	14				cannot read/write		
74	8		Thornton (B)	7						
75	8		Ella (B)	5						
76	8		John (B)	2						
77	9	Arnold	Jesse (M)	60	5	farmer	non freeholder			
78	9	Arnold [Bruce]	Aggie (M)	45		keeping house				
79	9	Arnold [Bruce]	Isabella (M)	25		at home				

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
80	9	Arnold [Bruce]	Arcilia (M)	9		at home				
81	9	Arnold [Bruce]	William (M)	2		at home				
82	9	Chapman	Henry (B)	31	3	farmer	non freeholder			
83	9		Linda (B)	20		keeping house				
84	9		Henry (B)	2						
85	9	Douglass	Frank (M)	23	1	(WH-Wilson) servant				
86	9	Jennings	F (M)	42	4	farmer	X			
87	9		Mary (M)	30		keeping house				
88	9		William (M)	12		at school (b.Ohio)				
89	9		Hugh (M)	8		at school (b.Ohio)				
90	10	Jackson	B. (B)	70	6	farmer	X			
91	10		Lucy (B)	58		keeping house				
92	10		Charles (B)	21		farmer				
93	10		Martha (B)	16		at home		cannot read/write		
94	10		John (B)	12		at home		cannot read/write		
95	10		Jane (B)	10		at home		cannot read/write		
96	11	Fletcher	Jim (M)	47	1	(WH-Clark) servant				
97	11	Porter	Oscar (B)	23	3	laborer				
98	11		Julia (M)	18		keeping house				
99	11		Elizabeth (M)	1						
100	11	Porter	Charles (B)	34	8	laborer	prob. non freeholder			
101	11		Caroline (B)	25		keeping house				
102	11		Mary (B)	9						
103	11		Edward (B)	8						
104	11		Luther (B)	6						
105	11		Mandy (B)	3						
106	11		Ida (B)	2						
107	11		Harvey (B)	9 mo.						
108	11	Porter	Caroline (B)	57	3	keeping house				
109	11		Alice (B)	12		at home		cannot read/write		
110	11		Earnest (B)	7						
111	12	Bell (Boll)	John (B)	32	6	sailor	X	can read/write		
112	12		Jane (B)	21		keeping house				
113	12		Ellen (B)	4						
114	12		William (B)	2						
115	12		Joseph (B)	1						
116	12		John (B)	3 mo.						
117	12	Henderson	Ellen (B)	49	5	keeping house				
118	12		Edward (B)	18		sailor		cannot read/write		
119	12		Henry (B)	12		at home		attended school		
120	12		Nellie (B)	7						

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
121	12		Annie (B)	23				cannot read/write		
122	12	Porter	Andrew (B)	14	1	(WH-Stonnell) servant		cannot read/write		
123	12	Williams	Pat (B)	36	7	farmer	X			
124	12		Ellen (B)	30		keeping house				
125	12		Willis (B)	14		laborer		cannot read/write		
126	12		Turner (B)	12		laborer		cannot read/write		
127	12		Calvin (B)	10		laborer		cannot read/write		
128	12		Frances (B)	6		at home		cannot read/write		
129	12		Julia (B)	4		at home				
130	13	Berk	Charles (B)	34	7	farmer	freeholder (purchased 10 acres from John W. Chapman in 1872)		yes, owner	
131	13		Mary (B)	32		keeping house		can read/write		
132	13		Ida (B)	10				attended school		
133	13		William (B)	5						
134	13		Luther (B)	3						
135	13		Charles (B)	4						
136	13		Daisy (B)	2 mo.						
137	13	Grason	Dennis (M)	25	5	farmer	X			
138	13		Agness (M)	22		keeping house				
139	13		Ella (M)	9						
140	13		Sophronia (M)	6						
141	13		Elsworth (M)	2						
142	13	Howard	James (M)	48	9	farmer	freeholder		yes, owner	
143	13		Catharine (B)	42		keeping house				
144	13		Victoria (B)	15				can read/write		
145	13		Hida (B)(son)	12		attending school				
146	13		Kate (B)	10				attended school		
147	13		John (B)	8						
148	13		Isa (B)(son)	5						
149	13		Pheney (B)	4						
150	13		Nancy (B)	2						
151	13	Howard	Peter (M)	26	1	farmer	non freeholder		yes, share tenant	
152	13	Lomax	Robert (B)	26	1	laborer	X	can read/write		
153	13	Marshall	Samuel (B)	54	5	blacksmith	freeholder	can read/write	yes, share tenant	
154	13		Hannah (B)	28		keeping house				
155	13		Joseph (B)	3						
156	13		Charles (B)	1						
157	13		John (B)	6 mo.						

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
158	13	Nickens	William (B)	30	6	farmer	non freeholder	can read/write	yes, tenant	
159	13		Mary (B)	29		keeping house				
160	13		George (B)	13				cannot read/write		
161	13		Thomas (B)	8						
162	13		Emma (B)	5						
163	13		Robert (B)	1						
164	14	Johnson	Thomas (B)	30	1	(WH-Tavenor) servant	X			
165	14	Wilson	Jacob (B)	26	1	(WH-Tavenor) servant	X	can read/write		
166	15	Fisher	Fanny (B)	18	1	(WH-Cain) servant				
167	17	Kendal	George (M)	49	8	farmer	X		yes, share tenant	
168	17		Martha (M)	35		keeping house				
169	17		Florance (M)	10				attended school		
170	17		Martha (M)	10				attended school		
171	17		Lucretia (M)	8				attended school		
172	17		William (M)	7						
173	17		Charles (M)	4						
174	17		George (M)	1						
175	17	Williams	George [E.](M)	40	9	farmer	freeholder	can read/write	yes, owner	
176	17		John (M)	15		laborer		attended school		
177	17		George (M)	14		laborer		attended school		
178	17		Rythew (M)	11				attended school		
179	17		Lawson (M)	9				attended school		
180	17		Catharine (M)	8				attended school		
181	17		Diane (M)	6				attended school		
182	17		Maydeal (M)	4						
183	17		Zeal (M)	9 mo.						
184	17	Williams	Andrew (B)	32	6	farmer	non freeholder	can read/write	yes, owner	
185	17		Louisa (B)	27		keeping house		can read/write		
186	17		James (B)	9				attended school		
187	17		William (B)	7				attended school		
188	17		Charles (B)	4						
189	17		Mary (B)	1						
190	17	Williams	Zeal (M)	64	4	farmer	freeholder		yes, owner	
191	17		Jane (M)	39		keeping house				
192	17		Martha (M)	7				attended school		
193	17		Josephine (M)	5				attended school		
194	18	Baits	William (B)	29	4	sailor	X		yes, tenant	
195	18		Patsy (B)	25		keeping house				
196	18		Mason (B)	5						
197	18		John (B)	2						
198	19	Cary	Hannah (B)	50	2	keeping house				
199	19		Martha (B)	20		at home		can read/write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
200	19	Johnson	Richard (B)	50	8	farmer	X			
201	19		Martha (B)	40		keeping house			yes, tenant	
202	19		Mary (B)	13		at home		cannot read/write		
203	19		Nora (B)	12		at home		cannot read/write		
204	19		Frederick (B)	8		at home				
205	19		Martha (B)	6		at home				
206	19		Louisa (B)	4		at home				
207	19		Granduson (B)	2						
208	19	Williams	Thomas (M)	28	5	farmer	freeholder (bought 40a. From Olley Williams in 1875)	can read/write	yes, share tenant	
209	19		Nancy (M)	27		keeping house				
210	19		Harriet (M)	4						
211	19		Edward (M)	3						
212	19		Lucy (M)	1						
213	20	Hammond	James (B)	47	2	farmer	X (bought 38 a. from Olley Williams in 1875)		yes, owner	
214	20		Elizabeth (B)	14		at home		attended school		
215	22	Boswell	Mary (W)	44	7	keeping house		cannot read/write	yes, share tenant	
216	22		Laura (M)	21		at home		cannot read/write		
217	22		William (M)	20		laborer		cannot read/write		
218	22		Frank (M)	16		laborer		cannot read/write		
219	22		Mary (M)	9				cannot read/write		
220	22		George (M)	5						
221	22	Boswell [Williams]	John (B)	58		laborer	non freeholder			
222	22	Jackson	Millie (M)	30	7	(WH-John N. Tolson) house keeper				
223	22		Welford (M)	15		laborer		cannot read/write		
224	22		James (M)	12		laborer		cannot read/write		
225	22		Kate (M)	9				cannot read/write		
226	22		Margy (M)	7				cannot read/write		
227	22		Fannie (M)	2						
228	22		Blanch (M)	3 mo.						
229	22	Johnson	John (B)	80	4	laborer				
230	22		Sarah (B)	32		keeping house				
231	22		Auther (B)	18		laborer		cannot read/write		
232	22		Beverly (B)	4						

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
233	22	Reid	Henry (M)	27	4	laborer	X			
234	22		Elizabeth (M)	23		keeping house		can read/write		
235	22		Hood (M)	2						
236	22		Minnie (M)	6 mo.						
237	23	Muschett	James C. (M)	50	2	merchant	non freeholder	can read/write		
238	23	Muschett [Reid]	James (M)	8		servant				
239	23	Reid	Charles (B)	20	1	laborer		cannot read/write		
240	24	Cole	Albert (B)	47	8	farmer	non freeholder		yes, share tenant	
241	24		Rebecca (B)	37		keeping house				
242	24		Henry (B)	11				attended school		
243	24		Martha (B)	10				attended school		
244	24		Ann (B)	7						
245	24		Minnie (B)	6						
246	24		Rebecca (B)	3						
247	24		James (B)	4 mo.						
248	24		Branum (B)	65	3	farmer	non freeholder			
249	24		Nellie (B)	60		keeping house				
250	24		Solomon (B)	45		laborer	non freeholder			
251	24	Thomas	Richard (B)	80	6	farmer	freeholder		yes, owner	
252	24		Sophia (B)	50		keeping house				
253	24		Theodore (B)	25		laborer	X	can read/write		
254	24		Ella (B)	18				can read/write		
255	24		James (B)	14				attended school		
256	24		Henry (B)	10				attended school		
257	24	Thomas	Charles (B)	50	8	farmer	X		yes, owner	
258	24		Frances (B)	45		keeping house				
259	24		Granduson (B)	22		laborer		can read/write		
260	24		George (B)	17		laborer		can read/write		
261	24		Robert (B)	12		laborer		attended school		
262	24		Frank (B)	5						
263	24		Mary (B)	3						
264	24		Martha (B)	2						
265	25	Coleman	Alexander (B)	50	6	laborer	non freeholder			
266	25		Mary (B)	40		keeping house				
267	25		William (B)	9				attended school		
268	25		Laura (B)	8						
269	25		Victoria (B)	3						
270	25		Emma (B)	1						
271	25	Howard	Virginia (B)	19	1	(WH-Brawner) servant		cannot read/write		
272	25	Tewell	Margaret (B)	60	5	keeping house				
273	25		Philip (B)	20		laborer				
274	25		John (B)	15		laborer				

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
275	25		Martha (B)	8		(granddaughter)				
276	25		Arrena (B)	4		(granddaughter)				
277	26	Berk	Alice (B)	22	1	(WH-Frankenberg) servant				
278	26	Fleet	David (B)	26	4	laborer	X			
279	26		Monia (B)	27		keeping house				
280	26		Daniel (B)	4						
281	26		Martha (B)	8 mo.						
282	26	Jackson	John (B)	21	1	(WH-Anderson, may be a boarder) laborer				
283	26	Minor	Morgan (B)	28	1	(WH-Fick, may be a boarder) laborer	X			
284	26	Nelson	Adelade (B)	30	1	(WH-King) servant		can read/write		
285	26	Wiggins	C. (M)	28	4	keeping house		can read/write		
286	26		Annie (M)	8				attended school		
287	26		John (B)	7				attended school		
288	26		Joseph (B)	5				attended school		
289	26	Young	Ann (B)	50	7	keeping house				
290	26		Emma (B)	15		at home		can read/write		
291	26		Belli (B)	8				attended school		
292	26		Lilly (B)	7				attended school		
293	26		Agnes (B)	6						
294	26		John (B)	1						
295	26		Claud (B)	2 mo.						
296	27	Augustus	James (B)	35	1	(WH-Horton) servant	X			
297	27	Bland	Osman (B)	35	5	laborer	X			
298	27		Emmaline (B)	27		keeping house				
299	27		Horace (B)	6						
300	27		George (B)	1						
301	27		Walter (B)	18		laborer		cannot read/write		
302	27	Campbell	William (B)	62	2	laborer	X			
303	27		Ann (B)	50		keeping house				
304	27	Coleman	Henry (B)	27	5	laborer	X			
305	27		Jane (M)	22		keeping house				
306	27		Mary (M)	3						
307	27		Lucy (B)	2						
308	27		Nellie (B)	6 mo.						
309	27	Harcum	Andrew (B)	30	6	(WH-Gray) laborer	X	can read/write		
310	27		Florance (M)	26		keeping house				
311	27		Ida (B)	6				attended school		
312	27		Laura (B)	4						
313	27		George (B)	3						
314	27		Florance (B)	6 mo.						

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
315	27	Hicks (Hicke)	James (B)	21	3	laborer		can read		
316	27		Rebecca (M)	24		keeping house		can read/write		
317	27		Mary (B)	1						
318	27	Johnson	Alfred (B)	31	1	laborer	X	can read/write		
319	27	Miller	William (B)	43	6	laborer	X			
320	27		Frances (B)	27		keeping house				
321	27		William (B)	7						
322	27		Edward (B)	4						
323	27		Ananias (B)	3						
324	27		Minnie (B)	6 mo.						
325	27	Ottoway	Lewis (B)	17	1	(WH-Keys) laborer		cannot read/write		
326	28	Daggs	James (B)	38	10	laborer	X	can read/write		
327	28		Pauline (B)	33		keeping house				
328	28		Maria (B)	13				cannot read/write		
329	28		James (B)	10				attended school		
330	28		Lucy (B)	7				attended school		
331	28		Ella (B)	6				attended school		
332	28		John (B)	4						
333	28		William (B)	3						
334	28		Pauline (B)	3 mo.						
335	28	Daggs [Jones]	Mary (B)	83		mother				
336					334					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1	**1900 PAGE#**	**Dumfries Town SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**Comments**	**KEY**
2	2.2	Reid	Daniel (B)	34	6	(O,F#33), farmer	can read	**B-black**
3	2.2		Margaret (B)	28			can read	**M-mulatto**
4	2.2		Samuel (B)	11		at school		**W-white**
5	2.2		Laura F. (B)	9		at school		**WH-white household**
6	2.2		Wallace (B)	7		at school		**O-owner**
7	2.2		Violet (B)	4				**R-renter**
8	3.1	Baker	Benjamin (B)	48	2	(R,H) miner		**H-house**
9	3.1		Laura (B)	41				**F-farm**
10	3.1	Bates	Thorsby (B)	25	2	(R,H) miner	can read	**[name]-surname within other household**
11	3.1	Bates [Brown]	William (B)	24		boarder, miner	can read	**(name)-original transcription**
12	3.1	Bates	Noah (B)	35	3	(O,F#42) farmer	can read	
13	3.1		George (B)	14		at school		
14	3.1		Samuel (B)	6		at school		
15	3.1		Thomas (B)	48	5	(O,H) miner		
16	3.1		Nora (B)	24			can read	
17	3.1		Ambrose (B)	6				
18	3.1		Ellen (B)	5				
19	3.1		Thomas Jr. (B)	1				
20	3.1	Bird (Berd)	Rufus (B)	40	2	(R,H) miner		
21	3.1	Bird (Berd)[Griffis]	W.C. (B)	35		boarder, miner		
22	3.1	Griffin	Archie (B)	36	1	(WH-Brawner,boarder) farm laborer	can read	
23	3.1	Griffin	William (B)	40	6	(R,F#43) farmer		
24	3.1		Ada (B)	24			can read	
25	3.1		Bessie (B)	8		at school		
26	3.1		William Jr. (B)	6		at school		
27	3.1		Thomas (B)	4				
28	3.1		John T. (B)	2				
29	3.1	Jackson	Edward (B)	33	1	(WH-Brawner,boarder) farm laborer	can read	
30	3.1	Johnson	Thomas (B)	35	12	(O,F#41) farmer	can read	
31	3.1		Mary (B)	37				

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
32	3.1		Thomas Jr. (B)	16		farm laborer	can read/write	
33	3.1		Eva (B)	14		at school		
34	3.1		Elizabeth (B)	11		at school		
35	3.1		Cynthia (B)	10		at school		
36	3.1		Jno H. (B)	9		at school		
37	3.1		Estella (B)	8		at school		
38	3.1		Bertha (B)	6				
39	3.1		Ida (B)	5				
40	3.1		Josephine (B)	2				
41	3.1		Mary (B)	10 mo.				
42	3.1	Jones	Andrew (B)	38	1	(O,F#37) farmer		
43	3.1	Monroe	James (B)	30	1	(WH-Brawner,boarder) farm laborer	can read	
44	3.2	Bates	Jesse (B)	34	8	(O,F#46) farmer	can read/write	
45	3.2		Mary A. (B)	30			can read/write	
46	3.2		Andrew (B)	13		at school		
47	3.2		Lilly B. (B)	11		at school		
48	3.2		Fanny (B)	8		at school		
49	3.2		Pauline (B)	7		at school		
50	3.2		Jesse Jr. (B)	3				
51	3.2		Lucy A. (B)	1				
52	3.2	Reid	Charles (B)	42	9	(O,F#45) farmer	can read/write	
53	3.2		Fanny (B)	30			can read/write	
54	3.2		Phoebe (B)	15		at school		
55	3.2		Ewell (B)	14		at school		
56	3.2		Nora (B)	11		at school		
57	3.2		Sallie (B)	8		at school		
58	3.2		Caroline (B)	7		at school		
59	3.2		Charles Jr. (B)	6		at school		
60	3.2		May C. (B)	4				
61	3.2	Thomas	Jackson (B)	60	9	(O,F#44) farmer	can read	
62	3.2		Mary (B)	56			can read	
63	3.2		William (B)	40		farm laborer	can read/write	
64	3.2		Margaret (B)	30			can read/write	
65	3.2		Betty (B)	23			can read/write	
66	3.2		Ausella (B)	12		at school		
67	3.2		Sophia (B)	8		at school		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
68	3.2		Lulu (B)	6		at school		
69	3.2		Ruth (B)	1				
70	3.2	Thompson	Alfred (B)	18	1	(WH-Money) servant	can read	
71	4.1	Bates	Henry (B)	55	1	(WH-Haines) servant	cannot read/write	
72	4.1	Bates	Walter (B)	11	1	(WH-Rains) servant	can read/write	
73	4.1	Bates	Ellen (B)	9	1	(WH-Rains) servant		
74	4.1	Green	Julia (B)	60	1	(WH-Williams) servant		
75	4.1	Kendall	Worth (B)	28	5	(O,F#51) farmer	can read/write	
76	4.1		Mary (B)	27			can read	
77	4.1		James E. (B)	3				
78	4.1		Hannah (B)	1				
79	4.1	Kendall [Cary]	Hannah (B)	60		mother-in-law		
80	4.1	Lewis	Joseph (B)	50	2	(O,F#55) farmer	can read	
81	4.1		Jane (B)	61			can read	
82	4.1	Williams	Andrew B. (B)	50	9	(O,F#61) farmer	can read	
83	4.1		Louisa C. (B)	45			can read	
84	4.1		Clarence (B)	24		farm laborer	can read	
85	4.1		Arthur (B)	17		farm laborer	can read	
86	4.1		Catharine (B)	15		at school		
87	4.1		Harvey (B)	12		at school		
88	4.1		Preston (B)	10		at school		
89	4.1		Robert (B)	7		at school		
90	4.1		Anne (B)	2				
91	4.2	Jackson	Bud (B)	40	8	(R,H) miner	can read/write	
92	4.2	Jackson [Bird]	Charles (B)	32		boarder, miner	can read	
93	4.2	Jackson [Brown]	William (B)	30		boarder, miner	can read/write	
94	4.2	Jackson [Bufford]	Charles (B)	28		boarder, miner	can read	
95	4.2	Jackson [Griffin]	Arthur (B)	27		boarder, miner	can read/write	
96	4.2	Jackson [Kennedy]	John (B)	21		boarder, miner	can read/write	
97	4.2	Jackson [Miller]	John (B)	30		boarder, miner	can read/write	
98	4.2	Jackson [Taylor]	Charles (B)	32		boarder, miner	can read/write	
99	4.2	Miller	Edmund (B)	24	3	(O,F#62) farmer	can read	
100	4.2		Mary Ann (B)	22			can read/write	
101	4.2		Orella F. (B)	1				
102	4.2	Thomas	George (B)	40	8	(R,H) RR laborer	can read	
103	4.2		Ellen (B)	38			can read	
104	4.2		Timothy (B)	15		servant	can read	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
105	4.2		Alexander (B)	13		at school		
106	4.2		Samuel (B)	9		at school		
107	4.2		Raymond (B)	7		at school		
108	4.2		Rosa (B)	3				
109	4.2	Thomas [Cole]	Cornelius (B)	20		boarder, day laborer	can read	
110	5.2	Howard	Thomas (B)	21	1	(WH-Brawner) servant	cannot read/write	
111					108			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1	**1900 PAGE#**	**Dumfries Dist. SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**White household**	**OCCUPATION**	**Comments**	**KEY**
2	1.1	Davis	William H. (B)	26	4		(R,H) miner		**B-black**
3	1.1	Davis	Kate (B)	22					**M-mulatto**
4	1.1	Davis	Lloyd (B)	2					**W-white**
5	1.1	Davis	Mariana (B)	1 mo.					**WH-white household**
6	1.1	Davis	Richard (B)	22		1	(WH-Davis, boarder) farm laborer		**O-owner**
7	1.1	Howard	Peter (B)	40	1		(R,F#9) farmer		**R-renter**
8	1.2	Carey	James (B)	44	5		(O,F#15) farmer	can read/write	**H-house**
9	1.2	Carey	Mary (B)	24				can read	**F-farm**
10	1.2	Carey	Catharine (B)	5					**[name]-surname within other household**
11	1.2	Carey	Lloyd (B)	3					**(name)-original transcription**
12	1.2	Carey	James Jr. (B)	5 mo.					
13	1.2	Grayson	Dennis (B)	45	9		(O,F#10) farmer		
14	1.2	Grayson	Agnes M. (B)	40					
15	1.2	Grayson	Zeporah (B)	24				can read/write	
16	1.2	Grayson	Elsworth (B)	22			farm laborer	can read	
17	1.2	Grayson	Jane (B)	18			at school		
18	1.2	Grayson	Elwood (B)	17			at school		
19	1.2	Grayson	Rebecca (B)	13			at school		
20	1.2	Grayson	Junius (B)	13			at school		
21	1.2	Grayson	Octavia (B)	11			at school		
22	1.2	Howard	James (B)	67	6		(O,F#11) farmer		
23	1.2	Howard	Kitty (B)	59					
24	1.2	Howard	Nancy L. (B)	21				can read/write	
25	1.2	Howard	Harriet (B)	14			at school		
26	1.2	Howard	Octavia D. (B)	19			at school		
27	1.2	Howard [Cole]	David (B)	15			(boarder) farm laborer	can read	
28	5.2	Howard	Thomas (B)	21		1	(WH-Brawner) servant	cannot read/write	
29	7.1	Bird	Sylvester (B)	40	5		(R,H) mine engineer	can read/write	
30	7.1	Bird	Emeline (B)	38				can read/write	
31	7.1	Bird	Grant (B)	18			at school		
32	7.1	Bird	Clara (B)	16			at school		
33	7.1	Bird	Nero (B)	12			at school		
34	7.1	Read	Joseph (B)	27	9		(O,F#83) farmer	can read/write	
35	7.1	Read	Sally (B)	26				can read	
36	7.1	Read	Dora (B)	5					
37	7.1	Read	Phillis (B)	3					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
38	7.1	Read	Susan (B)	5 mo.					
39	7.1	Read [Butter]	Shirley (B)	21			boarder, miner	cannot read/write	
40	7.1	Read [Jackson]	Anderson (B)	30			boarder, miner	cannot read/write	
41	7.1	Read [Johnson]	Peter (B)	27			boarder, miner	cannot read/write	
42	7.1	Read [Johnson]	Shirley (B)	30			boarder, miner	cannot read/write	
43	7.2	Chinn	Oscar (B)	50	10		(R,H) miner	can read	
44	7.2	Chinn	Eliza (B)					can read	
45	7.2	Chinn	Samuel (B)	20			miner	can read	
46	7.2	Chinn	Logan (B)	18			miner	can read	
47	7.2	Chinn	Maud (B)	16			at school		
48	7.2	Chinn	James W. (B)	14			at school		
49	7.2	Chinn	Louisa (B)	8			at school		
50	7.2	Chinn	George (B)	45			boarder, mine	cannot read/write	
51	7.2	Chinn	Milton (B)	27			boarder, miner	cannot read/write	
52	7.2	Chinn [Lee]	William (B)	45			boarder, miner	cannot read/write	
53	7.2	Jenner (Jennen)	Hugh (B)	25	5		(R,H) miner	can read/write	
54	7.2	Jenner (Jennen)	Sarah (B)	22				can read/write	
55	7.2	Jenner (Jennen)	Letty (B)	5					
56	7.2	Jenner (Jennen)	Nelly (B)	3					
57	7.2	Jenner (Jennen) [Crawley]	Randall (B)	30			boarder, miner	can read	
58	7.2	Jenner (Jennen) [Milstead]	Edward (B)	25			boarder, miner	can read	
59	7.2	Williams	Thomas N. (B)	50	10		(O,H) miner	cannot read/write	
60	7.2	Williams	Ann (B)	48			miner	cannot read/write	
61	7.2	Williams	Polly (B)	24			servant	can read/write	
62	7.2	Williams	Arthur (B)	22			servant	can read/write	
63	7.2	Williams	Walter (B)	20			at school		
64	7.2	Williams	Rose (B)	17			at school		
65	7.2	Williams [Barnes]	Jno B. (B)	55			boarder, miner	can read	
66	7.2	Williams [Draper]	Richard (B)	40			boarder, miner	can read	
67	7.2	Williams [Miller]	Lewis (B)	35			boarder, miner	can read	
68	7.2	Williams	Randall (B)	18			boarder, miner	can read	
69	7.2	Williams	Robert (B)	26	8		(O,F#85) farmer	can read	
70	7.2	Williams	Fanny (B)	23				can read	
71	7.2	Williams	Howard (B)	2					
72	7.2	Williams [Woolwich]	William (B)	32			boarder, miner	can read	
73	7.2	Williams [Grayson]	William (B)	25			boarder, miner	can read	
74	7.2	Williams [Hill]	Horace (B)	25			boarder, miner	can read	
75	7.2	Williams [Jefferson]	Charles (B)	28			boarder, miner	can read	
76	7.2	Williams [Wallore]	Lester (B)	24			boarder, RR laborer	can read	
77	8.1	Corbin	Sedden (B)	20		1	(WH-Cooper, sawmill owner) boarder, sawmill laborer	can read	
78	8.1	Griffin	Horace (B)	20		1	(WH-Spears) servant	cannot read/write	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
79	8.1	Howard	Catesby (B)	27	2		(O,F#87) farmer	can read	
80	8.1	Howard	Lucretia (B)	28				can read/write	
81	8.1	Saunders	Henry (B)	75		1	(WH-Florence,farmer) boarder, day laborer	cannot read/write	
82	8.2	Kendal	Martha (B)	60	9		(O,H) boarding house	cannot read/write	
83	8.2	Kendal	Frank (B)	23			day laborer	cannot read/write	
84	8.2	Kendal	John F. (B)	20			day laborer	cannot read/write	
85	8.2	Kendal	George (B)	18			day laborer	cannot read/write	
86	8.2	Kendal [Berry]	John (B)	40			boarder, day laborer	cannot read/write	
87	8.2	Kendal [Jackson]	Jarrett (B)	70			boarder, day laborer	cannot read/write	
88	8.2	Kendal [Jefferson]	Kenneth (B)	28			boarder, day laborer	cannot read/write	
89	8.2	Kendal [Jefferson]	Martha (B)	27			boarder	can read	
90	8.2	Kendal [Jefferson]	Charles (B)	1					
91	8.2	Williams	Zedrick (B)	27	4		(O,H) miner	can read/write	
92	8.2	Williams	Suphauria (Sophronia?)	22				can read/write	
93	8.2	Williams	Ira H. (B)	1					
94	8.2	Williams [Clayton]	U.S. Grant (B)	6			nephew		
95	9.1	Thomas	R. L. (B)	26	5		(O,H) day laborer	can read	
96	9.1	Thomas	Clara (B)	22				can read	
97	9.1	Thomas	Viola (B)	3					
98	9.1	Thomas	Ethel (B)	1					
99	9.2	Burke	Francis M. (B)	40	6		(O,H) washerwoman	can read	
100	9.2	Burke	Luther (B)	20			day laborer	can read	
101	9.2	Burke	Daisy (B)	17					
102	9.2	Burke	John (B)	15					
103	9.2	Burke	Mary (B)	14					
104	9.2	Burke	Blanch (B)	10					
105	9.2	Cole	George (B)	47		1	(WH-Bailey farm) farm laborer	cannot read/write	
106	9.2	Davis	James V. (B)	63	7		(O,F#104) farmer	can read	
107	9.2	Davis	Sarah (B)	58				cannot read/write	
108	9.2	Davis	Lucy (B)	27				can read	
109	9.2	Davis	Lucien (B)	21			farm laborer	can read	
110	9.2	Davis	Hattie (B)	20				can read	
111	9.2	Davis	Grace (B)	18				can read	
112	9.2	Davis	Charles (B)	15				can read	
113	9.2	Davis	Augustus (B)	50		1	(WH-Bailey farm) farm laborer	can read	
114	9.2	Porter	Charles (B)	60	16		(R,H) miner	can read	
115	9.2	Porter	Caroline (B)	55				cannot read/write	
116	9.2	Porter	Edwin (B)	24			miner	cannot read/write	
117	9.2	Porter	Lucien (B)	22			miner	cannot read/write	
118	9.2	Porter	Amandy (B)	20				can read	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
119	9.2	Porter	Maggie (B)	18				can read	
120	9.2	Porter	Jane B. (B)	17				can read	
121	9.2	Porter	George (B)	16			miner	can read	
122	9.2	Porter	James (B)	14				can read	
123	9.2	Porter	Oscar (B)	11				cannot read/write	
124	9.2	Porter	Heime (B)	14			grandson	cannot read/write	
125	9.2	Porter	Wm Orsen (B)	12			grandson	cannot read/write	
126	9.2	Porter	Edward (B)	2			grandson		
127	9.2	Porter [Brown]	Edward (B)	30			son-in-law, miner	can read	
128	9.2	Porter [Brown]	Mary (B)	26				can read	
129	9.2	Porter [Brown]	Bruce (B)	2 mo.					
130	9.2	Thomas [Nash]	Walter (B)	9			nephew		
131	9.2	Thomas	Huger (B)	25	5		(O,F#101) farmer	can read/write	
132	9.2	Thomas	Virginia (B)	23				can read/write	
133	9.2	Thomas	Stella (B)	4					
134	9.2	Thomas	Rebecca (B)	10 mo.					
135	9.2	Thomas	Charles E. (B)	76			father, farm laborer		
136	10.1	Cole	Albert (B)	65	10		(O,H) farm laborer	cannot read/write	
137	10.1	Cole	Rebecca (B)	55				cannot read/write	
138	10.1	Cole	Ella (B)	35				cannot read/write	
139	10.1	Cole	James (B)	20			farm laborer	cannot read/write	
140	10.1	Cole	Cornelius (B)	16			farm laborer	cannot read/write	
141	10.1	Cole	Mare (B)	14				cannot read/write	
142	10.1	Cole	Leanna (B)	10				cannot read/write	
143	10.1	Cole	Hattie (B)	11			grandchild	cannot read/write	
144	10.1	Cole	Bertha (B)	9			grandchild		
145	10.1	Cole	Elwood (B)	5			grandchild		
146	10.1	Henderson	Jno R. (B)	46	9		(O,F#109) farmer	can read/write	
147	10.1	Henderson	Nora (B)	36				can read/write	
148	10.1	Henderson	Mary (B)	18			at school		
149	10.1	Henderson	Jesse B. (B)	15			at school		
150	10.1	Henderson	Hattie (B)	12			at school		
151	10.1	Henderson	Robert (B)	11			at school		
152	10.1	Henderson	Henry (B)	9			at school		
153	10.1	Henderson	Hampton (B)	5			at school		
154	10.1	Henderson	Paul (B)	1					
155	10.1	McKee	William (B)	77			(O,F#107) farmer	can read	
156	10.1	McKee	Fanny (B)	60				can read	
157	10.1	Williams	Palis (B)	57	6		(O,F#110) farmer	cannot read/write	
158	10.1	Williams	Ellen (B)	50				cannot read/write	
159	10.1	Williams	Turner (B)	20			farm laborer	cannot read/write	
160	10.1	Williams	Lemuel (B)	11			grandchild	cannot read/write	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
161	10.1	Williams	Abram (B)	8			grandchild		
162	10.1	Williams	Reeves (B)	6			grandchild		
163	10.2	Baker	Benjamin (B)	45	4		(O,H) miner	cannot read/write	
164	10.2	Baker	Sally (B)	40				cannot read/write	
165	10.2	Baker	Thomas (B)	18			mine laborer	can read	
166	10.2	Baker	Ada (B)	15				can read	
167	10.2	Bird	Rufus (B)	45	6		(R,H) miner	can read	
168	10.2	Bird	Clara (B)	42				can read	
169	10.2	Bird	Samuel (B)	20			mine laborer	can read	
170	10.2	Bird	Hector (B)	18			mine laborer	can read	
171	10.2	Bird	Chloe (B)	16				can read	
172	10.2	Bird	Betty (B)	10				cannot read/write	
173	10.2	Brown	Edmund (B)	35	4		(R,H) miner	can read	
174	10.2	Brown	Mary (B)	30				can read	
175	10.2	Brown	Austin (B)	8					
176	10.2	Brown	Lily (B)	5					
177	10.2	Davis	George K. (B)	30	7		(O,H) fisherman	cannot read/write	
178	10.2	Davis	Amanda (B)	30				cannot read/write	
179	10.2	Davis	Ollie (B)	7					
180	10.2	Davis	Carrie (B)	6					
181	10.2	Davis	George (B)	3					
182	10.2	Davis	Francis (B)	1					
183	10.2	Davis	Samuel (B)	28			fisherman	cannot read/write	
184	10.2	Fisher	Jacob (B)	36	5		(O,H) day laborer	cannot read/write	
185	10.2	Fisher	Fanny (B)	24				cannot read/write	
186	10.2	Fisher	Letty V. (B)	7					
187	10.2	Fisher	Jacob (B)	5					
188	10.2	Fisher	Esau (B)	3					
189	10.2	Garland	George (B)	40	4		(R,H) miner	can read	
190	10.2	Garland	Amy (B)	25				can read	
191	10.2	Garland	Moses (B)	4					
192	10.2	Garland	Ellis (B)	2					
193	10.2	Porter	Albert (B)	60	2		(O,H) miner	cannot read/write	
194	10.2	Porter [Griffith]	William (B)	40			boarder, miner	cannot read/write	
195	10.2	Robinson	Harrison (B)	50	5		(R,H) miner	can read	
196	10.2	Robinson	Sarah (B)	30				can read	
197	10.2	Robinson	Lizzie (B)	9					
198	10.2	Robinson	Margaret (B)	6					
199	10.2	Robinson	Nellie (B)	4					
200	11.1	Anderson	William (B)	35	5		(R,H) miner	can read	
201	11.1	Anderson	Ann (B)	28				can read	
202	11.1	Anderson	Molly (B)	4					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
203	11.1	Anderson	Dora (B)	2					
204	11.1	Anderson [Jones]	Chris (B)	36			boarder, miner	can read	
205	11.1	Davis	William O. (B)	25	6		(O,H) miner	can read	
206	11.1	Davis	Maggie (B)	20				can read	
207	11.1	Davis	Lida (B)	1					
208	11.1	Davis [Jones]	Lee (B)	39			boarder, miner	can read/write	
209	11.1	Davis [Thompson]	Robert (B)	45			boarder, mine engineer	can read/write	
210	11.1	Davis [Reynolds]	Joseph (B)	30			boarder, mine engineer	can read/write	
211	11.1	Gordon	William (B)	40	4		(R,H) miner	can read	
212	11.1	Gordon	Lucy (B)	40				can read	
213	11.1	Gordon	Clem (B)	15				cannot read/write	
214	11.1	Gordon	Nora (B)	10				cannot read/write	
215	11.1	Johnson	J. W. (B)	35	4		(R,H) miner	cannot read/write	
216	11.1	Johnson	Agnes (B)	20				can read	
217	11.1	Johnson	Ada (B)	2					
218	11.1	Johnson	William (B)	2 mo.					
219	11.1	Jones	Henry (B)	50	6		(R,H) miner	cannot read/write	
220	11.1	Jones	Rose (B)	40				cannot read/write	
221	11.1	Jones	Maud (B)	12				cannot read/write	
222	11.1	Jones	Ann (B)	9					
223	11.1	Jones	Eliza (B)	7					
224	11.1	Jones	Robert (B)	5					
225	11.1	Porter	Anderson (B)	35	5		(R,H) miner	cannot read/write	
226	11.1	Porter	Amelia (B)	30				cannot read/write	
227	11.1	Porter	Herman (B)	13				cannot read/write	
228	11.1	Porter	Arthur (B)	7					
229	11.1	Porter [Davis]	Ramsay (B)	26			boarder, miner	can read	
230	11.1	Smith	Vincent (B)	50	4		(O,H) miner	can read	
231	11.1	Smith	Josephine (B)	30				can read	
232	11.1	Smith	Charlotte (B)	5					
233	11.1	Smith	Alice (B)	3					
234	11.1	Terrell	Ambrose (B)	45	6		(R,H) miner	can read	
235	11.1	Terrell	Mattie (B)	40				can read	
236	11.1	Terrell	Sarah (B)	12				cannot read/write	
237	11.1	Terrell	Eliza (B)	10				cannot read/write	
238	11.1	Terrell	Lilly (B)	8					
239	11.1	Terrell	Emma (B)	6					
240	11.1	Wynn	John (B)	40	6		(R,H) miner	can read	
241	11.1	Wynn	Ellen (B)	30				can read	
242	11.1	Wynn	Thaddeus (B)	10				cannot read/write	
243	11.1	Wynn	Henry (B)	8					
244	11.1	Wynn	Alexander (B)	7					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
245	11.1	Wynn	Robert (B)	3					
246	11.2	Long	Robert (B)	16		1	(WH-Clark,farm) boarder, day laborer	can read/write	
247	11.2	McCoy	Mac (B)	27	10		(O,F#113) farmer	can read/write	
248	11.2	McCoy	Virginia (B)	39				can read/write	
249	11.2	McCoy [Bell]	Eleanor (B)	25			stepchild	can read/write	
250	11.2	McCoy [Bell]	Joseph (B)	22			stepchild, farm laborer	can read/write	
251	11.2	McCoy [Bell]	Jeremiah (B)	19			stepchild, farm laborer	can read/write	
252	11.2	McCoy [Bell]	Mary (B)	18			stepchild	can read/write	
253	11.2	McCoy [Bell]	Ida (B)	14			stepchild	can read/write	
254	11.2	McCoy [Bell]	Stella (B)	11			stepchild	can read/write	
255	11.2	McCoy [Bell]	Letty (B)	8			stepchild	can read/write	
256	11.2	McCoy [Creeks]	Joseph T. (Indian)	48			boarder, preacher, born in Indian Territory	can read/write	
257	11.2	Nash	Dave (B)	16		1	(WH-Clark,farm) boarder, day laborer	can read	
258	11.2	Porter	Lewis (B)	32	2		(O,H) day laborer	can read	
259	11.2	Porter	Nellie (B)	22				can read/write	
260	11.2	Simens	Pearl (B)	11		1	(WH-Clark) servant	can read	
261	12.1	Beamer	Thomas R. (B)	17		1	(WH-Conrad) servant	can read	
262	12.1	Thomas	Theodore (B)	50	3		(O,H) day laborer	cannot read/write	
263	12.1	Thomas	Sophia (B)	75				cannot read/write	
264	12.1	Thomas [Nash]	Mary (B)	10			neice	cannot read/write	
265	12.1	Thomas	Johnson (B)	33	5		(O,F#119) farmer	can read	
266	12.1	Thomas	Jennie (B)	22				can read/write	
267	12.1	Thomas	Stella (B)	5					
268	12.1	Thomas	Blanch (B)	2					
269	12.1	Thomas	Charles D. (B)	75			farm laborer	cannot read/write	
270	12.2	Crawford	Jerry (B)	45	6		(O,F#128) farmer	can read	
271	12.2	Crawford	Alice (B)	40				can read	
272	12.2	Crawford	Jno H. (B)	11			at school		
273	12.2	Crawford	Dave (B)	10			at school		
274	12.2	Crawford	Archie (B)	6			at school		
275	12.2	Crawford	Sallie (B)	5					
276	12.2	Johnson	Thomas (B)	18		1	(WH-Atkinson) servant	can read/write	
277	13.1	Henderson	Edward (B)	35	5		(O,F#137) farmer	cannot read/write	
278	13.1	Henderson	Rachael (B)	35				cannot read/write	
279	13.1	Henderson	John (B)	15			farm laborer	cannot read/write	
280	13.1	Henderson [Bland]	Benjamin (B)	50			boarder, fisherman	cannot read/write	
281	13.1	Henderson [Bland]	Herbert (B)	45			boarder, fisherman	can read	
282	13.1	Long	Esau (B)	40	8		(O,H) fisherman	can read	
283	13.1	Long	Martha (B)	40				can read	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
284	13.1	Long	Robert (B)	18			fisherman	can read	
285	13.1	Long	Frank (B)	15			fisherman	can read	
286	13.1	Long	Maggie (B)	14				cannot read/write	
287	13.1	Long	Mary (B)	12				cannot read/write	
288	13.1	Long	Lizzie (B)	10				cannot read/write	
289	13.1	Long [Sefer]	Daniel (B)	11			nephew	cannot read/write	
290	13.1	Smith	General (B)	32	6		(O,F#133) farmer	can read	
291	13.1	Smith	Anne (B)	30			(cannot read/write)	cannot read/write	
292	13.1	Smith	General Jr. (B)	5					
293	13.1	Smith	Elsie (B)	4					
294	13.1	Smith	John (B)	2					
295	13.1	Smith	James (B)	6 mo.					
296	13.2	Bates	Robert (B)	22	4		(O,F#140) farmer	can read/write	
297	13.2	Bates	Stella (B)	20				can read/write	
298	13.2	Bates	Anthony (B)	3					
299	13.2	Bates	James (B)	1					
300	13.2	Jennings	Franklin (B)	50	2		(O,F#142) farmer	can read/write	
301	13.2	Jennings	Maria (B)	50				can read	
302	14.1	Johnson	Alfred (B)	50	1		(S,M,F#148) farmer	can read/write	
303	14.1	Mines	Grace (B)	14		1	(WH-Leary) servant	can read/write	
304	14.1	Porter	Mattie (B)	14		1	(WH-King,boardinghouse) servant	can read	
305	14.1	Weller? (Well)	Fanny M. (B)	44	7		(O,H) laundry	can read/write	
306	14.1	Weller? (Well)	W. Henry (B)	27			RR laborer	can read	
307	14.1	Weller? (Well)	Edwin (B)	25			RR laborer	can read	
308	14.1	Weller? (Well)	Clarence (B)	15				can read	
309	14.1	Weller? (Well)	Beatrice (B)	11				can read	
310	14.1	Weller? (Well)	Granvill (B)	9					
311	14.1	Weller? (Well)	Gertrude (B)	6					
312	14.2	Green	Hattie (B)	14		1	(WH-Nash) servant	can read	
313	14.2	Hill	Scott (B)	41	6		(R,H) restaurant	can read/write	
314	14.2	Hill	Vicer? (B)	38				can read	
315	14.2	Hill	Milton (B)	18			RR laborer	can read	
316	14.2	Hill	Cora (B)	17				can read/write	
317	14.2	Hill	Nannie (B)	10				can read	
318	14.2	Hill [Reed]	David (B)	34			boarder, RR laborer	can read	
319	14.2	Morgan	Ann (B)	51	4		(R,H) RR charwoman	cannot read/write	
320	14.2	Morgan	Sarah (B)	25				can read/write	
321	14.2	Morgan	Grace (B)	15				can read/write	
322	14.2	Morgan	Maggie (B)	12				can read	
323	14.2	Porter	Haywood (B)	36	4		(R,H) RR laborer	can read/write	
324	14.2	Porter	Laura (B)	32				can read	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
325	14.2	Porter	Wilson (B)	9			at school		
326	14.2	Porter	Virginia F. (B)	5 mo.					
327	14.2	Tanner	Henry (B)	50	4		(O,F#149) farmer	can read	
328	14.2	Tanner	Eliza (B)	46				cannot read/write	
329	14.2	Tanner	Ernie (B)	6					
330	14.2	Tanner	John (B)	5					
331	14.2	Thomas	Wiedman (B)	41	9		(O,H) RR laborer	can read/write	
332	14.2	Thomas	Mary (B)	36				can read/write	
333	14.2	Thomas	Lucy (B)	17			at school		
334	14.2	Thomas	Anita (B)	15			at school		
335	14.2	Thomas	Rhoda (B)	12			at school		
336	14.2	Thomas	Edith (B)	8			at school		
337	14.2	Thomas	Mary (B)	7			at school		
338	14.2	Thomas	Wiedman Jr. (B)	5					
339	14.2	Thomas	Eugene (B)	2					
340	15.1	Fleet	David (B)	41	7		(O,F#150) farmer	can read	
341	15.1	Fleet	Dora (B)	26				can read	
342	15.1	Fleet	Herman (B)	10			at school		
343	15.1	Fleet	Orra (B)	9			at school		
344	15.1	Fleet	Esther (B)	4					
345	15.1	Fleet	Nathaniel (B)	2					
346	15.1	Fleet	Gertrude (B)	6 mo.					
347	15.1	Green	Andrew (B)	24	5		(R,H) RR laborer	can read/write	
348	15.1	Green	Betty H. (B)	23				can read	
349	15.1	Green	Lily B. (B)	1					
350	15.1	Green	Lala (B)	18			sister	can read	
351	15.1	Green [Howard]	Pauline (B)	7			sister-in-law		
352	15.2	Bates	Hezekiah (B)	46	7		(O,F#153) farmer	can read	
353	15.2	Bates	Mary E. (B)	45				can read	
354	15.2	Bates	Hezekiah (B)	14			at school		
355	15.2	Bates	Mary A. (B)	11			at school		
356	15.2	Bates	James L. (B)	8			at school		
357	15.2	Bates	Ruth E. (B)	5					
358	15.2	Bates	Amanda (B)	3					
359	15.2	Bland	Osborn (B)	55	7		(R,H) day laborer	can read/write	
360	15.2	Bland	Amelia (B)	40				can read	
361	15.2	Bland	Walker (B)	19			day laborer	can read/write	
362	15.2	Bland	Cora (B)	18			at school		
363	15.2	Bland	Lillian (B)	15			at school		
364	15.2	Bland	Carrie (B)	12			at school		
365	15.2	Bland	Alonzo (B)	10			at school		
366	15.2	Jackson	Benjamin (B)	50	7		(R,H) RR laborer	cannot read/write	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
367	15.2	Jackson	Maria (B)	50				cannot read/write	
368	15.2	Jackson	Laura (B)	14				cannot read/write	
369	15.2	Jackson	Howard (B)	11				cannot read/write	
370	15.2	Jackson	Rebecca (B)	8					
371	15.2	Jackson	Ann (B)	5					
372	15.2	Jackson	Joseph (B)	3					
373	15.2	Long	George (B)	60	3		(R,H) farm laborer	cannot read/write	
374	15.2	Long	Amanda (B)	50				cannot read/write	
375	15.2	Long	Samuel (B)	55			brother, farm laborer	cannot read/write	
376	15.2	Mann? (Maun)	William (B)	60	7		(O,F#154) farmer	can read/write	
377	15.2	Mann? (Maun)	Ann D. (B)	45				can read	
378	15.2	Mann? (Maun)	Florence (B)	8					
379	15.2	Mann? (Maun)	Howard (B)	5					
380	15.2	Mann? (Maun)[Johnson]	Susan (B)	9			niece		
381	15.2	Mann? (Maun)[Quinn/Queen]	James (B)	18			nephew, farm laborer	can read	
382					363				

African Americans of Manassas District, Prince William County, Virginia, 1860-1900 US Population Census

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	**1860 PAGE#**	**Groveton-Tudor Hall P.O. SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**
2	Groveton P.O. 8	Gaskins	Hampton (M)	55	6	farmer (O)	$856 real estate, $800 personal prop., cannot read or write
3			Sarah (M)	55			cannot read or write
4		Stokes	Richard (M)	35		farm laborer	cannot read or write
5			Frank (M)	19		farm laborer	born DC, cannot read or write
6		Davis	Charles (M)	10			
7		Fletcher	Martha (M)	5			
8		Gaskins	Oliver (B)	26	6	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write
9			Betsy (B)	26			cannot read or write
10			Sarah (B)	9			
11			John H. (B)	4			
12			Albert (B)	2			
13			Maria (B)	3mo			
14		Beckley	William (B)	40	1	farm laborer (WH-Francis W. Lewis, farmer	cannot read or write
15	9	Harrison	Beverly (M)	60	3	farm laborer (R)	$20 personal prop., cannot read or write
16			Susan (B)	50			cannot read or write
17			Alfred (B)	9			blind
18		Roberson	James (M)	57	2	farmer (O)	$1,650 real estate, $2,500 personal prop., cannot read or write
19			Susan (M)	55			cannot read or write
20		Berry	George (B)	77	2	farmer (R)	cannot read or write
21			Aggy (B)	80			cannot read or write
22	10	Robinson	Sanford (M)	12	1	[none given] (WH-Charles L. Cushing, farmer)	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
23	13	Jackson	Joshua (B)	23	1	farm laborer (WH-Christopher C. Cushing, farmer)	cannot read or write
24					22		
25							
26	Tudor Hall P.O. 56	Gaskins	Susan (B)	46	7	(O)	$650 real estate, $285 personal prop., cannot read or write
27			Pye (M)	16		farm laborer	
28			Hampton (M)	11			
29			Mary (M)	15			
30			Chink (M)	8			
31			Catherine (B)	6			
32			Douglas (B)	3			
33		Fletcher	William (B)	11	1	(WH-Francis Robertson, farmer)	
34	57	Pinn	Houson (M)	51	8	farmer (O)	$1,550 real estate, $595 personal prop., cannot read or write
35			Paddy (M)	50			cannot read or write
36			Travers (M)	20		farm laborer	
37			Sally (M)	17			
38			Fredonia (M)	15			
39			Hampton (M)	13			
40			Hannah (M)	10			
41			Judah (M)	7			
42		Gaskins	John R. (M)	18	1	farm laborer (WH-George Trimmer, carpenter)	
43		Cole	Sally (M)	59	6		cannot read or write
44			Mary (M)	30			cannot read or write
45			Richard (M)	7			
46			Harrison (M)	5			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
47			Frances (M)	3			
48			Mary (M)	2mo			
49	61	Reid	Harrison (M)	35	1	farm laborer (WH-William I. Weir, farmer)	
50	63	Garner	Jacob (B)	69	4	farm laborer (R)	$70 personal prop., cannot read or write
51			Elizabeth (M)	41			cannot read or write
52			Adeline (M)	15			
53			Albert (M)	12			
54	65	Gaskins	Henry (B)	23	1	farm laborer (WH-R. F. Brawner, farmer)	cannot read or write
55	66	Brent	Mary (M)	20	1	[none given] (WH-Ferdinand A. Weedon, farmer)	cannot read or write
56		Spittle	Mary (M)	30	7	$30 personal prop. (R)	cannot read or write
57			Samuel (M)	12			
58			Ann F. (M)	10			
59			William A. (M)	8			
60			John H. (M)	6			
61			Mary C. (M)	4			
62			Elias (M)	4mo			
63	67	Harris	Jane (B)	60	3	$10 personal prop. (R)	cannot read or write
64			Elizabeth (B)	19			
65			Councelor C. (B)	18		farm laborer	
66	69	Harris	Benjamin (B)	16	1	farm laborer (WH-William H. Evans, farmer)	
67	70	Beckley	Sally (M)	47	5	(O)	$100 read estate, $35 personal prop., cannot read or write
68			Mortimer (M)	15		farm laborer	
69			Amelia (M)	14			
70			Arrena (M)	9			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
71			Martha (M)	3			
72					46		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1	**1870 PAGE#**	**Manassas District SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**Agriculture Census**	**KEY**
2	1	Pinn [Penn]	Houson (Henson) Jr (M)	34	7	farmer (O)	$2,800 real estate; $680 personal prop.; born VA; eligible to vote, can read and write, USCT	yes	**B-black**
3			Mary C. (M)	35		keeping house	born VA; can read and write		**M-mulatto**
4			William E. (M)	10		at school	born OH; attended school in last year		**W-white**
5			Abraham L. (M)	8			born OH; attended school in last year		**WH-white household**
6			Thomas J. (M)	7			born OH; attended school in last year		**O-owner**
7			Benjamin F. (M)	5			born VA		**R-renter**
8			Richard H. (M)	1			born VA		
9		Dillet	Thomas (M)	20	1	farm laborer (WH-Samuel Woolerson)	cannot read or write		**(name)-original transcription**
10		Hankins	Fanny (M)	15	1	servant (WH-Samuel Woolerson)	cannot read or write		
11	3	Botts	Anthony (B)	52	4	farm laborer (R)	$190 personal prop., cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
12			Susan (B)	45		keeping house	cannot read or write		
13			Anthony (B)	18		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
14		Parker	Winnie (M)	13			cannot write		
15		Taylor	Cadlet (M)	28	1	[none given](WH-Christian Watkin)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
16		Stafford	George (M)	31	8	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
17			Louisa (M)	40		keeping house	cannot read or write		
18			Anthony (M)	15			cannot read or write		
19			Ann V. (M)	4					
20			Lygee (M)	2					
21			Hannah (B)	55			cannot read or write		
22			Joseph (M)	13			cannot read or write		
23			Sally (M)	6					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
24	4	Naylor	Samuel (M)	72	6	farmer (O)	$900 real estate, $420 personal prop., can read and write, eligible to vote	yes	
25			Adlie (B)	71		keeping house	cannot read or write		
26		Robinson	Arthur (M)	25		carpenter	cannot write, eligible to vote		
27			Beverly R. (M)	22		[none given]	cannot write, eligible to vote		
28			Nellie (M)	13		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
29			Nathaniel (M)	11		at school	attended school in last year		
30		Naylor	Phillip (M)	30	3	carpenter (R)	cannot write, eligible to vote		
31			Amanda (M)	25		keeping house	$100 personal prop., can read and write		
32			John (M)	12		at school	attended school in last year, cannot read or write		
33		Green	John (B)	28	7	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
34			Sinah (B)	22		keeping house	cannot write		
35			Mary (B)	2					
36			William (B)	10mo					
37			Sallie (B)	19			cannot read or write		
38			Anna (B)	9mo					
39		Washington	Frank (B)	18		[none given]	cannot read or write		
40		Naylor	Eveline (B)	98	3	keeping house	cannot read or write		
41	5	Cole	Mytilda (M)	22			cannot read or write		
42			Oscar (M)	1					
43		Naylor	Henry (M)	52	10	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
44			Murninia (M)	35		keeping house	cannot read or write		
45			Page (M)	20		[none given]	can read and write		
46			Lewis (M)	18		[none given]	cannot read or write		
47			Jennie (M)	16		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write		
48			Jarrett (M)	13		at school	attended school in last year, can read		
49			Nellie (M)	10			cannot read or write		
50			Rosanah (M)	8			cannot read or write		
51			Henry (M)	2					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
52			Ida (M)	6mo					
53		Robinson	Tasker (B)	65	1	[none given] (WH-Walter Weir)	cannot read or write		
54		Robinson	Harriet (B)	16	1	[none given] (WH-Walter Weir)	cannot read or write		
55		Carter	Judith (B)	50	1	[none given] (WH-Walter Weir)	cannot read or write		
56		Randolph	John (B)	32	7	farm laborer (O)	$6,350 real estate, $925 personal prop., cannot read or write, eligible to vote	yes	
57			Sarah (M)	30		keeping house	cannot read or write		
58			Charles H. (M)	13		at school	attended school in last year, cannot read or write		
59			John (M)	17		at school	attended school in last year, cannot read or write		
60			Landor (M)	9			attended school in last year, can read and write		
61			Emma J. (M)	3					
62			Mariah E. (M)	1					
63	6	Carter	William (B)	53	8	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote	yes	
64			Robert (B)	13		at school	attended school in last year, cannot read or write		
65		Jett	Lucy (B)	43		house keeper	cannot read or write		
66			Phillip (B)	16			can read and write		
67			Richard (B)	10			can read and write		
68			Randolph (B)	8					
69			Georgianna (B)	5					
70			Elizabeth (B)	2mo					
71		Dorman	Peter (B)	45	8	farm laborer (R)	cannot write, eligible to vote		
72			Sarah (B)	28		keeping house	cannot read or write		
73			Robert (B)	14		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write		
74			Charles (B)	12		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write		
75			John (B)	11			cannot read or write		
76			Lewis (B)	5					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
77			William (B)	2					
78			Infant (B)	3mo					
79		Robinson	John (B)	48	7	farmer (O)	$515 real estate, $100 personal prop., cannot read or write, eligible to vote	yes	
80			Sophia (B)	43		keeping house	cannot read or write		
81			Charles (B)	15			can read and write		
82	7		Hellen (B)	14			cannot read or write		
83			Harriett (B)	12			cannot read or write		
84			Judith (B)	8					
85			Lewis (B)	5					
86		Harris	William (B)	42	2	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
87		Lee	Richard (B)	51		farm laborer	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
88		Gaskin	Annie (B)	35	6	house keeping (R)	cannot read or write		
89			Frank (B)	15			cannot read or write		
90			Benjamin (B)	12			cannot read or write		
91			Caroline (B)	8					
92			Rice (B)	3					
93			John (B)	3mo					
94		Burk	Mytilda (B)	38	7	keeping house	cannot read or write		
95			Calsium (B)	16			cannot read or write		
96			Lewis (B)	14			cannot read or write		
97			Thomas (B)	12			cannot read or write		
98			Louisa (B)	6					
99			James (B)	4					
100			Philander (B)	2					
101		Alexandria	David (B)	45	10	farm laborer (R)	$285 personal prop., cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
102			Rachel (M)	38		keeping house	cannot read or write		
103			William (M)	20		[none given]	cannot read or write		
104			Sandy (M)	15		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
105			Henry (M)	13		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
106			James (M)	12		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
107			Hannah (M)	10		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
108			Frank (M)	7					
109	8		Charles (M)	5					
110			Catharine (M)	2					
111		Ayers	Richard (B)	16	1	[none given] (WH-Charles Donohoe)	cannot write; [appears to have two white siblings-James (19) and Ellen (23) Ayers]		
112		Paine	Robert (B)	62	11	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote	yes	
113			Fannie (B)	42		keeping house	cannot read or write		
114			Richard (B)	20		[none given]	cannot read or write		
115			Landon (B)	18		[none given]	cannot read or write		
116			Albert (B)	15		[none given]	cannot read or write		
117			Alger (B)	13			cannot read or write		
118			Laurella (B)	8					
119			Arthur L. (B)	5					
120		Taylor	John (M)	22		farm laborer	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
121		Mason	Richard (B)	19		[none given]	cannot read or write		
122			Anthony (B)	16		[none given]	cannot read or write		
123		Dean	James (M)	46	9	farmer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote	yes	
124			Mahala (B)	36		[none given]	cannot read or write		
125			Robert (M)	12			cannot read or write		
126			Caroline (M)	10			cannot read or write		
127			Jemima (M)	8					
128			Shelton (M)	5					
129			Pidgin (M)	3					
130			Millie (M)	1					
131			Henrietta (M)	2					
132		Halmes [Holmes?]	Edmond (B)	72	3	farmer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote	no	
133			Stepney (B)	65		[none given]	cannot read or write		
134		Hughes	William (M)	15		[none given]	cannot read or write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
135		Henry	Emma (M)	80	2	house keeping (R)	cannot read or write		
136		Smith	Melinda (M)	45		[none given]	cannot read or write		
137	9	Shelington	John (B)	30	5	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
138			Emily (B)	28		keeping house	cannot write		
139			Robert (B)	6					
140			Mary (B)	1					
141		Ellsworth	Patty (B)	95			cannot read or write		
142		Dean	Charles (B)	48	6	farmer (R)	$125 personal prop., cannot write, eligible to vote	no	
143			Anne (B)	44		keeping house	cannot write		
144			Jane (B)	18		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write [Jennie Dean]		
145			Mary (B)	15		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write		
146			Hulda [?] E. (B)	2					
147		Cant	Millie (B)	68			cannot read or write		
148	10	Griffin	Frances (B)	16	1	[none given] (WH-Edward H. Conway)	cannot write		
149		Robinson	Catharine (B)	22	1	house laborer (WH-Benson Pridmore)	cannot read or write		
150	11	Gaskin	Thomas (M)	33	7	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
151			Elizabeth (M)	29		keeping house	cannot read or write		
152			William (M)	12			cannot read or write		
153			Louisa (M)	9					
154			Caroline (M)	6					
155			Susannah (M)	5					
156			Almira (M)	1mo					
157		Lucas	Caroline (M)	52	1	keeping house (O)	$300 real estate, cannot read or write	no	
158		Randall	Charles (B)	42	8	farm laborer (R)	$220 personal prop., cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
159			Betsy (M)	35					
160			Anella (M)	9					
161			Silvia (M)	7					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
162			Sarah (M)	4					
163			Charles (M)	2					
164			William (M)	1					
165			Mary (M)	1mo					
166		Thomas	Josiah (M)	34	4	farmer (O)	$2,220 real estate, $100 personal prop., can read and write, eligible to vote, USCT Co. A 23rd Reg.	yes	
167			Jane (M)	25		keeping house	can read and write		
168	12		Eli (M)	8					
169			John (M)	2					
170		Green	Abraham (B)	60	1	blacksmith (WH-John Langyher, a miller)	can read and write, eligible to vote		
171	13	Whiting	Emily (B)	24	1	[none given] (WH-Richard W. Mayhugh)	cannot read or write; "idiotic"		
172		Murphy	Charles L. (B)	58	6	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
173			Martha L. (B)	22		keeping house	cannot read or write		
174			Sarah E. (B)	2					
175			Annie (B)	8mo					
176		Monroe	Jane (B)	7					
177			James (B)	4					
178		Thomas	Isaac (B)	27	12	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
179			Amanda (B)	37		keeping house	cannot read or write		
180			Marcus (B)	5					
181			Christine (B)	3					
182			Catharine (B)	9mo					
183			Isaac (B)	9mo					
184	14	Champ	Albert (B)	15			cannot read or write		
185			Luther (B)	13			cannot read or write		
186			Arthur (B)	10			cannot read or write		
187			Ann M. (B)	6					
188		Stewart	Azza (B)	90			cannot read or write		
189		Lyles	Jasper (B)	33		plasterer	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
190		Gaskin	Oliver Jr. (B)	35	8	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
191			Elizabeth (M)	36		keeping house	cannot read or write		
192			Elizabeth (M)	6					
193			Archie (M)	5					
194			Andrew (M)	4					
195			Martha (M)	3					
196			Joseph (M)	5mo					
197		Young	Sallie (M)	18		[none given]	cannot write		
198	15	Ray	Albert (M)	30	6	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
199			Alice (B)	23		keeping house	can read and write		
200			Frank (M)	16		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write		
201		William	Roughly (B)	20		farm laborer	born in SC, cannot write		
202		Burrows	Jacob (B)	61		farm laborer	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
203			Delcenia (B)	70		house keeper	cannot write		
204		Diggs	Randolph (B)	51	4	blacksmith (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
205			Mary (B)	33		keeping house	born in MD, cannot write		
206			Andrew (B)	4			born in DC		
207		Macuder (Wacuber)	Mary (B)	14			born in MD, cannot write		
208		Shields	William (B)	23	1	farm laborer (WH-John Hornbaker, a miller)	born in SC, cannot write, eligible to vote		
209		Corlin	James (B)	20	1	farm laborer (WH-Edgar V. Weir)	cannot read or write		
210		Howard	John R. (B)	50	4	farm laborer (R)	$350 personal prop., cannot write, eligible to vote		
211			Jane (B)	51		keeping house	cannot read or write		
212			Margaret (B)	2					
213		Monroe	Harriet (M)	12			cannot read or write		
214		Gaskin	Oliver [Sr] (B)	40	5	farm laborer (R)	$175 personal prop., cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
215			Maria (M)	36		keeping house	cannot read or write		
216			Thomas (M)	11			cannot read or write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
217			Charles (M)	2					
218			Sophia (M)	19			cannot read or write		
219	16	Alexandria	Brinton (M)	65	2	keeping house	cannot write		
220		King	May (B)	11			cannot read or write		
221		Gaskin	Frances (M)	33	5	farmer (O)	$640 real estate, $125 personal prop., can read and write, eligible to vote	no	
222			Roxanna (M)	26		keeping house	cannot read or write		
223			Caroline (M)	5					
224			Louisa (M)	3					
225			Millie E. (M)	1					
226		Lee	Armstead (B)	40	7	farm laborer (R)	tenant on farm of Archie Hobbs (B), cannot write, eligible to vote		
227			Angeline (B)	26		keeping house	cannot read or write		
228			John W. (B)	4					
229			Charles (B)	2					
230			Mary (B)	1					
231			Fannie (B)	69			cannot read or write		
232		Camel	Hannah (B)	69			cannot read or write		
233		Hobbs	Archie (B)	48	1	farmer (O)	$2,000 real estate, $150 personal prop., cannot write, eligible to vote	yes	
234	17	Wilson	Isaac (M)	27	2	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
235			Harriet (B)	20		keeping house	cannot write		
236	18	Turner	Amanda (B)	20	1	[none given] (WH-Hampton Brinton)	cannot read or write		
237		Burrell	Charles (B)	25	1	hostler (WH-Harry B. Warner, innkeeper)	born in NC, cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
238		Roberson	Bert (B)	18	1	waiter (WH-Harry B. Warner, innkeeper)	female, can read and write		
239		Madison	Mary (B)	71	1	cook (WH-Harry B. Warner, innkeeper)	cannot write		
240	19	Hankins	Reuben (B)	58	4	farm laborer (WH-Robert C. Weir, farmer)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
241			Ellen (M)	21			cannot read or write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
242			Rose (M)	4					
243			Nannie (M)	3					
244		Britt	Hester (B)	61	2	keeping house	cannot read or write		
245		Jackson	John (B)	10		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
246		Brown	Thompson (B)	25	1	farm laborer (WH-Emilie E. Johnson)	cannot write, eligible to vote		
247		Chapman	Emma (M)	12	1	at school (WH-Emilie E. Johnson)	attended school in last year, cannot write		
248	20	Lambert	John (M)	48	4	farm laborer (O)	$4,500 real estate, $150 personal prop., cannot read or write, eligible to vote	no	
249			Lizzie (M)	28		keeping house	cannot read or write		
250		Holiman	Lizzie (B)	4					
251			John (B)	1					
252		Weeks	George W. (B)	32	1	carpenter (WH-William Manley, shoemaker)	can read and write, eligible to vote		
253		Brown	Henry (B)	30	4	farm laborer (O)	$150 real estate, cannot read or write, eligible to vote	no	
254			Mary (B)	40		keeping house	cannot read or write		
255			George W. (B)	19		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write		
256		Tyler	Joseph (B)	25		farm laborer	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
257		Francis	Edward (B)	41	1	farm laborer (WH-Joseph J. Cockrell)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
258		Lewis	Charles (B)	32	4	stone mason (WH-Joseph J. Cockrell)	born in KY, cannot write, eligible to vote		
259			Julia (M)	28		domestic servant	born in KY, cannot read or write		
260			Charles (M)	10			born in KY		
261			John (M)	3					
262			Martha (M)	5mo					
263		Penn (Tenn)	Edmond (M)	26	9	carpenter (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
264			Anna (M)	30		keeping house	cannot read or write		
265			Sarah (M)	2					
266			Victory (M)	7mo					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
267		Chapman	Douglas (M)	14		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write		
268			Charles (M)	15		[none given]	cannot read or write		
269			Aggie (M)	87			cannot read or write		
270		Scott	Anna (M)	10			cannot write		
271		Miler	James (M)	15			cannot write		
272		Chapman	[unknown male] (Allison) (M)	30	5	works in restaurant (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
273			Fannie (B)	26		keeping house	cannot read or write		
274	21		Charles (M)	6					
275			Sarah (M)	2					
276			Wilson (M)	1					
277		[Melvin?] (Nelson)	Lewis (M)	36	2	farm laborer (R)	can read and write, eligible to vote		
278			Caroline (M)	20		keeping house	cannot read or write		
279		Queen	Henry (B)	36	5	farm laborer (O)	$125 real estate, born in MD, cannot read or write, eligible to vote	no	
280			Lucinda (M)	31		keeping house	cannot read or write		
281			Ann (M)	13			can read and write		
282			Arthur (M)	11			can read and write		
283			John (M)	9mo					
284		Chapman	Jesse (M)	42	7	farm laborer	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
285			Maria (M)	48		keeping house (O)	$200 real estate, cannot read or write	no	
286			Lucy (M)	22			cannot read or write		
287			Malinda (M)	20			cannot read or write		
288			Virginia (M)	18			cannot read or write		
289			Netta (M)	7			attended school in last year, cannot write		
290			William (M)	1					
291		Shanklin	William (B)	45	8	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
292			Emily (B)	36		keeping house	cannot read or write		
293			Thomas (B)	17		[none given]	cannot read or write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
294			Sarah (B)	15		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write		
295			Henry (B)	12		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write		
296			William (B)	5					
297			George (B)	3					
298			Albert (B)	2					
299		[Hellrine?] (Mellum)	Caroline (B)	16	1	domestic servant (WH-Redmond Foster)	cannot read or write		
300	22	Bull	Jane (B)	13	1	[none given] (WH-Sallie Chichester)	cannot read or write		
301		Hinton	Oliver (B)	34	5	farm laborer (R)	$100 personal prop., born NC, cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
302			Lucy (B)	19		keeping house	cannot read or write		
303			Julia (B)	3					
304			Malinda (B)	1					
305		Dixson	Clay (B)	19		[none given]	cannot read or write		
306		Jenkins	Sina (B)	70	1	domestic servant (WH-Margaret Foster)	cannot read or write		
307		Williams	Lewis (M)	23	5	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write		
308			Charlotte (B)	72		keeping house	cannot read or write		
309			Mary (B)	23			cannot read or write		
310			Julia (M)	24			cannot write, "insane"		
311			Sarah (M)	6					
312		Weston	Andrew (M)	28	3	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
313			Mollie (M)	16		keeping house	cannot read or write		
314			Ann (M)	8mo					
315	23	White	Dick (B)	20	1	farm laborer (WH-William E. Goodwin)	cannot read or write		
316		Jackson	Willis (B)	75	3	farm laborer (R)	tenant on George B. Jones (W)farm, cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
317			Milky (B)	65		keeping house	cannot read or write		
318			Richmond (B)	21		[none given]	can read and write, eligible to vote		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
319		German	Henry (M)	56	4	farmer (R)	$325 personal prop., cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
320			Kitty (M)	50		keeping house	cannot read or write		
321			Adison (M)	26		[none given]	can read and write, eligible to vote		
322			Charles (M)	17		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write [teacher at Manassas school by 1871]		
323	24	Lucas	Charles (M)	70	3	farm laborer (O)	$500 real estate, $125 personal prop., cannot read or write, eligible to vote	no	
324			Charlotte (B)	68		keeping house	cannot read or write		
325			Charles (B)	19		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write		
326		Ames	Solomon (B)	25	1	farm laborer (WH-Frederick W. Poor)	can read and write, eligible to vote		
327		Burr	Ann (B)	18	1	domestic servant (WH-Frederick W. Poor)	can read and write		
328	25	Washington	George (B)	45	2	farmer (O)	$127 real estate, cannot write, eligible to vote	no	
329			Margaret (B)	44		keeping house	cannot read or write		
330		Felton	Isaac (B)	34	1	farm laborer (R)	born NC, cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
331	26	Johnson	Sandy (M)	30	3	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
332			Ann (M)	34		keeping house	born MD, cannot read or write		
333			Cyrus (M)	15			born LA, cannot read or write		
334	27	Francis	Frederick (B)	35	3	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
335			Mary F. (M)	36		keeping house	cannot read or write		
336		Pickett	Edmond (B)	5					
337		Simmons	Worley (B)	26	2	farm laborer (R)	born GA, cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
338			Eliza A. (M)	23		keeping house	cannot read or write		
339	28	Douglas	Daniel (B)	65	5	farm laborer (R)	$100 personal prop., cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
340		Field	Rachel (B)	42		keeping house	cannot read or write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
341			Nancy (B)	16			cannot read or write		
342			Susan (B)	11			cannot read or write		
343			Sally (B)	4					
344		Richardson	Henry (B)	30	5	farm laborer (R)	$115 personal prop., cannot write, eligible to vote		
345			Virginia (B)	40		keeping house	cannot read or write		
346		Davis	Benjamin (B)	23		farm laborer	cannot write, eligible to vote		
347			Lucy (B)	17			cannot write		
348			Mary (B)	6mo					
349		Bradus	James (M)	39	2	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
350			Winnie (M)	70		keeping house	cannot read or write		
351		Jackson	William (M)	43	6	farm laborer (O)	$500 real estate, $100 personal prop., can read and write, eligible to vote	yes	
352			Susan (M)	33		keeping house	cannot read or write		
353			Ellen (M)	13		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
354			Susannah (M)	7			attended school in last year, can read and write		
355			Lattie (M)	2					
356			William (M)	15		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
357	29	Barnett	Richard (B)	60	3	farm laborer (O)	$400 real estate, $100 personal prop., cannot write, eligible to vote	no	
358			Jane (M)	45		keeping house	cannot write		
359		Fields	Charles (B)	13		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write		
360	30	Collins	Washington (M)	63	6	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
361			Dinah (B)	55		keeping house	cannot read or write		
362			Lizzie (M)	10			cannot read or write		
363			Mary (M)	8					
364			Jennie (M)	6					
365			Adison (M)	3					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
366		Spittle	Margaret (M)	40	11	keeping house (O)	$2,500 real estate, $200 personal prop., cannot read or write	yes	
367			Samuel (M)	20		farm laborer	cannot read or write		
368			Frances (M)	18			cannot read or write		
369			William (M)	16			cannot read or write		
370	31		John H. (M)	14			cannot read or write		
371			Mary (M)	12			cannot read or write		
372			Elias (M)	10			cannot read or write		
373			James (M)	8					
374			Stewart (M)	6					
375			Vandergret (M)	4					
376			Eli (M)	2					
377	32	Prim	George W. (B)	49	2	farm laborer (O)	$100 real estate, cannot read or write, eligible to vote	no	
378		Lanson	Fannie (M)	75		keeping house	cannot read or write		
379		Dyer	John (M)	23	4	farm laborer (R)	born MS, cannot write, eligible to vote; USCT, Co. D, 43rd Reg.		
380			Hattie (B)	19		keeping house	cannot read or write		
381			William (M)	2					
382		Ordis	Rufus (B)	30		farm laborer	born SC, can read and write, eligible to vote		
383		Pinn (Prim)	Houson (M)	59	3	farmer (O)	$1,100 real estate, $500 personal prop., cannot write, eligible to vote	yes	
384			Patta (M)	63		keeping house	cannot write		
385			Judith (M)	17			can read and write		
386		Stokes	Francis M. (M)	30	3	carpenter (O)	$600 real estate, $225 personal prop., born DC, can read and write, eligible to vote	yes	
387			Sally (M)	28		keeping house	can read and write		
388			Landonia (M)	4					
389		Stokes	Warner (M)	39	7	farm laborer (O)	$200 real estate, $100 personal prop., cannot read or write, eligible to vote	no	
390			Rose (M)	30		keeping house	can read and write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
391			Randolph (M)	14		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write		
392			James (M)	13		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write		
393			Ann (M)	2					
394	33	Powers	Sandy (B)	16		farm laborer	attended school in last year, cannot write		
395			Laura (B)	9			born DC		
396		Stokes	Travis (M)	54	4	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
397			Sarah (M)	52		keeping house	cannot read or write		
398			William (M)	16		at school	attended school in last year, cannot read or write		
399			Vianna (M)	12		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
400		Willis	Daniel (M)	78	2	[none given]	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
401			Phebe (B)	55		keeping house	cannot read or write		
402		Griffin	Cyrus (B)	50	5	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
403			Fannie (M)	48		keeping house	cannot read or write		
404			Louisa (M)	12		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
405			Cyrus (M)	9			attended school in last year, can read and write		
406			William (M)	3					
407	34	Green	Ann E. (M)	20	2	domestic servant (WH-John Leachman, farmer)	can read and write		
408			George (M)	1					
409		Smith	Patsy (B)	16	1	[none given] (WH-John D. Dogan, farmer)	cannot write		
410		Nash	Henry (M)	28	1	[none given] (WH-Lucinda Dogan, son a farmer)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
411		Trott	Edmond (M)	13	1	[none given] (WH-Lucinda Dogan, son a farmer)	cannot write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
412		Prim	Margaret (M)	38	3	domestic servant (WH-Lucinda Dogan, son a farmer	cannot read or write		
413			Eliza (M)	8					
414			Mary (M)	5					
415		Jackson	Dennis (M)	65	5	farm laborer (R)	$175 personal prop., cannot read or write, eligible to vote [probably tenant on Lucinda Dogan farm]		
416			Martha (M)	55		keeping house	cannot read or write		
417			Sewell (M)	13		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
418			Susan (M)	5					
419		Brown	Samuel (M)	21		[none given]	born SC, cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
420		Redman	Andrew (B)	39	2	blacksmith (R)	$110 personal prop., can read and write, eligible to vote [tenant on same farm as Dennis Jackson]		
421			Martin (B)	36		blacksmith	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
422		Robinson	James (M)	70	5	farmer (O)	$3,250 real estate, $550 personal prop., cannot read or write, eligible to vote	yes	
423			Susan (M)	65		keeping house	cannot read or write		
424			Bladen (M)	23		[none given]	can read and write, eligible to vote		
425			Etta (M)	24		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
426		Martin	Robert (B)	24		farm laborer	can read and write, eligible to vote		
427	35	Page	Mary (M)	54	5	keeping house	cannot read or write		
428			Amos (M)	16		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
429			Henrietta (M)	17		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
430			John (M)	12		at school	attended school in last year, cannot read or write		
431			Emily (M)	3					
432		Brandus (Brander)	Franklin (B)	25	1	farm laborer (WH-William B. Wheeler, farmer)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
433		Gaskin	Hampton (M)	65	4	farmer (O)	$1,550 real estate, $410 personal prop., cannot read or write, eligible to vote	yes	
434			Sallie (M)	65		keeping house	cannot read or write		
435		Fletcher	Martha (M)	17		at school	attended school in last year, cannot read or write		
436		Robinson	Betsy (M)	24		at school	attended school in last year, cannot read or write		
437		Cole	Jennie (M)	16	1	domestic servant (WH-Hephertch Smith, farmer)	cannot read or write		
438		Davis	Albert (B)	21	1	farm laborer (WH-Hephertch Smith, farmer	attended school in last year, can read and write, eligible to vote		
439	36	Ewell	Sarah (B)	35	9	keeping house (R)	cannot read or write		
440			Claricy (B)	10			attended school in last year, cannot read or write		
441			Martha (M)	5					
442			Fannie (M)	3					
443			John (M)	5mo					
444		Lucas	Mary (M)	28		[none given]	cannot write		
445			Powell (M)	4					
446			Thomas (M)	1					
447		Nash	Phillip (M)	30		farm laborer	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
448		Washington	David (M)	28	2	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
449			Mary (B)	24		keeping house	cannot read or write		
450		Mitchell	Burt (M)	31	4	farm laborer (WH-Benjamin Johnson, farmer)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
451			Winnie (M)	24		[none given]	cannot read or write		
452	37		Jane (M)	2					
453			Penalton (M)	3					
454		Thompson	Melvin (M)	8	1	(WH-Benjamin Johnson, farmer)	attended school in last year, can read and write		
455		Mitchell	Jesse (M)	28	6	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
456			Mary (M)	27		keeping house	cannot read or write		
457			Susan W. (M)	16		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
458			Charlotte (M)	10		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
459			Mariah (M)	3					
460			Rose (M)	1					
461		King	Phillip (B)	38	8	farm laborer (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
462			Rosetta (M)	34		keeping house	cannot read or write		
463			Richard H. (M)	18		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
464			Eliza (M)	13		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
465			Mary (M)	12		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
466			Sallie (M)	9					
467			Hannah (M)	6					
468			Charlotte (M)	3					
469		Mitchell	Benjamin (M)	60	1	[none given]	cannot read or write, eligible to vote [tenant on same farm as Phillip King]		
470		White	Peter (B)	14	1	[none given] (WH-Henry W. Cunningham, farmer)	cannot write		
471		Monroe	Milton (B)	33	10	farm laborer (R)	cannot write, eligible to vote		
472			Adeline (M)	42		keeping house	cannot read or write		
473			Lucien (B)	23		[none given]	cannot write, eligible to vote		
474			Pierce (M)	17		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
475			Martha (M)	15		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write		
476			Buck (M)	13		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write		
477			Ida (M)	10		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
478			William (M)	5					
479			Mary (M)	2					
480		Cole	Frank (M)	16		at school	attended school in last year, can read and write		
481	38	Thomas	John (B)	31	3	farm laborer (R)	$100 personal prop., born CT, cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
482			Kate L. (B)	39		keeping house	cannot read or write		
483			Henry (B)	4					
484	39	Bartlett	Scott (B)	49	3	stone mason (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
485			Lucy (M)	34		keeping house	cannot read or write		
486			James L. (M)	14		at school	attended school in last year, cannot write		
487		Coleman	Charles (B)	25	6	stone cutter (R)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
488			Roberta (M)	25		keeping house	cannot read or write		
489		Hughs	Georgianna (M)	6					
490			Ann (M)	4					
491			Henrietta (M)	3					
492			Benjamin (M)	1					
493		Thomas	John (B)	16	1	[none given] (WH-Frances J. Cannon, retired merchant)	born DC, cannot read or write		
494	40	Miles	Dranda (M)	49	4	keeping house (O)	$1,200 real estate, $150 personal prop., cannot read or write	no	
495			James (M)	18		farm laborer	attended school in last year, can read and write		
496		Ivison (Ivjson)	Lydia (B)	19			attended school in last year, can read and write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
497		Stokes	Joseph (M)	21		blacksmith	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
498		Lomax	William (B)	40	8	shoemaker (O)	$1,300 real estate, $200 personal prop., can read and write, eligible to vote; USCT, Co. D, 43rd Reg.	no	
499			Sarah (M)	41		keeping house	cannot read or write		
500			Warner (M)	22		shoemaker	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
501			Daniel (M)	19		farm laborer	attended school in last year, cannot write		
502			Hattie (M)	18			cannot read or write		
503			Lucy (M)	16			cannot read or write		
504			David (M)	10			attended school in last year, can read and write		
505			William (M)	8			attended school in last year, can read and write		
506		Annison	George (B)	25	1	farm laborer (R)	born NC, cannot read or write, eligible to vote [tenant on William Lomax prop.]		
507		Willins	Samuel (B)	55	1	carpenter (R)	cannot write [tenant on William Lomax prop.]		
508		Lucas	Lucy (M)	21	3	domestic servant (WH-Lucien N. Fewell)	attended school in last year, cannot read or write		
509			Isabella (M)	7					
510			Elsevanna (M)	1					
511		Naylor	Maria (M)	29	5	keeping house (R)	cannot write		
512	41		Georgianna (M)	11			attended school in last year, can read and write		
513			Sarah (M)	7					
514			John T. (M)	4					
515			Mollie (M)	2					
516		Robinson	John (B)	26	3	farm laborer (WH-William W. Davis, farmer)	cannot write, eligible to vote		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
517			Rachel (B)	23		domestic servant (WH-William W. Davis, farmer)	cannot read or write		
518			John H. (B)	9mo		(WH-William W. Davis, farmer)			
519		Crask	John (B)	65	1	works on road (WH-William W. Davis, farmer)	can read and write, eligible to vote		
520		Payne	Joseph (B)	22	1	[none given] (WH-William W. Davis, farmer)	cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
521		Frye	William (M)	19	1	[none given] (WH-William W. Davis, farmer)	can read and write		
522		Lucas	Anna (B)	25	1	domestic servant (WH-Charles L. Hynson, retired merchant)	cannot read or write		
523		Prim	George (B)	18	1	blacksmith (WH-Charles L. Hynson, retired merchant)	can read and write		
524		Chapman	Henry (M)	45	7	farm laborer (R)	$100 personal prop., cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
525			Mary (M)	47		keeping house	cannot write		
526			Sallie (M)	10		at school	attended school in last year, cannot read or write		
527			James (M)	8			attended school in last year		
528			John (M)	7					
529			Jacksen (M)	5					
530			Sarah (M)	3					
531		Green	Jeremiah (M)	50	10	farm laborer (R)	$150 personal prop., cannot read or write, eligible to vote		
532			Sallie (M)	49		keeping house	cannot read or write		
533			Mary (M)	17			cannot read or write		
534	42		Georgianna (M)	15		at school	attended school in last year, cannot read or write		
535			William (M)	13		at school	attended school in last year, cannot read or write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
536			Robert M. (M)	12		at school	attended school in last year, cannot read or write		
537			Sallie L. (M)	10		at school	attended school in last year, cannot read or write		
538			David A. (M)	8			attended school in last year, can read and write		
539			James R. (M)	5					
540			Maggie S. (M)	3					
541		Conway	Nancy (B)	52	1	domestic servant (WH-Richard Weir, farmer)	cannot read or write		
542		Burls	Ellen (M)	12	1	[none given] (WH-Richard Weir, farmer)	cannot read or write		
543		Jett	Lewis T. (B)	20	1	[none given] (WH-Richard Weir, farmer)	cannot write		
544					541				

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1	**1880 PAGE#**	**Manassas Town SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**1877 Vote**
2	1	Burk	Fanny (B)	71	1	servant-cook & washer (WH-Charles H. Whittington, telegraph operator	married	
3	2	Thomas	Henry (M)	12	1	servant (WH-Alex H. Roseberry, green grocer)		
4		Loggins	John (B)	16	1	laborer (WH-Thomas M. Honchens, harness maker	born MD, parents born MD	
5	3	Thomas	Kate (B)	40	1	cook & washer (WH-Francis M. Todd, minister)	widow, deaf and dumb	
6		Johnson	John (B)	44	4	bootmaker		√
7			Mary A. (M)	34		housekeeper		
8			Jack (B)	15		laborer	brother, attended school within the year	
9		Gaskins	Mary (M)	8		at home	neice, attended school within the year	
10	4	Turner	Samuel Lewis (M)	9	1	at home (WH-Hampton Brenton, farmer)	attended school within the year	
11		Haskins	Carrie (B)	21	1	domestic servant (WH-Hampton Brenton, farmer)		
12		Davis	George W. (B)	29	6	barber		
13			Lavinia (B)	20		housekeeper		
14			Charles Edw. (B)	5		at home		
15			Sarah A. (B)	3		at home		
16			Cora Lee [Lu?] (B)	2		at home		
17		Jones	Ivana (B)	7		at home	neice, attended school within the year	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
18		Bolar	Henry (M)	45	4	blacksmith	cannot read or write [household includes a white occupant who "boards at Mr. Haxsons"	
19			Mann (B)	41		housekeeper	cannot read or write	
20			Channie R. (B)	20		seamstress		
21			Adelaide V. (B)	18		at home		
22		Butler	Harriet (B)	58	1	housekeeper	cannot read or write	
23		Miles	Dundy (M)	58	2	housekeeper	widow, cannot read or write	
24		Braxton	Bettie (B)	35		housekeeper	cannot read or write	
25		Stokes	Joseph (M)	35	6	blacksmith	cannot read or write	
26			Lydia (B)	30		housekeeper	cannot read or write	
27			Chaney Ana (B)	9		at home	attended school within the year	
28			James (B)	3		at home		
29			Bettie E. (B)	3		at home		
30			Joseph H. (B)	1		at home		
31		Lomax	William M. (B)	58	4	shoemaker		√
32			Sarah (B)	48		housekeeper	cannot read or write	
33			Daniel (B)	24		shoemaker		
34			Annie (M)	21		domestic servant	daughter-in-law	
35	5	Lucas	Thomas (M)	57	5	laborer		
36			Maria (M)	48		housekeeper		
37			Samuel (M)	9		at home		
38			Maria (M)	3		at home		
39			Clarence (M)	2				
40		Robinson	Richard (B)	36	9	works on repairing railroad	cannot write	
41			Ann M. (M)	33		housekeeper	born DC, parents born MD, cannot read or write	
42		Butler	Joseph (M)	8		at home	step-son	
43			Henry (M)	6		at home	step-son	
44		Robinson	James (B)	5		at home		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
45			Sarah (M)	4		at home		
46			Emma J. (M)	2		at home		
47		Jones	Nellie (B)	1		at home	boarded for mother	
48		Hull	Sarah (B)	7mo		at home	boarded for mother	
49		Dyer	John (B)	36	8	well digger	born MS, parents MS	√
50			Hetty (B)	30		housekeeper		
51			William (B)	12		at home	attended school within the year	
52			Lucinda (B)	8		at home	attended school within the year	
53			Josephine (B)	6		at home	attended school within the year	
54			Frances (B)	5		at home		
55			Roberta A. (B)	4		at home		
56			Pauline (B)	2		at home		
57		Strother (Shorner)	Fielding (B)	54	5	laborer	cannot read or write	
58			Caroline (B)	28		housekeeper	cannot read or write	
59			Moses (B)	6		at home		
60			David (B)	2		at home		
61			Matthew (B)	2mo		at home		
62		Williams	Lewis (B)	31	7	laborer		
63			Lucy (B)	28		housekeeper		
64			Lucy Ellen (B)	8mo		at home		
65		Langston	William (M)	14		at home	step-son	
66			Lavinia (B)	5		at home	step-daughter	
67			Hunter (B)	3		at home	step-son	
68		Gant	Milley (B)	70		at home	"step mother"	
69	6	Goings	Thomas (M)	50	6	blacksmith	cannot read or write	
70			Frankey (B)	50		housekeeper	cannot read or write	
71		Davis	George Lee (M)	16		laborer	step son	
72		Mitchell	Rosa Lee (M)	11		at home	adopted daughter	
73		Williams	Martin (M)	18		employee, works in blacksmith shop		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
74		Lomax	Daniel S. (B)	85		no occupation	cannot read or write, "no [deelings?] with family"	
75		Thomas	John (M)	14	1	employee, laborer (WH-Charles E. Brawner)		
76	7	Foster	Edmond (B)	60	5	well digger		√
77			Lucy (B)	50		housekeeper		
78			Lucy (B)	15		at home	attended school within the year	
79			Abraham (B)	13		laborer	attended school within the year	
80		Phenix	Mary Jane (B)	26		at home	step daughter, disabled	
81		Robinson	Arthur (M)	35	6	carpenter	cannot read or write	
82			Lucy (M)	31		housekeeper	cannot read or write	
83			Walter (M)	8		at home	attended school within the year	
84			Arthur (M)	1				
85		Lucas	Belle (M)	14			step daughter, attended school within the year	
86		Monroe (Mowen)	Lucien (B)	33		boarder	disabled	
87		Davis	Benjamin (B)	32	4	stone mason		√
88			Letty (B)	41		housekeeper	cannot read or write	
89		Pendleton	Alfred (M)	17		works at Hotel	step son	
90			William (B)	8		at home	adopted son, born DC	
91		Robinson	John (B)	38	8	works at Express Office	cannot write	√
92			Rachael (B)	35		housekeeper	cannot read or write	
93			John T. (B)	10		at home	attended school within the year	
94			Kate Fanny (B)	9		in washing & laundry [?]	attended school within the year	
95			Mary I. (B)	6			attended school within the year	
96			Annie (B)	1				

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
97		Warden	Rachael (B)	80			widow, cannot read or write	
98	8	Robinson	William (B)	22		works in RR depot		
99		Chapman	John (M)	24	2	hostler	cannot read or write	
100			Bettie (M)	21		housekeeper		
101		White	Cora (M)	19	1	house servant (WH-Willie A. Davis, housekeeper)		
102		Jackson	Allen (B)	37	1	brick maker	married	
103					101			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1	**1880 PAGE#**	**Manassas District SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**Agriculture Census (page #)**	**1877 Vote**
2	9	Bell	John (B)	39	7	laborer	cannot read or write		
3			Lucretia (B)	38		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
4			Susan (B)	13		at home	attended school within the year		
5			Amanda (B)	10		at home	attended school within the year		
6			Charles (B)	8		at home			
7			Hattie (B)	4		at home			
8			John Thomas (B)	2		at home			
9			Isadora (B)	2mo		at home			
10		Minor	Strother (B)	40	6	farm laborer	cannot read or write		
11			Harriet E. (B)	59		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
12			Roberta (B)	14		"hired from home"	attended school within the year		
13			Josephine (B)	6		at home			
14			Edward (B)	4		at home	grandson		
15			Hester (B)	2		at home	granddaughter		
16		Mitchell	Burke (B)	39	5	farm laborer	cannot read or write		√
17	10		Winnie (B)	36		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
18			William (B)	14		at home	attended school within the year		
19			Jane (B)	11		at home			
20			Nelson (B)	2		at home			
21		Meredith	Lawson (B)	26	1	employee, laborer (WH-John R. Tillett, bridge builder)	cannot read or write		
22	11	Brown	Thompson (B)	35	3	farm laborer	cannot read or write		
23			Ann (B)	42		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
24			Nellie May (M)	6		at home	adopted daughter, attended school within the year		
25	12	Roy	Joseph (M)	29	6	farm laborer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (3)	
26			Hattie (B)	23		housekeeper	cannot read or write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
27			Albert (B)	4		at home			
28			Joseph (B)	3		at home			
29			Alice (B)	2					
30			Charles (B)	7mo					
31		[Toliver] (Folem)	Richard (B)	31	6	farm laborer	cannot read or write [name also often given as Taliaferro]		√
32			Virginia (M)	27		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
33			Cora R. (M)	9		at home	step daughter, attended school within the year		
34			Sarah (M)	4		at home	step daughter		
35			Lucy (B)	2		at home			
36			Independence (B)	5mo		at home	son		
37		Wilkens	Unah[?] (Urich)(B)	34	7	laborer	cannot read or write		
38			Bettie (B)	26		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
39			Sophia A. (B)	11		at home	attended school within the year		
40			George H. (B)	9		at home	attended school within the year		
41			Laura V. (B)	7					
42			John N. (B)	6					
43			Stanley U. (B)	1					
44		Mitchell	Benjamin (M)	73	1	farm laborer	widower, cannot read or write		
45		King	Philip (B)	50	5	farm laborer	cannot read or write		
46	13		Rosetta (M)	44		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
47			Richard (B)	24		[none given]	cannot read or write		√
48			Hannah (B)	15					
49			Charlotte A. (B)	13					
50		Gaskins	Frank (M)	41	10	farmer		yes, renter (4)	√
51			Roxann (B)	35		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
52			Caroline (M)	13		cook & washer			
53			Louisa (M)	13		at home	attended school within the year		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
54			Willie E. (M)	11		at home	attended school within the year		
55			Frank Jr. (M)	9		at home	attended school within the year		
56			John (M)	7		at home			
57			Edwin H. (M)	5		at home			
58			Charles W. (M)	3		at home			
59			Joseph (M)	1		at home			
60		Brown	Henry (B)	41	8	farm laborer	cannot read or write		
61			Mary Ann (B)	48		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
62			George W. (B)	21		farm laborer			
63		Shanklin	Wm. Henry (B)	14		farm laborer	nephew		
64			Robert (B)	8		farm laborer	nephew		
65	14		George (B)	13		"Doing H work"	nephew, cannot read or write		
66			Albert (B)	12		"Doing H work"	nephew, cannot read or write, cannot write		
67		Tunsall	Nancy (B)	75			boarder		
68		Francis	Edward (B)	60	1	employee, farm laborer (WH-Joseph J. Cockrell, farmer)	cannot read or write		
69		Monroe	Jesse (B)	33	2	employee, farm laborer (WH-Joseph J. Cockrell, farmer)	cannot write		
70			Laverna (B)	42		employee, cook & washer	cannot read or write		
71		Look	Andrew (M)	12	3	laborer (WH-Joseph J. Cockrell, farmer)	attended school within the year		
72			Dennis (M)	10		laborer	attended school within the year		
73			Thana (M)	8		at home	attended school within the year		
74		Penn	James E. (M)	46	10	carpenter	cannot read or write		√
75			Anna (M)	41		housekeeper	cannot read or write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
76			Sarah E. (M)	12		at home	attended school within the year		
77			Lu Victoria (M)	10		at home	attended school within the year		
78			Roxa E. (M)	9		at home	attended school within the year		
79			Wallen Mosby (M)	7		at home			
80			Fannie M. (M)	5		at home			
81			Joseph M. (M)	4		at home			
82			Nellie Ann (M)	2		at home			
83			Mary Jane (M)	1		at home			
84		Stafford	Hannah (B)	62	3	housekeeper	widow, cannot read or write		
85			Joseph (B)	23		farm laborer	son, cannot write		√
86			Sallie (B)	17		"with mother"	daughter, attended school within the year		
87		Council	Hawson (B)	33	5	farm laborer	widower, cannot read or write		√
88			Stephen (B)	7		at home			
89			Sylva (B)	5		at home			
90			Susan (B)	3		at home			
91		Leroy	William (B)	4		at home	boarder, "belongs with Hannah Stafford's family"		
92		Chapman	Jessie (M)	59	4	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (5)	
93			Maria (M)	56		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
94		Smith	Charlotte (M)	19		at home	wife's granddaughter		
95		Chapman	William (M)	11		at home	wife's grandson		
96		Mitchell	Jesse (M)	37	6	farm laborer	widower, cannot read or write		
97		Carter	Susan (B)	26		housekeeper	step daughter, cannot read or write		
98		Mitchell	Ellen (M)	13		at home	attended school within the year		
99			Jesse (M)	7		at home	attended school within the year		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
100			Sarah (M)	6		at home	attended school within the year		
101			Jethrue (M)	5		at home			
102	15	Lucas	Jerry (M)	71	6	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (5)	
103			Joana (M)	61		housekeeper	cannot write		
104			James (M)	27		farm laborer			
105			Caroline (M)	22		at home			
106			Jeremiah (M)	15		laborer	attended school within the year		
107			Reuben (M)	12		laborer	attended school within the year		
108		Chapman	Nancy (B)	50	6	housekeeper	widow, cannot read or write		
109			Robert (B)	18		laborer			
110			Henry (B)	12		laborer			
111			William (B)	10		at home	attended school within the year		
112			Eugene (B)	6		at home			
113		Stuart	Martha (B)	52		cook & washer	boarder, married		
114		Taylor	William (B)	54	6	blacksmith	cannot write		√
115			Sarah (B)	46		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
116			Laura (B)	9		at home	attended school within the year		
117			William (B)	8		at home	attended school within the year		
118			Margaretta (B)	6		at home			
119			Charles (B)	5		at home			
120	16	German	Henry (B)	62	3	farmer	cannot read or write		√
121			Catharine (B)	60		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
122		Bailey	Wm. Henry (B)	5		at home	grandson		
123		German	Charles (B)	26	6	school teacher			√
124			Adeline (B)	25		housekeeper			
125			Lavinia (B)	5		at home			
126			Rosana (B)	3		at home			
127			Charles (B)	2		at home			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
128			William A. (B)	2mo		at home			
129		Lucas	Charles (B)	80	4	farmer	widower, cannot read or write	yes, owner (7)	
130			John (B)	45		laborer	cannot read or write		
131			Virginia (B)	40		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
132			Ellen (B)	3		at home			
133	17	Berry	William (B)	38	3	farm laborer	cannot read or write		
134			Jennie (B)	27		housekeeper			
135			Annie (B)	5		at home			
136		Pickett	America (B)	58	3	housekeeper	cannot read or write		
137			Reuben N. (B)	31		laborer	cannot read or write		
138			Rose A. (B)	19		at home			
139		Penn	Robert (M)	49	6	farm laborer	cannot read or write		
140			Jane (M)	39		"in Sumer away"			
141			Sarah J. (M)	14		housekeeper	attended school within the year		
142			Gabrielle (M)	11		at home	attended school within the year		
143			Mary (M)	9		at home	attended school within the year		
144			Bettie (M)	7		at home	attended school within the year		
145	18	Tyler	Richard (M)	63	5	farmer	cannot read or write		
146			Minta (M)	43		housekeeper	cannot write		
147			Elenora (M)	5		at home	attended school within the year		
148			Emma K. E. (M)	3		at home			
149		Scroggins	Sarah E. (M)	13		at home	step daughter, attended school within the year		
150		Chapman	Addison (M)	39	9	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (8)	
151			Martha Ellen (M)	32		housekeeper			
152			Charles Wm. (B)	13		laborer	attended school within the year		
153			Sarah Ann (B)	12		at home	attended school within the year		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
154			Major Wilson (B)	11		at home	attended school within the year		
155			Emma Jane (B)	9		at home	attended school within the year		
156			John David (M)	4		at home			
157			Maria Eliz. (M)	3		at home			
158			James Edw. (M)	1		at home			
159		Gaskins	Elizabeth (B)	40	7	housekeeper	widow, cannot read or write	yes, shares (8)	
160			Elizabeth (B)	18		at home			
161			Archie (B)	15		laborer on farm	cannot read or write		
162			Andrew (B)	13		laborer on farm	cannot read or write		
163			Martha A. (B)	11		at home	cannot read or write		
164			Willie (B)	9		at home			
165			Hannah (B)	7		at home			
166		Penn	Douglas (M)	26	4	laborer (WH-Ferdmond Weedon, farmer)			
167			Martha (B)	23		housekeeper			
168			Georgianna (B)	2mo		at home			
169		Monroe	Adeline (B)	6		at home	step daughter		
170		Monroe	Milton (B)	42	7	farm laborer	widower, cannot write		√
171			Ida (B)	19		hired out			
172			William (B)	14		at home			
173			Mary (B)	13		at home			
174		Shanklin	James (B)	7		at home	son		
175			Emma (B)	5		at home	daughter		
176			Maria (B)	3		at home	daughter		
177		Robinson	Friday (B)	65	5	farm laborer	cannot read or write		
178			Adeline (B)	56		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
179			Bertie (B)	29		at home			
180			Edwin (B)	25		laborer	cannot read or write		
181			George Wm. (B)	6		at home	grandson, attended school within the year		
182	19		Henry (B)	4		at home	grandson		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
183		Prim	George (B)	25	4	blacksmith	cannot read or write [purchased land in 1872 from Wm. Lomax]		
184			Isabella (M)	23		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
185			Bell (Bolt) W. (B)	11mo		at home			
186		Hawkins	William (B)	11		at home	"left by mother"		
187		Kelly	William (B)	28	8	farm laborer	cannot read or write		
188			Anna (B)	31		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
189			Louisa (B)	6		at home	attended school within the year		
190			Lena (B)	4		at home			
191			Lewis (B)	2		at home			
192			Willie Anna (B)	4mo		at home			
193		Lucas	Alcinda (B)	13		at home	daughter, attended school within the year		
194			Robert (B)	10		at home	son, attended school within the year		
195		Naylor	Henry (B)	62	9	farm laborer	cannot read or write		√
196			Nimia (B)	50		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
197			Jarret (B)	21		farm laborer			
198			Nelly (B)	19		cook & washer	cannot read or write		
199			Henry (B)	12		laborer	attended school within the year, cannot write		
200			Ida (B)	10		at home	attended school within the year		
201			William (B)	5		at home			
202			Millie (B)	4		at home			
203			Dora (B)	2		at home			
204		Botts	Anthony (B)	61	3	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (9)	
205			Susan (B)	55		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
206			Anthony Jr. (B)	23		laborer			
207		Ellis	John (B)	26	2	farm laborer	cannot read or write		
208			Rosa (B)	25		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
209		Hoskins	Spencer (B)	45	10	farm laborer	cannot read or write		
210			Maria (B)	45		housekeeper	cannot read or write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
211			Spencer Jr. (B)	22		farm laborer			
212			Robert I. (B)	18		farm laborer			
213			Fannie (B)	16		cook & washer			
214			Martha (B)	13		at home	cannot write		
215			Mary Ann (B)	10		at home			
216			Emma (B)	7		at home			
217			Peachey (B)	6		at home			
218	20		Andrew J. (B)	4		at home			
219		Ryles	Abe (B)	26	3	plasterer			
220			Ellen (B)	23		housekeeper			
221			Governor W. (B)	7mo		at home			
222		Robinson	Alfred (B)	55	7	farm laborer	single	yes, owner (9)	
223		Spittle	Ellen (W)	45		housekeeper	single, Spittle-Bradford-Gaskins "one family"		
224		Bradford	Anna (W)	24		at home	daughter, single		
225		Gaskins	Ida (M)	7		at home	granddaughter		
226			Laura (M)	4		at home	granddaughter		
227			Ernest (M)	1		at home	grandson		
228		Gaskins	Richard (B)	23		farm laborer	single		
229		Thorne	Jesse (B)	68	4	laborer	cannot read or write		
230			Helen (B)	50		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
231			Washington (B)	19		laborer	cannot read or write		
232			Jesse (B)	14		laborer	attended school within the year		
233		Johnson	Peyton (B)	60	5	laborer	cannot read or write [purchased land in 1872 from Wm. Lomax]		√
234			Sinah (B)	50		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
235			Letty (B)	8		at home	attended school within the year		
236	21		Lucinda (B)	6		at home			
237			Littleton (B)	2		at home			
238		James	Henry (B)	45	8	laborer	cannot read or write		
239			Mary (B)	45		housekeeper	cannot read or write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
240			Flenrey (Henry)(B)	13		at home	attended school within the year		
241			Kennen (B)	13		at home	attended school within the year		
242			Henry (B)	9		at home			
243			Mary (B)	6		at home			
244			Letty (B)	1		at home			
245		Jackson	Dennis (M)	19		laborer	step son		
246		Coleman	Charles (B)	38	8	laborer	cannot read or write		√
247			Roberta (M)	36		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
248			Benjamin (M)	11		at home	step son, attended school within the year		
249			Ellor (B)	9		at home	attended school within the year		
250			Roberta C. (B)	7		at home	attended school within the year		
251			Mary V. (B)	6		at home	attended school within the year		
252			Charles Edw. (B)	2		at home			
253		Hampton	Henrietta	13		hired out	step daughter, attended school within the year		
254		Paine	George Sr. (B)	55	3	laborer	cannot read or write		
255			Mary (B)	60		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
256		Buckner	William (M)	5		at home	adopted son		
257	22	Francis	Frederick (B)	60	2	laborer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (10)	
258			Mary (B)	57		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
259		Williams	Edward (B)	56	2	farm laborer	cannot read or write		
260		Henderson	Arthur (B)	12		at home	nephew, cannot read or write		
261		Curry	Louisa (B)	34	4	housekeeper	widow, cannot read or write		
262			Nancy (B)	11		at home	attended school within the year		
263		Williams	Charlotte (B)	82		at home	widow, mother		
264			Julia (B)	32		at home	sister		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
265		Jett (Jott)	Lucy (B)	50	5	housekeeper	widow, cannot read or write	yes, owner (11)	
266			Philip (B)	27		farm laborer	son		
267		Carter	Richard (B)	20		farm laborer	son, attended school within the year		
268			Randolph (B)	18		farm laborer	son, attended school within the year		
269	23		Georgiann (B)	14		at home	daughter		
270		Doleman	Peter (B)	47	11	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (11)	
271			Sarah V. (B)	38		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
272			Robert H. (B)	23		farm laborer			√
273			John W. (B)	20		farm laborer			
274			Lewis R. (B)	15		farm laborer	born MD, attended school within the year		
275			William S. (B)	12		farm laborer	attended school within the year		
276			Cora (B)	9		at home	attended school within the year		
277			May C. (B)	6		at home			
278			Alfred N. (B)	5		at home			
279			Rebecca Ann (B)	3		at home			
280			Sarah (B)	1		at home			
281		Carter	William (B)	65	3	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, shares (11)	
282			Juda (B)	60		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
283			Andrew (B)	12		at home	born DC, grandson		
284		Naylor	Philip (B)	44	3	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (11)	√
285			Amanda (B)	36		housekeeper			
286		Hawkins	Lula (B)	8		at home	boarder		
287	24	Toler	Peter (B)	67	5	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (12)	
288			Maria (B)	63		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
289			Henry (B)	33		farm laborer			
290			Lucy (B)	27		at home			
291		Fields	Edward (B)	12		at home	grandson, cannot read or write		
292		Barnett	Richard (B)	68	2	farm laborer	cannot write		√

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
293			Jane (B)	57		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
294		Broadus	James (B)	51	2	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (12)	√
295			Winnie (B)	75		housekeeper	wife, cannot read or write		
296		Butler	William (B)	69	4	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (12)	√
297			Letty (B)	70		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
298		Purcell	Louisa (B)	19		at home	adopted daughter		
299			John (B)	2		at home	adopted son		
300		Jackson	William (B)	60	4	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (12)	√
301			Susan (B)	60		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
302			Letty (B)	13		at home	born MD, attended school within the year, cannot read or write		
303			Thomas (B)	9		at home	attended school within the year, cannot read or write		
304		Douglas	Daniel (B)	78	6	farmer	widower, cannot read or write	yes, owner (13)	√
305		Fields	Rachael (B)	55		housekeeper	widow, sister-in-law, cannot read or write		
306			Susan (B)	23		laborer	cannot read or write		
307			Edward (B)	3		at home			
308			Hattie (B)	2		at home			
309		Robinson	Robert (B)	15		laborer	cannot read or write		
310		Lucas	Mary (B)	25	2	cook & washer (WH-Robert Keys, farm laborer)	married, cannot read or write		
311			Nora (B)	5		at home			
312		Cook	James (B)	70	1	laborer	widower, cannot read or write		
313	25	Allen	Amos (B)	65	2	farm laborer	cannot read or write		
314			Daphne (B)	55		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
315		Barnes	Martha (B)	19	1	cook & washer (WH-Mary Kinchelor, housekeeper)	employee		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
316		Barnes	Virginia [?] (B)	16	1	house servant (WH-Mary Kinchelor, housekeeper)	employee, cannot write		
317		Collins	Washington (M)	64	3	farmer	cannot read or write	no (renter 1870)	
318			Dinah (B)	69		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
319		Barnes (Barry)	Addison (M)	14		laborer			
320		Orange	James (B)	60	11	farmer	cannot write	yes, owner (16)	
321			Sarah (B)	48		housekeeper	cannot write		
322			Agnes (B)	28		cook & washer			
323			Lucy (B)	17		cook & washer			
324		Hubbard	James (B)	9		at home	grandson		
325	26		Sarah (B)	7		at home	granddaughter		
326			Bessie (B)	4		at home	granddaughter		
327		Jones	Robert (B)	14		at home	wife's nephew, cannot write		
328			Roberta (B)	7		at home	wife's niece		
329			Mary (B)	5		at home	wife's niece		
330			Carter (B)	40		farm laborer	"niece's husband," diasbled, cannot read or write		
331		Richardson	Henry (B)	50	3	laborer	cannot read or write		√
332			Jinney (B)	48		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
333			Pinkey (B)	9		at home	attended school within the year		
334		Penolew [?] (Penole)	Washington (B)	26	5	laborer	cannot write		
335			Lucy (B)	26		housekeeper			
336		Davis	May (B)	10		at home	step daughter		
337			Martha (B)	8		at home	step daughter		
338		Bell	Henry (B)	38		laborer	"dumb but not deaf," cannot read or write		
339		Spittle	Mary (M)	50	9	farmer	cannot read or write		
340			Andrew (M)	25		farm laborer	cannot read or write	yes, shares (14)	
341			John (M)	23		farm laborer	cannot read or write		√
342			Elias (M)	20		farm laborer	cannot read or write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
343			James (M)	16		farm laborer	cannot read or write		
344			Stuart (M)	15		farm laborer	cannot read or write		
345			Vandergraft (M)	14		farm laborer	cannot read or write		
346			Eli (M)	12		farm laborer	cannot read or write		
347			George (M)	8		farm laborer	cannot read or write		
348		Naylor	Nellie (B)	81	11	housekeeper	cannot read or write	yes, owner (16)	
349		Randolph	John (B)	45		farmer	son-in-law, cannot read or write	yes, shares (16)	
350			Sallie (B)	45		cook & washer	cannot read or write		
351			Jane (B)	13		at home	attended school within the year		
352			Maria (B)	11		at home	attended school within the year		
353			Nellie (B)	6		at home			
354			Bettie (B)	3		at home			
355			Daniel (B)	1		at home			
356			William (B)	1		at home			
357		Conway	Landon (B)	16		at home	grandson, disabled		
358		Randolph	Edward (B)	76		at home	widower		
359		Green	John (B)	45	9	laborer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (16)	
360			Sinah (B)	32		housekeeper	cannot write		
361			Margaret (B)	12		at home	attended school within the year		
362			William (B)	10		at home	attended school within the year		
363			George W. (B)	9		at home			
364			Lewis (B)	7		at home			
365			Walter (B)	5		at home			
366			Lela (B)	4		at home			
367			David (B)	1		at home			
368		Washington	David (M)	35	4	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, shares (16)	
369			Mary (B)	30		housekeeper	cannot write		
370		Monroe	James (M)	1		at home	boarder		
371		Harris	Joseph (B)	9		at home	boarder		
372		Lewis	Charles (B)	45	10	plasterer			√

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
373			Julia (M)	38		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
374			John (B)	15		laborer from home			
375			Martha (B)	11		hired out	attended school within the year		
376			Mary (B)	8		at home	attended school within the year		
377			Georgiann (B)	6		at home			
378			Minnie (B)	3		at home			
379			Lucy (B)	11mo		at home			
380			Susan (B)	70		at home	mother, disabled		
381			Simuel (B)	7		at home	nephew		
382		Henton	Oliver (B)	60	8	farmer	cannot write	no (renter 1870)	
383			Lucy (B)	29		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
384			Julia F. (B)	14		at home	attended school within the year, cannot read or write		
385			Malinda (B)	12		at home	attended school within the year, cannot write		
386			Catharine V. (B)	10		at home	attended school within the year, cannot write		
387			Eliza (B)	8		at home			
388			Margaret (B)	4		at home			
389			Harriet (B)	2		at home			
390		Lee	Armstead (B)	60	11	farm laborer	cannot write		
391			Anna (B)	35		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
392			Charles (B)	13		hired out	cannot read or write		
393			Julia M. (B)	11		at home	cannot read or write		
394			John (B)	10		at home			
395			Wesley (B)	8		at home			
396			Floretta (B)	7		at home			
397			Leanah (B)	6		at home			
398	28		Daniel (B)	4		at home			
399			(Northina)(B)	1		at home			
400		Campbell	Hannah (B)	79		at home	step mother		
401		Gaskins	Robert (M)	29	5	farm laborer	cannot read or write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
402			Mary G. (B)	24		housekeeper	born MD, parents born MD		
403			Wm. Henry (B)	5		at home			
404			Robert U.S. (B)	2		at home			
405			Eppa H. (B)	2mo		at home			
406		Essex	Wilson (B)	38	8	farm laborer			
407			Angeline (B)	27		at home			
408			John (B)	10		at home	attended school within the year		
409			Lottie V. (B)	7		at home	attended school within the year		
410			Horace A. (B)	6		at home			
411			Mary M. (B)	1		at home			
412		Taylor	Malinda (B)	18		cook & washer			
413			Frances (B)	1		at home			
414		Diggs	Mary Ellen (B)	60	2	cook & washer	widow		
415			Aaron J. (B)	14		laborer			
416		Alexander	David (B)	55	8	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (16)	
417			Rachael (B)	50		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
418			Frank (B)	18		farm laborer	attended school within the year, cannot write		
419			Charles (B)	16		farm laborer	attended school within the year		
420			Katie (B)	12		at home	attended school within the year		
421			David Jr. (B)	8		at home	attended school within the year		
422			Maria (B)	5		at home			
423			Moses (B)	4		at home	grandson		
424		Gaskins	Oliver (B)	48	7	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, renter (14)	
425			Maria (B)	49		[none given]	cannot read or write		
426			James (B)	30		laborer			
427			Sophia (B)	30		[none given]	wife of James, cannot read or write		
428			Virginia (B)	2		at home	adopted daughter		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
429			Charles (B)	12		at home	step son, attended school within the year		
430			Benjamin (B)	6		at home	step son		
431		Tucker	Scott (B)	62	3	farmer	cannot read or write		
432	29		Sylva (B)	50		housekeeper	cannot write		
433			Cornelius (B)	21		farm laborer			
434		Howard (Thomas)	John (B)	62	7	farmer	cannot write	yes, owner (17)	
435			Jane (B)	64		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
436		Monroe	Eliza (B)	40		at home			
437			James (B)	14		farm laborer	grandson, cannot read or write		
438		Murphy	Lizzie (B)	11		at home	granddaughter, attended school within the year		
439			Amelia (B)	9		at home	granddaughter		
440			Margaret (B)	7		at home	granddaughter		
441		Lambert	John (M)	55	3	farmer	cannot read or write		
442			Elizabeth (M)	40		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
443			Rafalor (M)	17		laborer	nephew, cannot write		
444		Pinn	Patty (M)	72	7	farmer	widow, cannot read or write	yes, owner (18)	
445			Julia A. (M)	28		housekeeper			
446		Bailey	Hannah (M)	30		with mother			
447			Georgia (M)	1		at home	granddaughter		
448			"not named"	1mo		at home	grandson		
449		Dade	Alfred (B)	22		laborer on farm	employee, cannot read or write		
450		Carter	Lula (M)	12		at home	granddaughter, attended school within the year		
451		Lewis	Landonia (M)	34	6	housekeeper	married	yes, William owner (18)	
452			Lucy W. (M)	8		at home	attended school within the year		
453	30		William H. (M)	7		at home	attended school within the year		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
454			Eva P. (M)	5		at home	attended school within the year		
455			Pattie (M)	2		at home			
456			Roscoe C. (M)	1		at home			
457		Stokes	Wash (M)	36	8	farmer		yes, owner (18)	
458			Sallie (M)	35		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
459			Laudonia R. (M)	13		at home	attended school within the year		
460			Herbert F. (M)	9		at home	attended school within the year		
461			Travis H. (M)	7		at home			
462			Rosier M. (M)	5		at home			
463			Thomas H. (M)	3		at home			
464			Hana E. (M)	1		at home			
465		Pinn	Hanson (M)	45	6	farmer	insane	no (owner 1870)	√
466			Mary (M)	45		housekeeper			
467			Abraham (M)	19		farmer	born OH, attended school within the year		
468			Thomas J. (M)	17		at home	born OH, attended school within the year		
469			Benjamin W. (M)	13		at home	attended school within the year		
470			Richard (M)	10		at home	attended school within the year		
471		Stokes	Warner (M)	52	7	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (18)	
472			Rosa (B)	49		housekeeper	cannot write		
473			Randolph (B)	24		farm laborer			
474			James B. (B)	22		school teacher			
475			Anna M. (B)	11		at home	attended school within the year		
476			Grace (M)	22		at home	step daughter		
477			Ellen (M)	3		at home	granddaughter		
478		Alexander	Sandy (B)	22	3	farm laborer			
479			Laura (B)	20		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
480			George (B)	6mo		at home			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
481		Chastian	Philip (B)	21	1	hostler (WH-Benjamin P. Mitchell, farmer)	disabled, cannot read or write		
482		Robinson	Robert (B)	30	2	laborer			
483			Letty (B)	19		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
484	31	Thomas	Josiah (M)	64	7	farm laborer			
485			Jane (M)	28		housekeeper	wife, cannot read or write		
486			John (M)	11		at home	cannot read or write		
487			Adora (M)	8		at home			
488			Josiah (M)	6		at home			
489			Samuel I.T. (M)	4		at home			
490			Missouri (M)	1		at home			
491	32	Emile	Clara (B)	21	1	house servant (WH-Wm H. Campbell, farmer)	employee		
492	33	Lee	Samuel (B)	24	1	farm laborer (WH-Richard H. Lee, farmer)	employee, cannot write		
493		Robinson	Bladen (M)	37	7	farmer		yes, owner (20)	
494			Bettie L.D. (B)	36		housekeeper			
495			Letty (B)	6		at home			
496			James Alfred (B)	1		at home			
497			Susan (M)	75		at home	mother, widow		
498			Henrietta (M)	39		cook & washer	sister, divorced [?], cannot read or write		
499		Smith	Hanson (M)	9		at home	nephew, attended school within the year		
500		Thomas	Henry (B)	25	7	farm laborer			
501			Henrietta (B)	25		housekeeper			
502			John (B)	1		at home			
503		Page	Emily (M)	12		at home	step daughter, attended school within the year		
504			Andrew (B)	10		at home	step son, attended school within the year		
505			Silas (B)	5		at home	step son		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
506			Harriet (B)	6		at home	step daughter		
507		Gaskins	Hampton (M)	70	3	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (20)	
508			Sally (M)	70		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
509		Stokes	Irvin (B)	15		laborer	employee		
510		Harris	Obed (B)	35	7	laborer	cannot read or write		
511			Margaret A. (B)	35		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
512			Benjamin F. (B)	11		at home			
513			Robert (B)	10		at home	attended school within the year		
514			Obed (B)	6		at home	attended school within the year		
515			Ann M. (B)	3		at home			
516			Joseph (B)	1		at home			
517	34	Cole	Hampton (B)	69	6	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (21)	√
518			Mary Francis (M)	42		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
519		Heale	James H. (M)	25		farm laborer	step son, cannot read or write		
520			Sarah Ann (M)	16		at home	step daughter, attended school within the year		
521		Cole	Alfred A. (B)	9		at home			
522			Robert H. (B)	1		at home			
523		Thomas	Elizabeth (M)	28	5	housekeeper	single		
524			John Wm. (M)	11		at home	cannot read or write		
525			Pendleton D. (M)	7		at home			
526			Benjamin F. (M)	6		at home			
527			John Samuel (M)	2		at home			
528		Gaskins	Thomas (M)	45	12	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (21)	
529			Elizabeth (M)	40		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
530			Wm Henry (M)	22		laborer	cannot read or write		
531			Louisa (M)	19		at home	cannot read or write		
532			Caroline (M)	17		at home	cannot read or write		
533			Susanna (M)	15		at home	cannot read or write		
534			Alania (M)	10		at home	attended school within the year		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
535			John Thomas (M)	7		at home	attended school within the year		
536			Fanny (M)	4		at home			
537			Grant (M)	3		at home			
538			Emly B. (M)	1		at home			
539		Lucas	Caroline (M)	59		at home	widow, step mother		
540		Randale	Charles Jr. (B)	25	4	farm laborer	cannot read or write		
541			Elizabeth (B)	22		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
542			Silas (B)	7		at home			
543			William (B)	1		at home			
544		Randale	John (B)	54	5	farmer	disabled, cannot read or write	yes, shares (21)	
545			Edna Ann (M)	50		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
546			David (B)	24		works on farm	cannot read or write		
547			Charles (B)	11		at home	attended school within the year, cannot read or write		
548			Rufus (B)	7		at home			
549	35	Randale	Charles Sr. (B)	61	9	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (21)	
550			Betsy Ann (M)	40		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
551		Weedon	Josephine (M)	20		at home	married, cannot read or write		
552		Randale	Sarah (M)	14		at home	cannot read or write		
553			Charles (M)	11		at home	cannot read or write		
554			Mollie (M)	8		at home			
555			Eugenia (M)	7		at home			
556			Helen (M)	5		at home			
557			Hattie (M)	3		at home			
558		Randale	Rebecca (M)	24	1	cook & washer (WH-Benson A. Pridmore, farmer)	cannot write		
559		Jackson	Dennis (B)	60	5	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, shares (21)	
560			Martha (B)	52		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
561			Susannah (B)	16		at home			
562		Ewell	Frank (B)	8		at home	adopted son		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
563		Harris	Levi (B)	17		farm laborer	employee, attended school within the year		
564		Nickins	James (M)	47	7	farm laborer	cannot read or write		
565			Catharine (M)	35		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
566			James Jr. (B)	11		at home	grandson to wife, attended school within the year		
567			Mary (B)	30		house servant	cannot read or write		
568			Jenny (B)	7		with mother	granddaughter		
569			Anna (B)	2		with mother	granddaughter		
570			Walter (B)	1		with mother	grandson		
571	36	Ewell	Mary (B)	15	1	cook & washer (WH-John T. Leachman, farmer)			
572		Emle	Martha (B)	16	1	cook & washer (WH-William Dogan, farmer)	employee		
573		Nash	Henry (B)	40	1	laborer on farm (WH-William Dogan, farmer)	employee, cannot read or write		
574		Jackson	John (B)	21	1	laborer on farm (WH-William Dogan, farmer)	employee		
575		Smith	Patty (M)	24	1	house servant (WH-Mary Jane Dogan, merchant)	employee		
576		Redman	Andrew (B)	49	8	blacksmith			
577			Mary (M)	43		housekeeper			
578			Powell (B)	14		at home	dumb [can't speak], cannot read or write		
579			Thomas (B)	11		at home	attended school within the year		
580			Lucretia (B)	6		at home	attended school within the year		
581			Andrew (B)	5		at home			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
582			Fannie (B)	9mo		at home			
583		Thomas	Mollie (M)	13		at home	niece		
584		Peters	James (B)	38	5	laborer	cannot read or write		
585			Josephine (M)	30		housekeeper			
586			Ruth C. (B)	6		at home			
587			Sarah V. (B)	4		at home			
588			Susan (B)	1		at home			
589	37	Jordan	William (B)	45	5	farm laborer	widower, cannot read or write		
590			Alice (B)	9		at home			
591			Nancy (B)	7		at home			
592			Amanda (B)	2		at home			
593		Gast	Catharine (B)	80		housekeeper	mother, cannot read or write		
594		Nash	Philip (B)	44	8	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, shares (23)	
595			Sarah (B)	44		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
596			Fannie (B)	12		at home	attended school within the year		
597			Henry (B)	10		at home	attended school within the year		
598			Hallie (B)	8		at home	attended school within the year		
599			Lucy (B)	6		at home			
600			Sallie (B)	2		at home			
601		Ewell	Nelson (B)	67		laborer	widower, father-in-law, cannot read or write		
602		Smith	William (B)	27	5	farm laborer			
603			Mary Virginia (M)	25		housekeeper	cannot write		
604			Catharine R. (M)	5		at home			
605			Anna W. (M)	1		at home			
606			Howard (M)	5mo		at home			
607	38	Dean	James (B)	35	8	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (23)	
608			Mahala (B)	30		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
609			P (B)	16		at home	daughter, attended school within the year		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
610			Shelton (B)	14		at home	attended school within the year		
611			Millie (B)	12		at home	attended school within the year		
612			Reuben (B)	12		at home	attended school within the year		
613			Carrie (B)	3		at home	granddaughter		
614			"not named"	1		at home	granddaughter		
615		Griffin	Cyrus (B)	75	6	farmer	cannot read or write	yes, owner (24)	
616			Fannie (M)	60		housekeeper	cannot read or write		
617			Louisa (M)	23		at home			
618			Cyrus Jr. (M)	18		farm laborer			
619			William (M)	12		at home	attended school within the year		
620	39		Rose (M)	3		at home	granddaughter		
621		Scott	Nathan (B)	33	5	works at [railyard?]			
622			Ellen (B)	23		housekeeper			
623	40		Estelle (B)	4		at home			
624			Sarah (B)	2		at home			
625			Luther (B)	4mo		at home			
626		Alexander	James (B)	22	1	laborer (WH-John Miller, farmer)	employee		
627		Alexander	Henry (B)	20	1	laborer (WH-John Miller, farmer)	employee		
628		Francis	Edward (B)	13	1	"with Mr. Francis" (WH-Martin V. Rector, stone mason)			
629					625				

	A	B	C	D	E
1	**1890**				
2	Lomax	William	Corporal	Co. D, 43rd Regiment	
3	Taylor	William	Corporal	Co. H, 1st Regiment	service record does not indicate promotion to corporal; disability "Lumbago"
4	Dyer	John	Private	Co. D, 43rd Regiment	disability "Piles"
5	Thomas	Josiah	Sargeant	Co. A, 23rd Regiment	"Jane E., widow of"

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	**1900 PAGE#**	**Manassas Town District 81 SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**# months not employed**	**COMMENTS**	**1896 Vote**	**KEY**
2	Center St. 3	Shepard	Frank (B)	18	1	servant (WH-Edwin Meredith, lawyer)	0	cannot read or write		**can read and write unless otherwise noted (except children under age 8)**
3	4	Williams	Marshal (B)	55	7	clergyman (O)	0	mortgage [First Baptist Church minister]		**(O) owner**
4			Katie (B)	37				born TN		**(R) renter**
5			John W. (B)	13		at school, 9mo.				**[ ] added notation**
6			Allice (B)	26		at school, 9mo.				**( ) original census transcription**
7			Mary E. (B)	20		school teacher	0			
8			Clarra (B)	18		at school, 9mo.				
9		Lewis	Patsy (B)	22		salesman		boarder		
10		Kelly	Lewis B. (B)	22	4	day laborer (R)	0			
11			Nellie J. (B)	21						
12			Mary E. (B)	3						
13		Penn (Reme)	Isaiah (B)	16		servant	0	boarder		
14		Goines	Louisa (B)	55	3	(O)		cannot read or write		
15		Curry	Nancy (B)	28		school teacher	3	daughter		
16		Williams	Julia (B)	48				sister, cannot read or write		
17		Penne (Pense)	Robert (B)	68	4	huckster (O)		cannot read or write		
18			Sarah J. (B)	59				cannot write		
19			Marshall W. (B)	17		at school, 9mo.				
20		Lee	Hays (B)	21		farm laborer	0			
21	5	Russell	Roberta (B)	30	1	servant (WH-Edgar Weir, merchant)	0	cannot read or write		
22	Grant Ave. 5	Adams	Bettie (B)	17	1	servant (WH-George Smith, farmer)	0			
23	6	Sheppard	Emma (B)	20	1	servant (WH-Mary N. Payne, boarding house)	0	cannot read or write		
24		Henderson	Josephine (B)	14	1	servant (WH-Samuel Weir, merchant)		cannot read or write		
25	West St. 7	Williams	Roxy (B)	15	1	servant (WH-Walter Shannon, drugist)	0			
26		Hill	Milton (B)	11	1	servant (WH-Fannie Simpson)	0	cannot read or write		
27		Sheppard	James (B)	15	1	servant (WH-Samuel Simpson, physician)	0			
28		Scott	John F. (B)	26	3	day laborer (R)	0			
29			Allice C. (B)	24						
30			John F. (B)	8mo						
31		Robinson	John (B)	57	3	watchman RR (R)	0			
32			Rachael (B)	55				cannot read or write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
33			Charles (B)	18		day laborer	0			
34		Thornton	Frank (B)	26	5	day laborer (R)	6			
35			Mattie (B)	28						
36			James J. (B)	5						
37			Bessie (B)	14		servant	0	sister, cannot read or write		
38		Tyler	Marion (B)	13		day laborer	8	cousin, cannot read		
39	Battle St. 8	Harris	Lucy (B)	18	1	servant (WH-Charles Hopkins, manufacturer)	0			
40		Harris	Bert (B)	24	1	servant (WH-William Wagoner, furniture dealer)	0			
41		Nickens	Emma (B)	36	7	(R)		married		
42			Eddie (B)	17		at school, 9mo.				
43			Allice M. (B)	11		at school, 9mo.				
44			William C. (B)	6		at school, 9mo.				
45			Jennie (B)	16		at school, 9mo.				
46			Sophie (B)	14		at school, 9mo.				
47			Henry (B)	23		day laborer	6	son		
48	9	Hill	Lillie (B)	10	1	servant (WH-Lindsay B. Thomas, RR agent)		cannot read or write		
49		Burgess	Eva (B)	11	1	servant (WH-Edwin Nelson, clerk of the co.)	0	cannot read or write		
50		Parker	Dulcie (B)	20	2	servant (WH-Edwin Nelson, clerk of the co.)	0	single		
51			Willie (B)	3mo		servant [?!]				
52		Dade	Charlotte (B)	24	4	lodging house (R)	0			
53		Braxton	Alexander (B)	33		fireman RR	0	lodger		
54		Hall	Phillip (B)	24		fireman RR	0	lodger		
55		Johnson	Thornton (B)	23		day laborer	0	lodger		
56		Johnson	John (B)	61	3	shoemaker (O)	0	cannot write	√	
57			Mary A. (B)	54						
58		Chinn	Lucretia L. (B)	8				ward		
59		Meredith	Lawson (B)	46	6	day laborer (R)	0	widower, cannot read or write		
60			Virginia (B)	22						
61			John H. (B)	14		day laborer		cannot read or write		
62			Angie (B)	11		at school, 9mo.				
63			Wellington (B)	7		at school, 9mo.		cannot read or write		
64			Willie (B)	3						
65		Chambers	Jennie (B)	33	9	(R)		married one year		
66			Clara (B)	17		at school, 8mo.				
67			Scholar C. (B)	14		at school, 9mo.				
68			Belle (B)	13		at school, 9mo.				
69			Rose (B)	9		at school, 1mo.		cannot read or write		
70			Mamie (B)	7						

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
71			Maggie (B)	4						
72			Virginia (B)	2						
73		Robinson	Helen (B)	5mo				step daughter		
74		Strother	Carroline (B)	42	5	(R)		widow, cannot read or write		
75			Moses (B)	25		laborer RR				
76			Mora (B)	17		house servant	8			
77		Meredith	Phillip (B)	11		house servant		son		
78			Ethra (B)	10				daughter, cannot read or write		
79	10	Lomax	William (B)	75	1	shoemaker (O)	4		√	
80		Power	Freda [Fred?] P. (B)	23	2	day laborer (R)	0			
81			Martha (B)	19						
82		James	Agnes (B)	20	1	servant (WH-Levi Flaherty, clerk in hotel)	0	married, cannot read or write		
83		Johnson	Annie (B)	22	1	servant (WH-Henry F. Davis, hotel proprietor)	0			
84		Johnson	Minnie (B)	14	1	servant (WH-Henry F. Davis, hotel proprietor)	0	born DC		
85	Main St. 11	Davis	Lizzie (B)	13	1	servant (WH-Walter Merchant, telegraph op.)	0			
86	12	Pinn	Martha (B)	45	2	cook (O)		widow, cannot write		
87			Addaline (B)	26		cook				
88	East St. 12	Nailor	Lizzie (B)	13	1	servant (WH-Richard Hynson, merchant)				
89		Strother	Fielding (B)	71	1	clergyman (R)	6	widower, cannot read or write		
90	13	Pinn	Walter (B)	26	3	day laborer (R)	0			
91			Bessie E. (B)	24						
92			Pauline A. (B)	1						
93	Brentsville Rd. 13	Brown	Andrew (B)	33	6	day laborer (R)	0	cannot read or write		
94			Lou V. (B)	28						
95			Viola (B)	4						
96			Tayellestes (B)	2						
97			Joseph E. (B)	1mo						
98		Blackwell	Lizzie (B)	30		servant	0	lodger		
99		Burrell	Polly (B)	43	8	(R)		married		
100			Arthur (B)	29		laborer	0			
101			Jennie (B)	24		cook	0	cannot write		
102			Mary (B)	20		cook	0			
103			James (B)	17		day laborer	0			
104			Thomas (B)	14		day laborer	0			
105			Webb (B)	15		day laborer	0			
106		Carter	Jessie (B)	17		waiter in hotel	0	lodger		
107		Harper	George (B)	25	6	day laborer (R)	0	born NC		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
108			Maria (B)	29						
109			Lavinia (B)	8						
110			Eddie (B)	4						
111			Jennie (B)	17				cannot read or write		
112		Crove [?] (Croor)	Lew (B)	28		servant	0	lodger, cannot read or write		
113		Anderson	Levinia (B)	54	5	wash woman (R)	0	widow, cannot read or write		
114			Frank (B)	25		day laborer	0	cannot read or write		
115			Jack (B)	16		day laborer	0	cannot read or write		
116		Robinson	James (B)	18		day laborer	0	son, cannot read or write		
117			Samuel (B)	16		day laborer	0	son, cannot read or write		
118		Anderson	John (B)	25	3	day laborer (R)	0	tenant on Lavinia Anderson prop., cannot read or write		
119			Adda E. (B)	24						
120			Mariotta (B)	3						
121	Zebedee St. 14	Williams	Lizzie (B)	12	1	servant (WH-William H. Longwell, hotel clerk)		[parents Lawson & Lizzie Williams living in Coles District]		
122		Conway	John R. (B)	40	3	clergyman (O)	0		√	
123			Georgia A. (B)	34						
124			Henry C. (B)	16		at school, 9mo.				
125		Coleman	Roberta (B)	57	5	(R)		widow, cannot read or write		
126		Carroll	Lewis (B)	5				grandson		
127			Olie M. (B)	3				granddaughter		
128			Roy (B)	2				grandson		
129		Shaffres	Ben (B)	6				grandson		
130	Liberty St. 15	Thornton	Nanie (B)	40	6	cook (R)	0	widow, cannot read or write		
131			Larrine (B)	23		laborer in stable	0	son, cannot read or write		
132			Hattie M. (B)	11						
133			Charles T. (B)	13						
134			Nellie (B)	9				cannot read or write		
135			Nannie M. (B)	7						
136		Berry	Charles H. (B)	43	11	merchant (O)	0	mortgage	√	
137			Carrie S. (B)	42						
138			Joanna M. (B)	15		at school, 7mo.				
139			Martha V. (B)	14		at school, 9mo.				
140			Carrie S. (B)	13		at school, 9mo.		cannot read or write		
141			Charles H. (B)	12		at school, 9mo.				
142			Ida R. (B)	9		at school, 9mo.				
143			Lucretia A. (B)	8		at school, 9mo.				
144			Samuel L. (B)	6		at school, 9mo.				
145			Thomas F. (B)	4						
146			Jerry F. (B)	2						
147		Thomas	Melvin (B)	50	6	day laborer (O)	0			
148			Josephine (B)	46		servant				

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
149			Jane A. (B)	17						
150			Georgianna (B)	13						
151			Prince E. (B)	9		at school, 9mo.		daughter		
152		Ritchie	Prince (B)	30				born DC, sister-in-law		
153		Ford	Winter (Winlis)(B)	34	5	coachman L.S. (O)	0	mortgage	√	
154			Cham W. (B)	29						
155			Ruth E. (B)	8		at school, 9mo.				
156			Lydia A. (B)	5						
157			Joseph R. (B)	2						
158		Stokes	Joseph (B)	53	9	blacksmith (R)	0	cannot read or write	√	
159			Lydia A. (B)	49				cannot read or write		
160			Derindia (B)	19		servant	0			
161			Robert (B)	17		laborer	0			
162			Luther (B)	15		at school, 9mo.				
163			Louisia (B)	12		at school, 9mo.				
164			Mary (B)	10		at school, 9mo.				
165			Willis (B)	8		at school, 9mo.				
166			Annie (B)	5						
167		Ball	Thomas (B)	45	6	day laborer (R)	0	cannot read or write		
168			Carrie (B)	35				cannot read or write		
169	16		Isaac T. (B)	17		day laborer	0			
170			Mary R. (B)	18		servant				
171			William M. (B)	11		at school, 9mo.				
172			Walter (B)	7		at school				
173		Brent	Annie (B)	33	9	(R)		[tenant on Thomas Ball prop.] married, cannot read or write		
174			Alberta N. (B)	11		at school, 9mo.		cannot read or write		
175			Maude M. (B)	9		at school, 9mo.		cannot read or write		
176			Fossie M. (B)	6						
177			Pauline (B)	5mo						
178		Brown	Jane S. (B)	24		servant	0	sister, cannot read or write		
179			Eliza V. (B)	8		at school, 9mo.		cannot read or write		
180			Mary A. (B)	6		at school				
181			Maggie (B)	5						
182		Lomax	Daniel (B)	43	10	government clerk (O)	0	mortgage		
183			Bettie (B)	39						
184		Chapman	Hattie (B)	18		servant		step daughter		
185			Harry (B)	14		day laborer	0	step son		
186			John (B)	12		at school		step son		
187		Lomax	Clemants (B)	3						
188			Pearl (B)	3mo						
189			Willie (B)	17		day laborer	6			
190			Webb (B)	14		day laborer	6			
191			Sarah (B)	12		at school, 9mo.				

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
192		Dyer	John (B)	57	3	stone mason (O)	0	born MS	√	
193			Hattie (B)	47				cannot read or write		
194			Berte (B)	23						
195		Strother	Allun (B)	45	5	day laborer (O)	0			
196			Ida (B)	39				cannot read or write		
197			Daisy (B)	19						
198			Earnest (B)	16		day laborer	0			
199			Harrison (B)	10		at school, 9mo.				
200		Wilkerson	Uriah (B)	50	8	day laborer (R)	0	cannot read or write		
201			Sarah B (B)	39						
202			Launetta (B)	13		at school, 9mo.				
203			Launche (B)	11		at school, 9mo.		daughter		
204			Ceusrill (B)	8		at school		son		
205			Wesley (B)	4						
206		Moore	Hester (B)	50				mother-in-law, cannot read or write		
207			Clarra (B)	17		servant		sister-in-law		
208		Taylor	Sarah (B)	66	3	(R)		widow, cannot read or write		
209			Charlie (B)	24		day laborer	0			
210		Jackson	Ida (B)	12		at school, 9mo.		granddaughter		
211		Penn	Harrison (B)	60	2	(O)		cannot read or write	√	
212			Bettie (B)	60				cannot read or write		
213		Fortis	Edmond (B)	78	1	blacksmith (R)	0	cannot read or write		
214		Donlon	Patrick (W)	38		priest		born NY, Irish parents		
215		Bancum	James M. (B)	26	4	postal clerk RR (R)	0	born NC		
216			Katie A. (B)	23				born NC		
217			James H. (B)	6mo				born NC		
218		Wilkerson	Lisennette (B)	13		servant		servant in Bancum house		
219	17	James	Walter F. (B)	24	6	hotel waiter (R)		cannot read or write		
220			Cora (B)	22						
221			Tasker (B)	2						
222			Mable (B)	2mo						
223		Strother	Harry (B)	6				cousin		
224		Lee	Mary (B)	60		house servant	0	widow, mother-in-law, cannot read or write		
225		[two more white households at end of Liberty St., both renters, a farmer and a farm laborer]			222					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	**1900 PAGE#**	**Manassas District District 81 SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**# months not employed**	**COMMENTS**	**1896 Vote**	**KEY**
2	Dist. 81 18	Gaskin	Mary E. (B)	20	1	servant (WH-John C. Sedwick, clergyman)	0			**can read and write unless otherwise noted (except children under age 8)**
3		Braxton	Jacob E. (B)	35	13	farmer (RF)	0			**(O) owner**
4			Catharine E. (B)	29						**(RF) rent farm (RH) rent house**
5			William H. (B)	9		at school, 6mo.				**[ ] added notation**
6			George A. (B)	7		at school, 6mo.				**( ) original census transcription**
7			Robert J. (B)	6						
8			Murry J. (B)	5						
9			Clarence H. (B)	3						
10			James J. (B)	2						
11			Brother (B)	2mo						
12		Thornton	Mary (B)	20		service	0	sister-in-law		
13			Mary F. (B)	4						
14			Roxey (B)	2						
15			Ella M. (B)	6mo						
16	19	Bowles	Henry (B)	61	8	day laborer (RH)	0	cannot read or write		
17			Maria (B)	60				cannot read or write		
18			Adda (B)	35		servant	0	single		
19			Riley (B)	14		day laborer	6	grandson		
20			Nanie (B)	10				granddaughter, cannot read or write		
21	20		Russell (B)	8				grandson, cannot read or write		
22			Eva (B)	6				granddaughter		
23			Mable (B)	2						
24		Woodford	Edward H. (B)	42	44	school principle (RF)	0	born KY		
25			Ida M. (B)	34				born KY		
26			Charles M. (B)	7				born KY		
27			Allice (B)	1						
28		Sheely	Virgie (B)	15		servant	0	ward, born KY		
29		Fox	Sarah C. (B)	22		at school, 5mo.		boarder		
30		Lucas	Eugene H.T. (B)	13		at school, 8mo.		boarder		
31		White	John W. (B)	35		teacher	4	boarder		
32		Deane	Jennie (B)	40		teacher	4	boarder		
33		Vernon	Mary E. (B)	28		teacher	4	boarder		
34		Loving	Bettie E. (B)	25		teacher	4	boarder		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
35		Johnson	Samuel S. (B)	22		teacher	4	boarder		
36		Berry	William (B)	47		farmer	0	boarder		
37		Lewis	Samuel H. (B)	19		student, 8mo.		boarder		
38		Johnson	Mary E. (B)	20		student, 8mo.		boarder		
39		Smith	Catharine (B)	24		student, 8mo.		boarder		
40		Robinson	William (B)	15		student, 8mo.		boarder		
41		Whiting	Lewis B. (B)	16		student, 8mo.		boarder		
42		Parker	Robert J.N. (B)	18		student, 8mo.		boarder		
43		Green	Rosa F. (B)	18		student, 8mo.		boarder		
44		Wanger	Evelyn (B)	20		student, 8mo.		boarder		
45		Corsun	James H. (B)	20		student, 8mo.		boarder		
46		Robinson	Thomas (B)	19		student, 8mo.		boarder		
47		Parker	Elizabeth (B)	18		student, 8mo.		boarder		
48		Poire	Florence (B)	17		student, 8mo.		boarder		
49		Fields	Allustus (B)	19		student, 8mo.		boarder		
50		Helms	Mattie (B)	23		student, 8mo.		boarder		
51		Elliott	Elmer (B)	20		student, 8mo.		boarder		
52		Boyer	Katie (B)	15		student, 8mo.		boarder		
53		Wilde	Howard (B)	17		student, 8mo.		boarder		
54		Harley	Cornelius J. (B)	18		student, 8mo.		boarder		
55		Malory	Robert M.(B)	20		student, 8mo.		boarder		
56		Giasko	Sylvester (B)	23		student, 8mo.		boarder		
57		Stevenson	Maude (B)	17		student, 8mo.		boarder		
58		Porters	Jane (B)	19		student, 8mo.		boarder		
59		Price	Eva B. (B)	16		student, 8mo.		boarder		
60		Chism	Serena B.(B)	15		student, 8mo.		boarder		
61		Coffer	Sarah B. (B)	12		student, 8mo.		boarder		
62		Tucker	Ada (B)	12		student, 8mo.		boarder		
63		Robinson	Emma (B)	14		student, 8mo.		boarder		
64		Julius	Eliza (B)	18		student, 8mo.		boarder		
65		Brown	Maria A. (B)	15		student, 8mo.		boarder		
66		Bresden	Jessie (B)	18		student, 8mo.		boarder		
67		Wilkott (Wilhoit)	Emma (B)	17		student, 8mo.		boarder		
68	21	Johnson	Joshua (B)	30	5	laborer RR (RH)	0	cannot read or write [tenant of Richard Toliver (Taliaferro)]		
69			Hattie (B)	22				cannot read or write		
70			Landon (B)	4						
71			Hilda M. (B)	1						
72			Benjamin (B)	16		day laborer	0	cannot read or write		
73		Brown	Henry (B)	60	3	farmer (OF)	0	widower, cannot read or write		
74			George W. (B)	38		farmer	0			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
75		Hearst	George (B)	15		at school, 6mo.		born WV, boarder		
76	22	Stafford	Joseph (B)	38	4	farmer (OF)	0			
77			Mary (B)	50				cannot read or write		
78			Henry (B)	14		farm laborer		nephew		
79			Hanna (B)	87				mother, cannot read or write		
80		Gibson	Anthony (B)	45	6	mason (OF)	0	cannot read or write		
81			Sarah (B)	44				cannot read or write		
82			Marion (B)	13		at school, 8mo.				
83			Nellie (B)	11		at school, 8mo.				
84			Mable (B)	7						
85			Joseph (B)	5						
86	23	Maggee	Daniel (B)	22	1	farm laborer	0	boarder in WH, cannot read or write		
87		Chapman	Addison (B)	56	10	farmer (OF)	0	mortgage, cannot read or write		
88			Martha A. (B)	51						
89			James E. (B)	21		farm laborer	0	married		
90			Maria E. (B)	22		school teacher	0			
91			Beatrice E. (B)	16		at school, 8mo.				
92			Addison W. (B)	14		at school, 8mo.				
93			Mary C. (B)	9		at school, 8mo.				
94		Alexander	Robert (B)	1				grandson		
95		Chapman	Leanna (B)	21				married, daughter-in-law		
96		Webster	Addison (B)	71	2	farmer (OF)	0	widower		
97		Mason	Ellen M. (B)	74				widow, sister		
98		Chapman	Emma (B)	40	10	(OF)		single		
99		Javins	Johnson (B)	34		farmer (OF)	0	cousin		
100			Sarah (B)	32				cousin		
101			Fannie (B)	13		at school, 8mo.		cousin		
102			Mary (B)	12		at school, 8mo.		cousin		
103			Levi (B)	16		at school, 8mo.		cousin		
104			Diggs W. (B)	8		at school, 8mo.		cousin		
105			Lylia (B)	3				cousin		
106			Addison J. (B)	1				cousin		
107		Chapman	Eugene (B)	22		farmer	0	brother		
108		Monroe	Jessie (B)	54	8	farmer (OF)	0	cannot read or write		
109			Levinia (B)	60				cannot read or write		
110		Williams	Irena (B)	19		servant	0	granddaughter		
111			Frankfort (B)	15		day laborer	0	grandson		
112			Annie M. (B)	11		at school, 8mo.		granddaughter		
113	24		Matilda (B)	6				granddaughter		
114			Beatrice (B)	8mo				granddaughter		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
115		Brown	Ethel (B)	15		servant	0	ward		
116		Miles	James R. (B)	44	4	stationary engineer (RH)	0			
117			Sarah A. (B)	39						
118			Pricilla (B)	10		at school, 8mo.				
119			Manna (B)	14		at school, 8mo.				
120		Champ	Arthur (B)	40	3	farming (OF)	0			
121			Sarah (B)	32						
122			Daisy D. (B)	6						
123		Robinson	William (B)	45	1	servant (WH-Thomas H. Lion, lawyer)	0	widower		
124		Harris	Maria (B)	17	1	servant (WH-Thomas H. Lion, lawyer)	0			
125	25	Alexander	George (B)	21	1	servant (WH-French Ransdell, farmer)	0			
126		Alexander	Richard H. (B)	18	1	servant (WH-Charles Edgar Nicol, judge in judicial court)	0			
127		Birres	Mary (B)	20	1	servant (WH-Charles Edgar Nicol, judge in judicial court)	0			
128		Robinson	Arthur (B)	57	9	carpenter (OH)	0	cannot read or write	√	
129			Lucy A. (B)	51				cannot read or write		
130		Dibble	Isabelle (B)	34				married, daughter		
131			Samuel H. (B)	34		barber	0	born NC, son-in-law		
132		Robinson	Walter (B)	28		carpenter	0	married, son		
133			Arthur S. (B)	22		school teacher	4	son		
134			Bulian (B)	16		at school, 9mo.		daughter		
135			Lucy B. (B)	12		at school, 9mo.		daughter		
136		Evena	John (B)	31		barber	0	born DC, boarder		
137		Pendleton	Washington (B)	45	3	laborer RR (RH)	0	cannot read or write		
138			Lizzie (B)	44				cannot read or write		
139			Frank (B)	19		day laborer	0			
140	28	Harris	Levi (B)	40	8	day laborer (RH)	0			
141	29		Chandler R. (B)	39						
142			Maria C. (B)	15		at school, 9mo.				
143			Chandler N. (B)	13		at school, 9mo.				
144			Edith E. (B)	17		at school, 9mo.				
145			Homer B. (B)	9						
146			Harris W. (B)	7						
147			Wiat D. (B)	4						
148		Baily	William (B)	25	2	farmer (OF)	0			
149		Parker	Martha (B)	51				widow, aunt		
150		German	Charles (B)	46	6	farmer (OF)	0			
151			Addiline (B)	45						

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
152			Lavinia (B)	25		cook	0			
153			Charlie (B)	22		farm laborer	0			
154			John (B)	18		cook	0			
155			Cornelius (B)	16		day laborer	0			
156	30	Francis	Frederick (B)	62	2	farm laborer (OH)	0	widower, cannot read or write		
157		Johnson	Mary (B)	37		servant		servant in household, cannot read or write		
158		Harris	John (B)	52	6	farmer (RF)	0	cannot read or write		
159			Ella (B)	28				wife		
160			Albert J. (B)	7						
161			Carrie (B)	5						
162			Charlie E. (B)	4						
163			Reede F. (B)	2						
164		Thorn	Washington (B)	35	10	day laborer (OH)	0	cannot read or write [purchased of Wm. Lomax, 1893]		
165			Francis (B)	35				cannot read or write		
166			Annie (B)	21		servant	0			
167			James (B)	13		day labober	0	cannot read or write		
168			Samuel (B)	10		at school, 6mo.				
169			John H. (B)	5						
170			Martha (B)	3						
171			William G. (B)	2						
172			Hellen (B)	6mo						
173			Hellen (B)	85				mother, cannot write		
174		Hill	Milton (B)	51	9	day laborer (RH)	0	cannot read or write		
175			Ida A. (B)	41						
176			George (B)	25		day laborer	0	cannot read or write		
177			Walter (B)	20		day laborer	0			
178			Ellas (B)	16				cannot read or write		
179			Lemuell (B)	14						
180			Hamton (B)	10						
181			Fred (B)	7						
182	31		Thornton (B)	2						
183	34	Twine	Agustus (B)		11	laborer RR (OF)	0			
184			Charlotte U. (B)							
185			Louisa V. (B)	14		at school, 6mo.				
186			William Robert (B)	11		at school, 6mo.				
187			Susanna R. (B)	10		at school, 6mo.				
188			May E. (B)	8		at school, 6mo.				
189			Agustus (B)	7						

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
190			George E. (B)	4						
191			John A. (B)	1						
192		Jackson	Susan (B)	70				widow, mother-in-law		
193		Bertha	Lettie (B)	80				widow, aunt		
194		Ryles	Abraham (B)	47	5	plaisterer (OF)	0			
195			Ella (B)	44						
196			Governer (B)	20		stone mason	0			
197			William A. (B)	9		at school, 6mo.		cannot read or write		
198			Ella V. (B)	6						
199		Fields	Rachiel (B)	75	4	(RH)		cannot read or write		
200			Maria (B)	4				granddaughter		
201			Albert (B)	10				grandson		
202			Maud (B)	14				granddaughter		
203		Shepard	Frank (B)	35	10	farmer (RF)	0			
204			Bettie (B)	34						
205			Mary E. (B)	8						
206			Sealyer (B)	7						
207	35		Gertrude (B)	2						
208			George (B)	11				cannot read or write		
209			Albert (B)	12		farm laborer	6	cannot read or write		
210			William (B)	4						
211		Simpson	Surrie (B)	38		farm laborer	0	boarder		
212		Fields	Maud (B)	12		servant	0	servant in household, cannot read or write		
213		Johnson	Payton (B)	79	5	farmer (OF)	0	cannot read or write		
214			Cina (B)	75				cannot read or write		
215			Benson (B)	28		farm laborer	0			
216			Lettie (B)	29						
217		Henderson	Charles (B)	7				grandson		
218	36	Norris	Henry (B)	30	8	farmer (OF)	0			
219			Charlotte (B)	28				born MD		
220			Charles H. (B)	9		at school, 9mo.				
221			Clayton E. (B)	7						
222			Mable E. (B)	5						
223			Bertha M. (B)	4						
224			Nellie V. (B)	1						
225		Shorter	Charles (B)	23		farm laborer	0	born MD, brother-in-law		
226		Wright	Isaac (B)	65	6	farm laborer (RH)	0	cannot read or write		
227			Sarah (B)	60				cannot read or write		
228		Bell	Sarah E. (B)	30		house keeper	0	married, daughter		
229			Maggie (B)	10		at school, 6mo.		granddaughter		
230			Sarah (B)	8				granddaughter		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
231			Letitia (B)	6						
232	37	Toler	Peter (B)	81	3	farmer (OF)	0	widower, cannot read or write		
233			Lucy (B)	47				daughter		
234		Brooks	Jessie (B)	50		farmer (OF)	0	nephew		
235	38	Broadus	James (B)	75	1	farmer (OF)	0	widower, cannot read or write		
236		Williams	Thomas (B)	50	7	farmer (OF)	0			
237			Nancy (B)	49						
238			Lucy A. (B)	21						
239			James R. (B)	10		at school, 8mo.				
240			Daniel W. (B)	9		at school, 8mo.				
241			Robert A. (B)	2						
242			Eugene (B)	4						
243		Barnes	Emanuel (B)	45	7	farmer (OF)	0	cannot read or write		
244			Mary (B)	44				cannot read or write		
245			Harrison N. (B)	9		at school, 8mo.		cannot read or write		
246			Valmor (B)	8		at school, 8mo.		cannot read or write		
247			Naomi (B)	6						
248			Ellen T. (B)	3						
249		Barnet	Nancy (B)	80				widow, mother-in-law, cannot read or write		
250		Berry	William (B)	60		farmer (OF)	0	cannot read or write		
251					249					

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	**1900 PAGE#**	**Manassas District District 82 SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**# months not employed**	**COMMENTS**	**1896 Vote**	**KEY**
2	1A	Croley	Lucy (B)	26	1	servant (WH-Andrew Silling, grocer)	0	cannot read or write		**can read and write unless otherwise noted (except children under age 8)**
3		White	Katie (B)	18	1	servant (WH-Garland Hamner, clergyman)	0			**(O) owner**
4		Robinson	Charles L. (B)	17	1	servant (WH-John W. Prescott, manufacturer)	0			**(RF) rent farm (RH) rent house**
5	1B	Primm	Belle (B)	46	6			cannot read or write		**[ ] added notation**
6			George T. (B)	47		blacksmith (OF)	0	husband, cannot read or write		**( ) original census transcription**
7			Gertrude (B)	17						
8			James (B)	15						
9			Aldridge (B)	8						
10			Jennie B. (B)	5						
11		Kelley	William (B)	53	6	farmer (OF)	0	cannot read or write		
12			Roberta (B)	52						
13			Mary (B)	16						
14			Adeline (B)	13		at school, 4mo.				
15			Eddie (B)	10		at school, 4mo.				
16		Robinson	Edwin (B)	38		day laborer	0	brother-in-law, cannot read or write		
17		Gaskins	Devie (B)	21	4	farm hand (RH)				
18			Alice (B)	22						
19			William H. (B)	4mo						
20		Roy	Charlotte (B)	4				sister-in-law		
21		Haskins	Spencer (B)	65	9	farmer (OF)	0	cannot read or write		
22			Maria (B)	57				cannot read or write		
23			Emma (B)	28		servant	3	single		
24			Andrew (B)	24		farm laborer	0			
25			Charlie (B)	10				grandson [son of Emma]		
26		Johnson	Willie (B)	6				grandson, cannot write		
27		Botts	Waverly (B)	12				grandson, born DC		
28			Stanley (B)	6				grandson, born DC		
29		Johnson	Carrie (B)	12				granddaughter, born DC, cannot write		
30		James	Henry (B)	63	2	farmer (OF)	0	cannot read or write		
31			Mary (B)	63				cannot read or write		
32		Howard	John W. (B)	42	4	farmer (OF)	0	born MD		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
33			Jennie (B)	33						
34			Alma (B)	6						
35	2A		John (B)	3						
36		Williams	Ellen (B)	55	1	(RH)		cannot read or write		
37		Naylor	Jarred (B)	45	8	farm laborer (RH)	0	tenant on Ellen Williams prop.		
38			Lucy (B)	36						
39			Harry (B)	15		farm laborer	0			
40			Lizzie (B)	13		at school, 6mo.				
41			Jarred (B)	11		at school, 6mo.				
42			Katie (B)	9		at school, 6mo.				
43			Nimil (B)	4						
44			Robert (B)	2						
45		Gaskins	Benson (B)	57	10	farm laborer (RH)	0			
46			Susan (B)	50				cannot read or write		
47			Eva (B)	17		at school, 6mo.				
48			Dorsey A. (B)	15		at school, 6mo.				
49			Benson (B)	12		at school, 6mo.				
50			Leniar (B)	10		at school, 6mo.				
51			Susanna (B)	8						
52			Lake (B)	6						
53			Sims (B)	3						
54			Marie (B)	2						
55		Randolph	John (B)	60	6	farmer (OF)	0	cannot read or write		
56			Salie (B)	64				cannot read or write		
57		Lucas	Ocie (B)	7				neice		
58			Ruby (B)	5				neice		
59			McKinley (B)	3				neice		
60		Brown	Willie (B)	16		farm laborer	0	boarder		
61		Tyndale	Maria (B)	30	7	(RH)		married, tenant on John Randolph farm		
62			Gertrude (B)	9		at school, 6mo.		born PA, father born PA		
63			Fauntleroy (B)	7				father born PA		
64			Sarah (B)	5				father born PA		
65			Mary (B)	3				born PA, father born PA		
66			Wilmer (B)	2				born PA, father born PA		
67			Landon (B)	1mo				father born PA		
68		Hamilton	John H. (B)	47	8	farm laborer (RH)	0	cannot read or write		
69			Penelope (B)	40						
70			Jennie (B)	13		at school, 6mo.				
71			Estelle (B)	11		at school, 6mo.				
72	2B		Eva (B)	9						

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
73			Lucy (B)	6						
74			Eddie (B)	3						
75			Silas (B)	1						
76		Naylor	Phillip (B)	65	3	farmer (OF)	0			
77			Grace (B)	44						
78		Jackson	Edward (B)	15		servant	0	born WV, servant in Naylor household		
79		Lee	Edward (B)	21	2	day laborer (RH)	0			
80		Barnes	Joe (B)	9		day laborer	0	born NY, father born DC, mother born VA		
81		Robinson	James (B)	22	1	day laborer (RH)	0			
82	3A	Johnson	Sallie (B)	44	3	servant (OH)	3	married, cannot write		
83			Rosa (B)	19		servant	2	married, daughter		
84			John (B)	1				grandson [son of Rosa]		
85		King	Rosa (B)	62	3	farmer (OF)	0	married, cannot read or write		
86			Richard (B)	48		farm laboer	0	son, cannot read or write		
87			Elnora (B)	13				granddaughter, cannot read or write		
88		Carter	William (B)	91	1	farmer (OF)	0	cannot read or write		
89		Gaskins	Richard (B)	58	9	farmer (OF)	0	cannot read or write		
90			Annie (B)	48				cannot read or write		
91			Earnest (B)	20		farm laborer	0	cannot read or write		
92			Massina (B)	15		at school, 5mo.				
93			Sherman (B)	13						
94			Sarah E. (B)	11						
95			Irene (B)	7						
96			John H. (B)	3						
97		Page	Edward (B)	20		farm laborer	0	boarder		
98		Green	John (B)	63	5	farmer (RF)	0	cannot read or write		
99			Sina (B)	53				cannot read or write		
100			David (B)	20		farm laborer	0			
101			Julia (B)	14		at school, 6mo.				
102			Tecia (B)	13		at school, 6mo.				
103		Washington	David (B)	60	3	farmer (OF)	0	cannot read or write		
104			Mary (B)	50						
105			James (B)	21		farm laborer	0			
106	3B	Mues	Edward C. (B)	20	1	servant (WH-Frank J. Dogan, farmer)	0			
107		Puller	Lucy (B)	18	2	servant (WH-William H. Heydon, farmer)	0	single		
108			[unnamed]	4mo				[female infant of Lucy Puller]		
109		Doleman	Robert (B)	42	3	[farmer?] (OF)		widower		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
110			Janie (B)	8						
111			Willie (B)	7						
112	4A	Robinson	Bladen (B)	47	4	farmer (OF)	0			
113			Bettie L. (B)	47						
114			Lettie B. (B)	26		school teacher	4			
115			James A. (B)	20		farm laborer	0			
116		Robinson	Alfred (B)	72	5	farmer (RF)	0	cannot read or write		
117			Jane (B)	70				cannot read or write		
118			James (B)	3				grandson		
119			Susana (B)	95				mother, cannot read or write		
120			Henretta (B)	59				sister, cannot read or write		
121		Berry	Hattie (B)	15	1	servant (WH-Andrew M. Fetzer, farmer)	0			
122	4B	Nickens	James (B)	65	3	farm laborer (OH)	3	cannot read or write		
123			Catherine (B)	70				cannot read or write		
124			Westley (B)	8				great grandson		
125		Redmon	Andrew (B)	69	5	farmer (RF)	0			
126			Mary (B)	64				cannot read or write		
127			Lucile (B)	26						
128			Andrew D. (B)	24		farm laborer	0			
129			Fannie T. (B)	20						
130	5A	Bradford	Daniel (B)	14	1	servant (WH-Thomas Moss, farmer)	0			
131		Dean	Mahillia (B)	75	3	(OH)		widow, cannot read or write		
132			Clarence (B)	21		day laborer	2	grandson		
133			Nathaniel (B)	20		farm laborer	1	grandson		
134		Thomas	Lizzie (B)	38	3	wash woman (RH)	4	married, cannot read or write		
135			Arthur (B)	18		day laborer	2	cannot read or write		
136			Bertie (B)	8						
137		Britt	Annie (B)	35	4	(RH)		married, tenant on Lizzie Thomas prop.		
138			Foxie (B)	5						
139			Edward (B)	1mo						
140			Roxena (B)	1mo						
141		Peters	James (B)	56	7	farmer (OF)	0	cannot write		
142			Josephine (B)	50				born PA, cannot write		
143			John H. (B)	20		farm laborer	0			
144			Josephine (B)	14						
145			George (B)	11						
146			Montgomery (B)	8						
147			Dovie (B)	6						
148		Gaskins	Hannah (B)	36	8	(OH)		married		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
149			James (B)	16		day laborer	2	cannot read or write		
150	5B		Gusta (B)	11				son, cannot read or write		
151			Eudoxy (B)	7						
152			Roxie (B)	7						
153			Josephine (B)	5						
154			Cecelia (B)	2						
155		Jordon	William (B)	62		day laborer	6	father, cannot read or write		
156		Gaskins	Oliver (B)	83	2	farm laborer (RH)	7	cannot read or write		
157			Betsie (B)	64				married 5 yrs		
158		Gaskins	Lizzie (B)	59	3	(OH)		widow, born DC, cannot read or write		
159			Ewlyn (B)	20		farmer (RF)	0			
160		Luckett	Thomas (B)	57		farm laborer	0	nephew		
161	6A	Johnson	Mary (B)	34	8	(RH)		married		
162			Laura (B)	6				born DC		
163			Pauline (B)	3						
164			Eugene (B)	1						
165		Gaskins	Octavia (B)	55				mother, cannot read or write		
166			Albert (B)	68		farmer (OF)	0	father, cannot read or write		
167			James (B)	20		farm laborer	0	brother		
168		Haylstark	Anna (B)	17				sister, single		
169		Randell	Charles (B)	80	12	farmer (OF)	0	widower, cannot read or write		
170			Lizzie (B)	43				widow, daughter, cannot read or write		
171			Henretta (B)	38				cannot read or write		
172			Charles (B)	30		farm laborer	0	married		
173			Mary (B)	35				born DC, daughter-in-law		
174			Helen (B)	24				daughter, cannot read or write		
175			Willie (B)	18		farm laborer	0	grandson, cannot read or write		
176			Silas (B)	23		farm laborer	0	grandson, cannot read or write		
177			Lena (B)	15				granddaughter		
178			Cornelius (B)	9				grandson, cannot read or write		
179	6B		Willie (B)	10				grandson [son of Charles and Mary], cannot read or write		
180			John T. (B)	5				grandson [son of Charles and Mary]		
181		Robinson	Richard (B)	49	5	day laborer (OH)	0	cannot read or write		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
182			Maria (B)	50				cannot read or write		
183			Willie (B)	16						
184			John (B)	13						
185			Charlie (B)	9						
186		Powell	Oscar (B)	61	7	day laborer (RH)	3	cannot read or write	√	
187			Lizzie (B)	56				cannot read or write		
188			Eddie (B)	20						
189			Martha (B)	17						
190			Oscar (B)	15						
191			Albert (B)	12						
192		Harper	John (B)			[none given]		boarder		
193		Mitchell	Jesse (B)	unkwn	6	day laborer (OH)		widower, cannot read or write		
194			Ella (B)	35				daughter, single, cannot read or write		
195			Mary (B)	4				granddaughter		
196			Jacob (B)	3				grandson		
197			Susie (B)	1				granddaughter		
198			Harry (B)	11				grandson, cannot read or write		
199		White	William (B)	50	6	[none given] (OH)		cannot read or write		
200			Lou (B)	48						
201			Sinclair (B)	15		at school, 6mo.				
202			Julius S. (B)	14		at school, 6mo.				
203		Scott	Noah J. (B)	8		at school, 6mo.		grandson		
204		Wheeler	Sister (B)	5				granddaughter		
205		Cosby	George (B)	46	6	RR track hand (RH)	0			
206			Lena (B)	52						
207			Bertie A. (B)	18						
208			Sara J. (B)	14						
209			Tommie (B)	13						
210			Grafton (B)	10						
211		Davis	Lavina (B)	35	7	(OH)		widow		
212			Orange (B)	21						
213			George (B)	14						
214			Lizzie (B)	12						
215			Allen (B)	10						
216			Ethel (B)	7						
217			Lula (B)	4						
218		Mitchell	Burk (B)	73	2	day laborer (OH)	6	cannot read or write		
219			Winnie (B)	74				cannot read or write		
220	7A	Tucker	Jannis (B)	31	2	(RH)				

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
221			Cornelia (B)	7						
222		Orange	James (B)	65	1	[none given] (RH)		tenant on Jannis Tucker prop., widower, cannot read or write		
223		Pickett	America (B)	84	1	(OH)		widow, cannot read or write		
224		Gaskins	Frank (B)	62	3	farmer (OF)	0			
225			Roxy (B)	52						
226		Green	Jessie (B)	13		servant		sevant in Frank Gaskins household		
227		Johnson	Samuel (B)	38	3	day laborer (RH)	2		√	
228			Henretta (B)	49						
229		Williams	Delia (B)	71				mother-in-law, widow, cannot read or write		
230		Lewis	Landonia (B)	55	5	(OF)		married		
231			Steven J. (B)	17		at school, 8mo.				
232		Taylor	Julia (B)	17		at school, 7mo.		servant in Landonia Lewis household		
233		Gilliam	Henry (B)	76				uncle, widower, cannot read or write		
234		Beckwith	Charles (B)	17		at school, 7mo.		boarder		
235		Bailey	Hannah (B)	50	3	farmer (OF)	0	married		
236			Georgia (B)	21						
237			Addie (B)	20				son		
238		Pinn	Julia (B)	47	2	(RH)				
239		Fletcher	Gusta (B)	11		servant	0	servant in Julia Pinn household		
240		Stokes	Sallie (B)	57	6	farmer (OF)	0	widow		
241			Thomas H. (B)	23		farm laborer	2	father born DC		
242			Isiac R. (B)	19		farm laborer	4	father born DC		
243			Mollie (B)	14		at school, 6mo.		father born DC		
244			Frank (B)	12		at school, 6mo.		father born DC		
245		Hamblin	B. Gertrude (B)	8		at school, 7mo.		born RI, parents unknown, boarder		
246		Jackson	William (B)	50	10	farmer (OF)	0	mortgage		
247			Louisa (B)	41				cannot read or write		
248			Charlie (B)	23		at school, 7mo.				
249			Mary (B)	18		at school, 7mo.				
250			Harry (B)	11		at school, 7mo.				
251			Sylvia (B)	9		at school, 7mo.				
252			James (B)	7		at school, 7mo.				
253			Lillie (B)	5						
254			Lucy (B)	4						

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
255			Susie (B)	7mo						
256		Griffin	William (B)	33	2	farmer (OF)	0			
257			Grace (B)	43				cannot write		
258		Stokes	Rosia (B)	60	4	(OH)		widow, cannot write		
259		Moorman	Rosia (B)	9		at school, 7mo.		granddaughter		
260			Frederick (B)	5				grandson		
261		Jackson	Martha (B)	70				widow, boarder, cannot read or write		
262		Minor	Strother (B)	84	3	day laborer (OH)	11	cannot read or write		
263			Harriet L. (B)	72				cannot read or write		
264			Milton W. E. (B)	10		at school, 7mo.		grandson		
265		Griffin	William (B)	27	5	day laborer (OH)	1			
266			Ellen (B)	23						
267			Warner (B)	8		at school, 7mo.				
268			Lucy (B)	4						
269			Randolph (B)	10mo						
270	7B	Smith	William (B)	50	12	farmer (OF)	0			
271			Jennie (B)	42				cannot write		
272			Cattie (B)	24						
273			Howard (B)	20		day laborer	0			
274			Effie (B)	18						
275			Frank (B)	16						
276			Randolph (B)	13						
277			Pattie (B)	10						
278			Earnest (B)	9						
279			Genevia (B)	6						
280			Bessie (B)	4						
281			Sadie (B)	1						
282		Alexander	James (B)	42	9	farmer (RF)	0			
283			Sarah (B)	36				born DC		
284			Mollie (B)	14		at school, 7mo.				
285			Nellie (B)	8		at school, 7mo.				
286			Frank (B)	7						
287			Rozia (B)	5						
288			Eva (B)	3						
289			Lucy (B)	2						
290			Maud (B)	3mo						
291		Roy	Joseph (B)	56	8	farmer (OF)	0	mortgage		
292			Hattie (B)	54				cannot read or write		
293			Susan Ann (B)	16						
294			Sallie (B)	13						
295			Anthony (B)	11						

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
296			John (B)	9						
297			Hattie (B)	7						
298			Lewis (B)	1						
299		Hames	Joe C. (B)	60	3	farmer (OF)	0			
300			Sarah E. (B)	60				cannot read or write		
301		Doleman	Sarah E. (B)	20				single, daughter-in-law [?]		
302	9A	Lambert	Robert (B)	18	1	servant (WH-Manly C. Larkin, farmer)				
303		Alexander	Sandy (B)	54	7	farmer (OF)	0			
304			Laura (B)	42						
305			Rosa (B)	15						
306			Willis (B)	9						
307			Lottie (B)	6						
308			Emma (B)	4						
309			John L. (B)	2						
310		Alexander	Rachel (B)	69	3	(RH)		widow, cannot read or write		
311			Charles (B)	10				grandson		
312		Jackson	Lula (B)	17		servant	0	boarder, cannot read or write		
313	9B	Cole	Hampton (B)	72	3	farmer (OF)	0	widower		
314		Lambert	Lizzie (B)	55				widow, boarder, cannot read or write		
315		Ewell	George (B)	15		farm laborer	0	cannot read or write		
316		Davis	Martha (B)	45	12	farmer (OF)	0	widow		
317			Sam (B)	26		farm laborer	0	married		
318			Rosana (B)	21				married, daughter [in-law?]		
319			W. Franklin (B)	21						
320			A. James (B)	19						
321			Lucy M. (B)	16						
322			Martha R. (B)	14						
323			Matthew T. (B)	13						
324			Joseph A. (B)	9						
325			Anna N. (B)	7						
326			Walter E. (B)	7						
327			Albert E. (B)	1				grandson		
328	10A	Pickett	Reuben (B)	50	5	farmer (OF)	0			
329			Maria (B)	36				wife (19yrs)		
330			Walter (B)	14		at school, 6mo.				
331			Robert (B)	3						
332			George (B)	2						
333		Thomas	Jane (B)	55	7	(OH)		widow, cannot read or write		
334			Samuel (B)	22		farm laborer	0			
335			Fannie (B)	18						

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
336			Henrie (B)	16						
337			Bessie (B)	13						
338			Samuel (B)	2mo				grandson		
339		Champ	John (B)	22		day laborer	0	boarder		
340		Thomas	Eli (B)	40	3	farm laborer (RH)	0			
341			Lizzie (B)	30				cannot read or write		
342		Ward	Thomas (B)	10				boarder		
343		Haly	Moody (B)	18	1	servant (WH-John B. Leachman, farmer)	2	cannot read or write		
344		Hamilton	Jennie (B)	10	1	servant	0	boarder (WH-John S. Huff, farmer)		
345		Cole	James (B)	19	1	farm laborer	0	boarder (WH-John S. Huff, farmer), cannot read or write		
346		Roy	Adolphus (B)	19	1	farm laborer	0	boarder (WH-John S. Huff, farmer), cannot read or write		
347		Alexander	Howison (B)	17	1	farm laborer	0	boarder (WH-John S. Huff, farmer), cannot read or write		
348	10B	Robinson	James (B)	24	3	farm laborer (RH)	0	born MS		
349			Lena (B)	20				cannot write		
350			J. Richard (B)	2mo						
351		Toliver	Richard (B)	54	4	farmer (OF)	0	widower		
352			Hattie (B)	16						
353			Julia (B)	12						
354		Mitchell	Bennie (B)	12		servant	0	boarder		
355		Lewis	Charles (B)	66	3	day laborer (OH)	0			
356			Julia (B)	54				born KY		
357		Toliver	Richard (B)	14		servant	0	boarder		
358		Nickens	James (B)	30	7	day laborer (RH)	0			
359			Alice (B)	29						
360			Eva (B)	9						
361			Westley (B)	7						
362			Montgomery (B)	6						
363			Grace (B)	4						
364			James (B)	2						
365		Beaumont	Sandy (B)	45	1	day laborer	0	boarder (WH-William M. Wheeler, farmer)		
366		Harris	Smith (B)	15	1	day laborer	0	boarder (WH-William M. Wheeler, farmer)		
367	11A	Fields	Silas (B)	39	2	day laborer (RH)	1	cannot read or write		
368	11B		Mildred (B)	40						
369	12A	Gaskins	Edgar (B)	24	2	farmer (RF)	0			
370			Julia (B)	19						

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
371		Burls	Arthur (B)	20	1	farm laborer	0	boarder (WH-Lucian Larkin, farmer), cannot read or write		
372		Burls	James (B)	18	1	farm laborer	0	boarder (WH-Lucian Larkin, farmer), cannot read or write		
373		Bell	John (B)	58	3	farm laborer (RH)	0	cannot read or write		
374			Martha (B)	32				cannot read or write		
375			Gertie (B)	16		servant				
376		Mitchell	Jethru (B)	24	2	day laborer (RH)	0	cannot read or write		
377			Lucy (B)	21						
378					376					

African Americans of the Sharpsburg/Keedysville Districts, Washington Co. MD, 1860-1900 US Population Census

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1	**1860 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg Dist. SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**	**KEY**
2	[Red Hill Area] Pleasant Valley District 144	King	Harry (B)	60	4	day laborer (O)	$300 real estate; $100 personal prop. (cannot read or write)		
3			Arey (B)	48			(cannot read or write)		
4			Asbury (B)	4					
5		Booth	Aaron (B)	21		day laborer (O)	lives in King household; $300 real estate; $100 personal prop. (cannot read or write)		
6	[Red Hill Area] Sharpsburg District 191	Toyer	Eliza (B)	40	1	servant (WH Samuel Beeler)			**B-black**
7	194	Harris	Alex (B)	45	1	farm hand (WH John Die)	tenant house on Rev. John A. Adams farm (cannot read or write)		**M-mulatto**
8	196	Thomas	George W. (M)	32	10	laborer (R)	$100 personal prop. (cannot read or write)		**W-white**
9			Alfred (M)	26		laborer	(cannot read or write)		**WH-white**
10			Randolph	28		laborer	(cannot read or write)		**O-owner**
11			Elizabeth (M)	25			(cannot read or write)		**R-renter**
12			Sarah (M)	22			(cannot read or write)		
13			Mary (M)	18			(cannot read or write)		
14			William (M)	10			(cannot read or write)		
15			Hetty (M)	9					
16			Isaiah (M)	3					
17			George (M)	2					
18	197	Tyler	Nancy (B)	45	4	none given (R)	(cannot read or write)		
19			Sarah (B)	15					
20			Sophia (B)	13					
21			Julia (B)	1					
22		Somers [?]	Christianna (B)	60	1	none given (R)	$25 personal prop. (cannot read or write)		
23		Brown	John (B)	48	9	laborer (R)	$50 personal prop. (cannot read or write)		
24			Amanda (B)	48			(cannot read or write)		
25			Harriet (B)	22			(cannot read or write)		
26			John (B)	20			(cannot read or write)		
27			George (B)	12					
28			Solomon (B)	8					
29			Samuel (B)	6					
30			Celia (B)	3					
31			Amanda (B)	2					
32		Duckett	John H. (B)	38	7	laborer (R)	$50 personal prop. (cannot read or write)		
33			Cate (B)	44			(cannot read or write)		
34			Caroline (B)	16					
35			Joseph (B)	14					
36			John (B)	20					
37			John L. (B)	8					
38			George (B)	1					
39		Young	Lloyd (B)	104	1	none given (R)	(cannot read or write)		
40	198	Patterson	Nancy (M)	40	5	house keeper (R)	$75 personal prop.		
41			James (M)	23		laborer			
42			Oliver (M)	16		laborer			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1	**1860 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg Dist. SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**	**KEY**
43			Cornelius (M)	8					
44			Laura (M)	4					
45		Marshall	James (M)	45	2	laborer	tenant in Patterson household; $25 personal prop. (cannot read or write)		
46			Louisa (M)	25					
47	199	Kercheville	Talbot (M)	50	9	laborer (R)	$50 personal prop. (cannot read or write)		
48			Mary (M)	45			(cannot read or write)		
49			John (M)	22					
50			Mary (M)	20			(cannot read or write)		
51			Margaret (M)	17					
52			Serena (M)	10					
53			George (M)	8					
54			John (M)	4					
55			Alfred (M)	2					
56		Adly	Ellen (M)	50	7	none given (O)	$100 real estate; $50 personal prop.		
57			Lucrecia (M)	19					
58	200		William (M)	11					
59			Anna (M)	3					
60			Mary (M)	2					
61			Charles (M)	1					
62			Mahlon (M)	24		boatman			
63	201	Griffith	Abraham (M)	30	8	quarrier (O)	$40 real estate; $20 personal prop. (cannot read or write)		
64			Mary (M)	30			(cannot read or write)		
65			Elias (M)	11					
66			Silas (M)	9					
67			Josiah (M)	7					
68			Ann (M)	5					
69			Mary (M)	3					
70			Jonathon (M)	3					
71	202	Caloman	Grafton (M)	45	10	laborer (R)	$50 personal prop.		
72			Harriet (M)	45			(cannot read or write)		
73			Frank (M)	16					
74			Tobias (M)	14					
75			Angeline (M)	12					
76			Pheobe (M)	10					
77			Aaron (M)	8					
78			Washington (M)	6					
79			Abraham (M)	4					
80			James (M)	1					
81		Griffith	Henry (M)	30	6	lime burner (O)	$300 real estate; $100 personal prop.	13 ac imp; 15 ac unimp; $300 value; $25 equipment; 2 horse; 7 swine; 18 bu rye; 100 bu corn; 25 bu potatoes; 100 lb butter; $60 value slaughter	
82			Anne (M)	30					
83			Noah (M)	11					
84			Polly (M)	9					
85			Mahala (M)	7					
86			Eliza (M)	4					
87		Lee	Edward (M)	30	5	laborer (O)	$100 real estate; $75 personal property		

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1	**1860 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg Dist. SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**	**KEY**
88			Mary (M)	24					
89			Samuel (M)	4					
90			Wesly (M)	6					
91			Martha (M)	2					
92		Calaman	William (M)	65	2	none given (R)	$50 personal prop.		
93			Dorcas (M)	42					
94	203	Patterson	Archibald (M)	64	4	laborer (R)	$100 personal prop.		
95			Elizabeth (M)	45			(cannot read or write)		
96			Malinda (M)	7					
97			John (M)	4					
98	205	Metz	Henry (M)	33	4	laborer (R)	$100 personal prop. (cannot read or write)		
99			Rosanna (M)	35			(cannot read or write)		
100			Morris (M)	20		farm hand	(cannot read or write)		
101			Matilda (M)	22			(cannot read or write)		
102		Green	Barbara (M)	17	1	servant (WH Samuel Cost)			
103		Rollins	Georgianna (B)	12	1	(WH Philip Pry)			
104		Samper	Amanda (B)	20	1	house keeper (WH Philip Pry)			
105	209	----(none given)	Ovis (B)	75	1	farm hand (WH Charles Miller)			
106	210	Kietz	Zachariah (M)	35	6	farm hand (R)	(cannot read or write)		
107			Caroline (M)	25					
108			John (M)	9					
109			Thomas (M)	8					
110			Susan (M)	5					
111			Barbary (M)	2					
112	211	Malone	George W. (B)	45	5	farm hand (R)	$50 personal prop. (cannot read or write)		
113			Ellen (B)	41					
114			Benjamin (B)	18		farm hand			
115			Andrew (B)	15		farm hand			
116			John (B)	10					
117		Kietz	James (M)	60	4	laborer (R)	$50 personal prop. (cannot read or write)		
118			Mary (M)	55			(cannot read or write)		
119			Susan (M)	20			(cannot read or write)		
120			Mary (M)	5 mo.					
121		Keller	Nathan (B)	44	3	farmer (O)	$300 real estate; $75 personal prop.	20 ac imp; 10 ac unimp; $300 value; $50 equipment; 2 horse; 2 swine; 100 bu wheat; 250 bu rye; 400 bu corn; ??	
122			Mary (B)	28			(cannot read or write)		
123			John (B)	21		farm hand			
124	213	Dorsey	Clem (M)	58	10	laborer (R)	$100 personal prop. (attended school w/in the year)		
125			Kate (M)	48			(attended school w/in the year)		
126			Cleggett (M)	22		farm hand	(attended school w/in the year)		
127			Clem (M)	21		farm hand	(attended school w/in the year)		
128			Ann (M)	17					
129			Abraham (M)	7					
130			Aimi (M)	14					
131			Ellen (M)	14					
132			Robert (M)	11					
133			Mary (M)	3 mo.					
134		Dorsey	Thomas (M)	25	6	farm hand (R)	$50 personal prop.		
135			Martha (M)	24					

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1	**1860 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg Dist. SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**	**KEY**
136			Thomas (M)	6					
137			Mary (M)	3					
138			James (M)	2					
139			Sarah (M)	11					
140	215	Keller	Joseph (B)	18	7	farm hand (R)	$50 personal prop.		
141			Alfred (B)	15		farm hand			
142			Elenora (B)	16					
143			~~Angeline (B)~~	15		[see next household entry]			
144			Theodore (B)	11					
145			James (B)	8					
146			Silas (B)	6					
147			Benjamin (B)	3					
148	216	Keller	Angeline (B)	15	1	servant (WH Martin Eakle)	[Angeline was counted in both households]		
149	217	Stetz	Elizabeth (M)	20	1	servant (WH Washington C. Schnebly)			
150		Metz	Susan (B)	16	1	servant (WH John Keedy)			
151		Lewis	Morrison (M)	21	1	farm hand (WH Jacob Cost)	(cannot read or write)		
152	[Sharpsburg Area] 218	Bell	Harriet (B)	15	1	servant (WH Jacob A. Myers)			
153	219	Dixon	Flora (B)	65	1	servant (WH James A. Bowers)			
154		Francis	John (B)	12	1	none given (WH Moses Cox)			
155	222	Francis	Aditha (B)	35	5	house keeper (R)	$50 personal prop.		
156			Ellen (B)	10					
157			William (B)	7					
158			Charles (B)	3					
159			Kate (B)	4 mo.					
160	228	Simmons	Rachel (M)	17	1	servant (WH Charles Clark)	[sister of David Simons]		
161	229	Simons	David (M)	28	4	laborer (R)	$50 personal prop.		
162			Margaret (M)	30			(cannot read or write)		
163			Laura (M)	5					
164			James (M)	8 mo.					
165		Stanbake	William (M)	20	2		tenant w/in Simons house (cannot read or write)		
166			Ellenora (M)	18					
167	230	Craig	Henry (B)	57	2	mason (O)	$300 real estate; $75 personal prop.		
168			Henrietta (B)	50					
169	233	Peper	Mahala (B)	60	1	servant (WH William Downs, ME minister)			
170		Peper	John (B)	30	1	servant (WH William Downs, ME minister)			
171	234	Simons	Benjamin (M)	57	1	laborer (WH William M. Cronise)	(cannot read or write)[father of David Simons]		
172		Cookley	Ellen (M)	20	1	servant (WH William M. Cronise)			
173	236	Washington	Alfred (M)	27	1	servant (WH John Highberger)			
174		Anderson	James (B)	27	1	servant (WH Jacob Bowers)	(cannot read or write)		
175	237	Francis	Maria (B)	50	2	none given (R)	$50 personal prop. (cannot read or write)		
176			Robert (B)	10					
177		Craig	Samuel (B)	50	5	laborer (O)	$150 real estate; $50 personal prop. (cannot read or write)		
178			Kate (B)	49			(cannot read or write)		
179			Polley (B)	8					

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1	**1860 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg Dist. SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**	**KEY**
180			Samuel (B)	13			[in 1850, three-year-old Samuel's last name was Ferguson, but living with the Craigs]		
181			Jane (B)	80			[in 1850, Jane was listed as Jane Johnson, age 65]		
182	238	Simons	Eliza (B)	35	3	none given (O)	$300 real estate; $75 personal prop. (cannot read or write)		
183			Margaret (B)	4					
184			Theodore (B)	3					
185		Simons	John A. (B)	23	2	laborer	tenant w/in Eliza Simons house; $50 personal prop. (cannot read or write)		
186			Sophia (B)	17					
187		Jones	Nicholas (M)	35	2	none given	tenant w/in Eliza Simons house		
188			Jane (M)	20					
189	245	Stinback	Eliza (B)	53	4	none given (O)	$250 real estate; $50 personal prop. (cannot read or write)		
190			Joseph (M)	26		farm hand			
191			James (M)	22		farm hand			
192			Eliza (M)	17					
193		Lekins	Otho (M)	45	7	farm hand (R)	$50 personal prop.		
194			Sophia (M)	35					
195			Meridith (M)	11					
196			Robert (M)	9					
197			Joseph (M)	6					
198			William (M)	2					
199		Lee	John (M)	34		laborer	lives in Lekins household		
200	246	Wright	Lewis (M)	35	7	farm hand (O)	$300 real estate; $50 personal prop.		
201			Mary (M)	34					
202			Elenore (M)	11					
203			Rachel (M)	7					
204			Margaret (M)	3					
205			James (M)	3					
206			John (M)	4 mo.					
207	247	Lee	John (M)	22	2	farm hand	tenant w/in Lewis Wright house; $50 personal prop.		
208			Rachel (M)	93					
209		Ross	Jacob (B)	70	2	farm hand (R)	$75 personal prop.		
210			Grace (B)	90					
211		Gamer	Walter (B)	45	3	farmer	tenant w/in Jacob Ross house; $50 personal prop.		
212			Eve (M)	30					
213			John (M)	3					
214	248	Jumper (?)	John (B)	16	1	farm hand (WH Henry Piper)			
215		Simons	Robert (B)	15	1	farm hand (WH William Roulette)	[son of David B. Simons]		
216		Campbell	Nancy (B)	40	1	servant (WH William Roulette)			
217					210				

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1	**1870 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg Dist. SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**
2	[Red Hill Area] 1	Hopewell	Emma (B)	17	1	domestic servant (WH Martin Eakle)	(cannot read or write)	
3		Malone	John (B)	21	1	farm laborer (WH Martin Eakle)	eligible to vote (cannot write)	
4		Keller	Benjamin (B)	12	1	domestic servant (WH Martin Eakle)	(cannot read or write)	
5	2	Sewell	Benjamin (B)	33	6	day laborer (R)	eligible to vote (cannot read or write) [tenant on Deaner farm, *Antietam Wavelet,* 1889]	
6			Mary (B)	27		keeping house	(cannot read or write)	
7			Martha H. (B)	8		at home		
8			Fanny E. (B)	5		at home		
9			John T. (B)	2		at home		
10			Frank (B)	8 mo.		at home		
11		Evans	Hannah (B)	55	4	at home	tenant in Sewell house (cannot read or write)	
12			Daniel W. (B)	9		at home		
13			Henry (B)	4		at home		
14			Elizabeth (B)	9 mo.		at home		
15		Rose	John (B)	28	1	day laborer	tenant in Sewell house; eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
16	[Sharpsburg Area] 5	Rose	Rachel (M)	69	1	domestic servant (WH Rev. John A. Adams)	(cannot read or write)	
17		Myers	Susan (M)	16	1	domestic servant (WH Rev. John A. Adams)	(cannot write)	
18		Lee	John W. (M)	36	1	farm laborer (WH Rev. John A. Adams)	eligible to vote	
19	6	Lickens	Meredith (B)	24	1	farm laborer (WH Jacob Marker)	eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
20	7	Molton	Glenmore (B)	26	2	day laborer (R)	born in WV; eligible to vote (cannot read or write)[Antietam Iron Works area]	
21			Catherine (B)	22		keeping house	(cannot read or write)	
22	11	Jackson	Andrew (B)	30	2	day laborer (R)	eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
23		Brown	John (B)	25		day laborer	eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
24		Martin	William (B)	18	1	farm laborer (WH Daniel Piper)	(cannot read or write)	
25	[Red Hill Area] 12	Brown	Solomon (B)	18	1	farm laborer (WH James Fries)	(cannot read or write)	
26		Patterson	Archie (W)	74	5	day laborer	eligible to vote (cannot read or write); this family was described as "mulatto" in 1860 and 1880	
27			Elizabeth (W)	64		keeping house	(cannot read or write)	
28			Melinda E. (W)	17		at home	(cannot read or write)	
29			John W.Z.A. (W)	14		at home	(cannot read or write)	
30		Calmon	D. Ann (W)	83		at home	mother-in-law? (cannot read or write)	

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1	**1870 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg Dist. SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**
31	13	Calaman	Grafton (W)	45	7	day laborer (R)	eligible to vote (cannot read or write); this family was described as "mulatto" in 1860 and 1880	
32			Harriet (W)	40		keeping house	(cannot read or write)	
33			Angeline (W)	24		at home	(cannot read or write)	
34			James H. (W)	13		at home	(cannot read or write)	
35		Bidlemon	John W. (W)	6 mo.		at home		
36		Calaman	Washington (W)	18		day laborer	(cannot read or write)	
37		Calaman	Arian (W)	20		day laborer	(cannot read or write)	
38		Wright	Lewis (B)	52	4	day laborer (O)	$200 real estate; $100 personal prop.; eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
39			Mary E. (B)	42		keeping house	(cannot write)	
40			Margaret V. (M)	13		at home	(cannot read or write)	
41	14		James H. (M)	11		at home	(cannot read or write)	
42		Lisle	John H. (M)	18	1	day laborer	living in Wright house (cannot write)	
43		Malone	Benjamin F. (B)	27	2	day laborer	living in Wright house; eligible to vote	
44			Elenore (M)	20		keeping house	[daughter of Lewis Wright]	
45		Hopewell	Henry (B)	62	9	day laborer (O)	$180 real estate; $100 personal prop.; eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
46			Airy (B)	56		at home	(cannot read or write)	
47			Henry (B)	8		at home		
48			Joseph (B)	5		at home		
49		Toyer	Mary J. (B)	30		keeping house	(cannot write)	
50			Jenny May (B)	5		at home		
51			Charles S. (B)	3		at home		
52			James H. (B)	2		at home		
53			Merly Berly G. (B)	3 mo.		at home		
54		Keith (Keitz)	Zachariah (W)	57	10	day laborer (R)	listed as (M) in 1860; eligible to vote; born in VA (cannot read or write); this family was described as "mulatto" in 1860 and 1880	
55			Caroline (W)	42		keeping house	(cannot read or write)	
56			Thomas H. (W)	17		day laborer	attended school w/in last year (cannot read or write)	
57			Susanna E. (W)	14		at home	attended school w/in last year (cannot read or write)	
58			Barbara J. (W)	12		at home	attended school w/in last year (cannot read or write)	
59			William C. (W)	10		at home	attended school w/in last year (cannot read or write)	
60			Charles E. (W)	7		at home		
61			Ann E. (W)	4		at home		
62			David A. (W)	3		at home		
63			Edward S. (W)	3 mo.		at home		
64		Summers	Henson (B)	52	4	day laborer (O)	$200 real estate [in Boonsboro District]; eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	

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1	**1870 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg Dist. SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**
65			Caroline (B)	45		keeping house	(cannot read or write)	
66			Henry A. (B)	14		day laborer	(cannot read or write)	
67			Elizabeth V. S. (B)	1		at home		
68		Keits	Henry (B)	22	3	day laborer (R)	eligible to vote (cannot write)	
69			Elizabeth (B)	20		keeping house	(cannot write)	
70			Martha (B)	4		at home		
71		Watson	Henry (B)	48	5	day laborer (R)	eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
72			Annie E. (B)	45		keeping house	(cannot read or write)	
73		Barton	John H. (B)	21		day laborer	living in Watson house; eligible to vote (cannot write)	
74			Joseph W. (B)	15		day laborer	living in Watson house (cannot write)	
75			Cecelia C. (B)	13		at home	living in Watson house	
76		Kellar	Nathan (B)	56	9	day laborer (R)	eligible to vote (cannot write)	
77			Airy (B)	27		keeping house	(cannot write)	
78			James (B)	16		day laborer	(cannot read or write)	
79			Silas (B)	14		day laborer	(cannot read or write)	
80			Jacob (B)	8		at home		
81	15		Daniel (B)	3		at home		
82		Boyer	Mary C. (B)	5		at home	in Kellar household	
83			Isabella (B)	2		at home	in Kellar household	
84			David (B)	1 mo.		at home	in Kellar household	
85		Brown	John (B)	60	8	day laborer (O)	$250 real estate; eligible to vote (cannot write)	
86			Catherine (B)	47		keeping house	(cannot read or write)	
87			Amanda (B)	14		at home	(cannot read or write)	
88		Johnson	Willie (B)	3		at home	in Brown household	
89		Adly	George T. (B)	11		at home	in Brown household (cannot read or write)	
90		Sliner	James H. (B)	24		day laborer	in Brown household; eligible to vote	
91			Henrietta (B)	36		keeping house	in Brown household (cannot read or write)	
92			Sophronia E. (B)	15		at home		
93		Summers	William (B)	66	3	day laborer (R)	eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
94			Mary (B)	57		keeping house	(cannot read or write)	
95		Smith	Margy (B)	3		at home	in Summers household	
96		Kellar	John (B)	26	3	farm laborer (R)	eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
97			Drusilla (B)	25		keeping house	(cannot read or write)	
98		Stewart	Eli (B)	35		day laborer	in Kellar household; eligible to vote	
99	[Sharpsburg Area] 19	Gray	Robert (B)	15	1	farm laborer (WH Henry Blackford)	(cannot read or write)	
100	20	Lee	Nancy (B)	67	1	domestic servant (WH David F. Otto)	(cannot write) [this is probably Hilary Watson's mother]	
101		Thornton	Toby (B)	13	1	farm laborer (WH A.R. Miller)	(cannot read or write)	
102		Broomsic	Lewis (M)	19	1	farm laborer (WH A.R. Miller)	born in WV (cannot read or write)	

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1	**1870 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg Dist. SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**
103	21	Evans	Lavinia (B)	16	1	domestic servant (WH Joseph C. Smith)	(cannot read or write)	
104		St. Clair	Jane (B)	49	1	domestic servant (WH Stephen P. Grove)	(cannot read or write)	
105		Hunter	Andrew (B)	31	1	farm laborer (WH Stephen P. Grove)	born in WV; eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
106			Sarah (B)	40	1	domestic servant (WH Stephen P. Grove)	(cannot read or write)	
107		Lewis	Abram (B)	42	1	farm laborer (WH Jacob Leatherman)	born in WV; eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
108	22	Scott	James (B)	36	1	farm laborer (WH Benjamin F. Graves)	eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
109	24	Brown	Jennie (B)	25	2	house keeper (WH J.C. Grove)	born in VA	
110			Eliza (B)	3		at home (WH J.C. Grove)	born in VA	
111		Fisher	George W. (B)	30	1	farm laborer (WH Samuel I. Piper)	eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
112		Washington	George (B)	27	1	farm laborer (WH Samuel I. Piper)	eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
113	25	Sinclair	Ann (B)	41	2	domestic servant (WH Joseph H. Cox)	(cannot read or write)	
114			Laura J. (B)	2		at home (WH Joseph H. Cox)		
115		Kellar	Silas (B)	15	1	farm laborer (WH Alfred Cost)	(cannot read or write)	
116	27	Roland	Georgia (B)	19	1	domestic servant (WH Philip Pry)	(cannot write)	
117	28	Thomas	Alfred (W)	35	5	day laborer (R)	eligible to vote (cannot read or write); this family was described as "mulatto" in 1860 and 1880	
118			Margaret (W)	23		keeping house	(cannot read or write)	
119			Mary E. (W)	1		at home		
120		Cretswell	Isabella (W)	20		at home	(cannot read or write)	
121			Violetta (W)	1		at home		
122		Malone	Andrew (B)	26	4	day laborer (R)	eligible to vote	
123			Elenora (B)	24		keeping house	(cannot read or write)	
124			Josephine (B)	4		at home		
125			Alice V. (B)	2		at home		
126	30	Greene	John (B)	23	1	farm laborer (WH Moses Cox)	born in WV; eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
127		Williams	Frank (B)	17	1	farm laborer (WH Moses Cox)	(cannot read or write)	
128	31	Summers	Jerry (B)	22	1	farm laborer (WH Samuel D. Piper)	eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
129	32	Campbell	Nancy (B)	51	1	domestic servant (WH William Roulette)	(cannot write)	

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1	**1870 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg Dist. SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**
130		Watson	Hiliary (M)	35	3	farm laborer (R)	$100 personal prop.; eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
131			Christina (M)	30		keeping house	born in WV (cannot read or write)	
132		Turner	Adeline (M)	104		at home	in Watson household; born in WV (cannot read or write)	
133		Jackson	Aaron (B)	26	5	farm laborer (R)	born in WV; eligible to vote	
134			Jane (B)	25		keeping house	born in WV (cannot write)	
135			Albertus (B)	3		at home		
136			John W. (B)	1		at home		
137		Gray	Rosy (B)	51		at home	born in VA (cannot read or write)	
138	33	Middleton	Wilson (B)	41	6	day laborer (R)	eligible to vote (cannot read or write)	
139			Maria (B)	59 [39?]		keeping house	(cannot read or write)	
140			Mary Ann (B)	7		at home		
141			Lilly (B)	5		at home		
142			James T. (B)	8 mo.		at home		
143		Hess	Harriet (B)	54		at home	in Middleton household (cannot read or write)	
144					142			

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1	**1870 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg Town SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**	**KEY**
2	2	Ross	Jacob (B)	81	5	day laborer (O)	$100 real estate [1877 map on s/s of town]; eligible to vote (cannot read or write)		B - black M - mulatto
3		Williams	Bettie (B)	61		keeping house	in Ross household (cannot read or write)		O - owner R - renter
4			Josephine (B)	17		at home	in Ross household (cannot read or write)		WH - white household
5			Eliza (B)	22		at home	in Ross household (cannot read or write)		
6		Howard	Ida May (B)	1		at home	in Ross household		
7	5	Stanback	James (M)	32	4	farm laborer (O)	$600 real estate; $100 personal prop.; eligible to vote		
8			William (M)	30		farm laborer	eligible to vote (cannot read or write)		
9			Eliza (M)	27		keeping house			
10		Brown	John G. (M)	21		barber	in Stanback household; eligible to vote		
11		Lakin	Otho (M)	61	3	day laborer (R)	eligible to vote (cannot read or write)		
12			Joseph (M)	15		day laborer	(cannot read or write)		
13			Riann (M)	8		at home	attended school in last year		
14		Lucas	George (B)	40	4	farm laborer (R)	tenant in Lakin house; born in VA; eligible to vote (cannot read or write)		
15			Millie (B)	36		keeping house	(cannot read or write)		
16			Samuel (B)	10		at home	attended school in last year (cannot read or write)		
17			Georgiana (B)	6		at home			
18	10	Fisher	Ann F. (B)	36	1	keeping house (R)	tenant in Catherine Kretzinger house (cannot write)		
19		Johnson	Jennie (B)	33	2	keeping house (R)			
20		Krout	John (B)	30		day laborer	in Johnson household; eligible to vote (cannot read or write)		
21		Brown	Cyrus (B)	89	7	day laborer (R)	eligible to vote (cannot read or write)		
22			Polly (B)	81		keeping house	(cannot read or write)		
23			Priscilla (B)	36		at home	(cannot read or write)		
24			Samuel (B)	31		at home	eligible to vote (cannot read or write)		
25		Buchanan	Mary V. (M)	10		at home	in Brown household (cannot read or write)		
26		Watson	Emma R. (M)	5		at home	in Brown household		
27		Tyler	Charles H. A. (M)	1		at home	in Brown household		
28	11	Thornton	Frank (B)	10	1	domestic servant (WH Julia M. Brashears)	(cannot write)		
29		Rolland	Polly (B)	16	1	domestic servant (WH Samuel McGraw)	(cannot read or write)		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
30		Carter	James O. (B)	17	1	domestic servant (WH Samuel McGraw)	(cannot read or write)		
31		French	Moses (B)	68	1	domestic servant (WH Jacob H. Grove)	eligible to vote		
32		Bell	John W. (B)	26	1	barber	born in WV; eligible to vote		
33		Banks	Peter (B)	10	1	domestic servant (WH John Miller)	(cannot read or write)		
34	12	Jones	Lev (B)	75	2	domestic servant (WH Dr. A.A. Biggs)	eligible to vote (cannot read or write)		
35			Esther (B)	70		domestic servant (WH Dr. A.A. Biggs)	(cannot read or write)		
36		Gray	Mary A. (B)	20	1	domestic servant (WH Dr. A.A. Biggs)	(cannot read or write)		
37		Barton	Joseph (B)	16	1	at home (WH Dr. A.A. Biggs)	(cannot read or write)		
38	14	Larkins	Robert (B)	18	1	domestic servant (WH Benjamin F. Cronise)			
39		Hopewell	Laura (B)	25	1	domestic servant (WH Harriet Benton)	(cannot read or write)		
40	17	Sammons	David (M)	38	8	day laborer (R)	eligible to vote		
41			Margaret (M)	40		keeping house	(cannot write)		
42			Laura (M)	14		at home	(cannot read or write)		
43			James (M)	11		at home	attended school in the last year		
44			Mary E. (M)	6		at home			
45			Julia (M)	5		at home			
46			Joshua (M)	1		at home			
47		Ferguson	Samuel (B)	23		farm laborer	in Sammons household; eligible to vote [lived in the Samuel Craig household 1850, 1860]		
48	19	Greene	Jennie (B)	15	1	domestic servant (WH Jacob Baker)			
49		Jones	Letha (B)	18	1	domestic servant (WH Morgan Miller)	(cannot read or write)		
50	20	Fisher	Melinda (B)	16	1	domestic servant (WH Jacob F. Harper)	(cannot read or write)		
51		Stewart	Clarence (B)	17	1	domestic servant (WH Jacob Miller)	(cannot read or write)		
52		Summers	Emery (B)	13	1	domestic servant (WH Henry Piper)	(cannot read or write)		
53		Smith	Margaret (B)	35	1	domestic servant (WH Henry Piper)	(cannot read or write)		
54	21	Johnson	Ben. (B)	10	1	domestic servant (WH Susan Kennedy)	(cannot read or write)		
55	23	Brown	Harriet (B)	40	1	domestic servant (WH H.F. Hebb)	(cannot read or write)		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
56	25	Thomas	Mahala (B)	71	6	keeping house (R)	(cannot read or write)		
57		Gray	Melinda (B)	28		at home	(cannot read or write)		
58			Fannie (B)	4		at home			
59			George T. (M)	6		at home			
60			John (B)	9		at home			
61			Jesse (B)	4		at home			
62					60				

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	**1880 PAGE#**	**Keedysville District SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**	**TC Cem.**	**RH Cem.**
2	3	Bivins	Sophia (B)	75	1	servant (WH Martin H. Miller	widow; attended school w/in last year (cannot read or write)			
3		Stewart	Elie (B)	39	8	laborer	(cannot read or write)			
4			Susan E. (B)	36		keeping house	(cannot read or write)			
5			Cora (B)	6		at home				
6		Calamon	Mary V. (B)	19		at home	step daughter (cannot read or write)			
7			Thomas (B)	17		laborer	step son; attended school			
8			Josephine (B)	14		at home	step daughter; attended school			
9		Malone	Margaret (B)	11		at home	step daughter; attended school			
10		Hopewell	Thomas (B)	1		at home	step grandson			
11		Keets	James (M)	81		at home	father-in-law; disabled (cannot read or write)			
12	4	Malone	Ellen (B)	59	2	keeping house	widow (cannot write)			
13			John D. (B)	30		farm hand	(cannot write)			
14		Summers	Henson (B)	61	6	laborer	(cannot read or write)			
15			Margaret (B)	43		keeping house	(cannot read or write)			
16			Victoria (B)	11		at home	attended school			
17			William (B)	65		laborer	cousin; widower (cannot read or write)			
18		Green	Margy (B)	17		at home	step daughter; from SC; attended school			
19		Smith	Charles (M)	20		servant	step son; from SC			
20		Fisher	Ann (B)	60	4	keeping house	widow; blind (cannot read or write)			
21			George W. (B)	37		laborer				
22		Bowman	Lucy (B)	64		at home	sister; widow; disabled (cannot read or write)			
23		Watson	Tracy (B)	57		at home	sister; widow; disabled (cannot read or write)			
24		Keets	Zachariah (M)	55	14	laborer	(cannot read or write)			
25			Caroline (M)	53		keeping house	(cannot read or write)			
26			Harmon (M)	23		laborer	(cannot read or write)			
27			Barbara (M)	21		at home	(cannot read or write)			
28			William (M)	20		laborer	(cannot read or write)			
29			Charles E. (M)	16		laborer	(cannot read or write)			
30			Elizabeth (M)	14		at home	attended school (cannot read or write)			
31			David C. (M)	12		at home	attended school (cannot read or write)			
32			Edward (M)	10		at home	attended school (cannot write)			
33			Mary C. (M)	8		at home	attended school			
34			Cephus C. (M)	6		at home				
35			Lottie M. (M)	1		at home				

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1	**1880 PAGE#**	**Keedysville District SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**	**TC Cem.**	**RH Cem.**
36		Fisher	U. Grant (B)	2		at home	grandson			
37			Martin H. (B)	3 mo.		at home	grandson			
38	5	Keets	J. Henry (M)	30	8	laborer	(cannot write)			
39			Elizabeth (M)	32		keeping house	(cannot read or write)			
40			Mary A. (M)	9		at home	attended school			
41			Elizabeth (B)	8		at home	attended school			
42			William W. (B)	6		at home				
43			Margaret (B)	1						
44		Boteler	Elizabeth E. (M)	14		at home	step daughter; attended school (cannot write)			
45		Hemp	Samuel (M)	18		servant	step son (cannot write)			
46		Griffith	Elias (M)	29	3	farmer	(cannot read or write)	yes		
47			Mansella (W)	30		keeping house	(cannot write)			
48			T. Josiah (M)	10		at home	attended school (cannot read or write)			
49		Malone	Benjamin (B)	38	8	laborer	disabled			
50			Elenora V. (W)	30		keeping house				
51			Albert G. (M)	7		at home	attended school			
52			William F. (M)	5		at home	attended school			
53			Joseph S. U. (M)	3		at home				
54			Griesa E. M. (M)	3 mo.		at home				
55		Wright	Lewis (M)	64		laborer	father-in-law (cannot read or write)			
56		Wright	James (B)	20		laborer	brother-in-law (cannot read or write)			
57		Clark	Georg M. (B)	24	6	laborer	(cannot read or write)			
58			Margaret U. (M)	22		keeping house	(cannot read or write)			
59			Otho O. (M)	5		at home				
60			Otesia D. (M)	1		at home				
61			Rose Ann (B)	50		servant	mother; widow (cannot read or write)			
62		Dikes	William H. (B)	1		at home	nephew			
63		Plummer	Richard (B)	61	1	laborer	(cannot read or write)			
64		Metz	William H. (M)	25	5	laborer	(cannot read or write)			
65			Mary J. (W)	21		keeping house				
66			John William (M)	3		at home				
67			Lillie Cate (M)	1		at home				
68			Sallie May (M)	1 mo.						
69		Hopewell	Henry (B)	71	7	at home	widower (cannot write)			
70			George M. (B)	29		farm hand	widower (cannot write)			
71			Uriah (B)	21		works on farm				
72			Henry Jr. (B)	18		laborer	attended school			
73		Adams	Margaret (B)	34		servant; keeping house	(cannot read or write)			
74			John H. (B)	3						
75		Normand	Joseph (B)	15		servant	grandson; from DC; attended school			

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1	**1880 PAGE#**	**Keedysville District SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**	**TC Cem.**	**RH Cem.**
76		Toyer	James (B)	38	6	laborer	widower			
77			Jannie May (B)	15		keeping house	attended school (cannot read or write)			
78			Charles (B)	14		servant	attended school			
79			James Jr. (B)	11		servant	attended school (cannot write)			
80			Myrlie B. (B)	10			attended school (cannot write)			
81			Josephus (B)	8						
82	6	Caloman	Franklin (M)	38	7	laborer	(cannot read or write)			
83			Matilda A. (M)	42		keeping house	(cannot read or write)			
84			Mary Ellen (M)	15		at home	(cannot read or write)[1900, wife of John R. Brown]			
85			Sarah Catherine (M)	14		at home	(cannot read or write)			
86			Daniel (M)	13		at home	(cannot read or write)			
87			Ann Mariah (M)	9		at home				
88			Grafton F. (M)	7		at home				
89		Churchy	Sarah C. (M)	27		servant; house keeper (WH George W. Gray)	(cannot read or write)			
90		Griffith	Abraham (W)	51	5	stone mason	(cannot read or write)			
91			Susan E. (W)	20		keeping house	[second] wife (cannot read or write)			
92			John (M)	20		laborer	son; disabled (cannot read or write)			
93			Samuel Tilden (W)	3		at home				
94			Martha Ann (W)	10 mo.		at home				
95		Griffith	Henry (W)	63	6	farmer	(cannot read or write)	yes		
96			Ann (M)	60		keeping house	(cannot read or write)			
97			Mary Margaret (M)	27		house keeper	(cannot read or write)			
98			David H. (M)	19		farm laborer	(cannot read or write)			
99			Mary Ann (M)	12		at home	(cannot read or write)			
100			Tyson (M)	10		at home	(cannot read or write)			
101		Metz	Ruanna (M)	63	4	keeping house	widow (cannot write)			
102		Lewis	Josiah (M)	18		laborer	grandson (cannot read or write)			
103		Davis	Eugene (M)	15		laborer	grandson (cannot read or write)			
104		Huff	Emma (M)	12		at home	granddaughter (cannot read or write)			
105		Lewis	Morris E. (M)	37	7	laborer	(cannot read or write)			
106			Elizabeth (W)	25		keeping house	wife (cannot read or write)			
107			Romus H. (M)	16		laborer	(cannot read or write)			
108			Luther M. (M)	15		works on farm	(cannot read or write)			
109			Barbara E. (M)	13		servant	(cannot read or write)			
110			Mary Ann (M)	12		at home	(cannot read or write)			
111			Tyson (M)	10		at home	(cannot read or write)			
112	7	Thomas	Alfred (M)	45	7	laborer	disabled; father from England (cannot read or write)			

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1	**1880 PAGE#**	**Keedysville District SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**	**TC Cem.**	**RH Cem.**
113			Margaret (M)	35		keeping house	(cannot read or write)			
114			Mary E. (M)	11		at home	(cannot read or write)			
115			R. Asbury (M)	8		at home				
116			Alice T. (M)	4		at home				
117			Talbot W. (M)	2		at home				
118		Patterson	Nancy (M)	67		keeping house	aunt; single (cannot read or write)			
119		Churchy	Otho (W)	21	3	laborer	(cannot read or write)			
120			Mary Ann (M)	22		keeping house	(cannot read or write)			
121			Noah Israel (M)	1		at home	[Israel Churchy all (W) adjoining household]			
122		Churchy	Eliza Ann (M)	23		servant; keeping house (WH Joseph Domer)	(cannot read or write) [Domer is a fence maker, lives btw his father Henry Domer, fence maker, and Otho Churchy]			
123	10	Crummer	John T. (B)	25	3	works on farm (WH Elias Snively)	(cannot read or write)			
124			Clara (B)	25		works in f. house (WH Elias Snively)	(cannot read or write)			
125			Anna (B)	4						
126		Jackson	John (B)	79	1	servant (WH Elias Snively)	disabled (cannot read or write)			
127		Clark	Fillmore (B)	23	1	farm hand (WH Elias Snively)	(cannot read or write)			
128		Bland	Mary E. (B)	16	1	servant	from VA			
129		King	G. Hamilton (B)	42	6	laborer	(cannot read or write)[appears to be tenant of Elias Snively, see 1867 map]		✓	
130			Anna C. (B)	49		keeping house	(cannot read or write)			
131			Joseph McC. (B)	15		at home	attended school			
132			Cornelius S. (B)	13		at home	attended school			
133			Eliza Vi. (B)	12		at home	attended school			
134			Thornton W. (B)	9		at home	attended school			
135		Sewell	Benjamin (B)	42	10	farm hand	(cannot read or write)[a tenant on the Jonas S. Deaner farm]			
136			Mary Ellen (B)	39		keeping house	(cannot read or write)			
137			Fannie E. (B)	15		at home	attended school		√	
138			John Thomas (B)	13		servant	attended school			
139			Benjamin (B)	10		at home	attended school (cannot write)			
140			Louisa F. (B)	7		at home	attended school			
141			George A. (B)	5		at home	attended school			
142			Cate E. I. (B)	5 mo.		at home				
143		Evans	Elizabeth (B)	11	1	servant (WH A.M.V.B. Deaner)	attended school (cannot read or write)			
144	14	Snyder	William (B)	46	3	minister	[in Keedysville]			

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1	**1880 PAGE#**	**Keedysville District SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**	**TC Cem.**	**RH Cem.**
145			Jane (B)	39		keeping house	(cannot read or write)			
146			Eliza J.V. (B)	14		at home	attended school			
147	18	Steward	David H. (B)	26	5	laborer	[in Keedysville] (cannot read or write)			
148			Anna L. (B)	24		keeping house	(cannot read or write)			
149			No??a (B)	5		at home				
150			Franklin (B)	2		at home				
151			Willie E. (B)	8 mo.		at home				
152		Keller	John (B)	38	3	laborer	[in Keedysville] (cannot read or write)			
153			Rusilla (B)	34		keeping house	(cannot read or write)			
154		Bouy	Sarah E. (B)	13		house keeper	cousin			
155	21	Jackson	Aaron (B)	37	5	laborer	from WV (cannot read or write)			
156			Virginia (B)	33		keeping house	(cannot read or write)			
157			Albertus (B)	13		at home	attended school		√	
158			John W. (B)	11		at home	attended school			
159			Edward (B)	6		at home	attended school			
160	23	Cross	George (B)	47	5	laborer	widower (cannot read or write)			
161			John (B)	18		works on farm	(cannot write)			
162			Lafayette (B)	16		at home	attended school		✓	
163			George W. (B)	13		works on farm	attended school			
164		Egleton	Charlotte (B)	62		cook; house keeper	(cannot read or write)			
165	25	Holland	Nicholas (B)	63	1	servant (WH Thomas H. Norris)	(cannot read or write)			
166					163					

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1	**1880 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg District (Town) SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**	**TC Cem.**
2	3; Main Street	Seibert	Susanna (B)	65	1	servant (WH George W. ??, nxt A.A. Biggs)	married; born VA (cannot read or write)		
3		Osceroy	James (B)	25	1	servant (WH George W. ??, nxt A.A. Biggs)	born VA (cannot read or write)		
4		Barnett	Annie (B)	25	1	servant (WH Harriet Benton)	born VA (cannot read or write)		
5		Grant	Robert (B)	23	1	servant (WH John Shay)	born SC (cannot read or write)		
6	14; Potomac St.	Brown	Cicelia (B)	33	5	keeping house	(cannot read or write)		
7			Emily (M)	15		house keeping	attended school (cannot write)		
8			George A. (M)	7			attended school		
9			Millie (M)	6			attended school		
10			James (M)	1					
11		Perry	Martha A. (B)	68	2	house keeper	(cannot read or write)		
12			William H. (B)	27		at home	crippled back; idiotic; disabled (cannot read or write)		
13	18; Potomac St.	Tyler	Tresie A. (M)	53	3	keeping house	(cannot read or write)		
14			George (B)	47		laborer	unemployed 4 mo.		
15		Greene	John H. (B)	50		laborer	boarder; widower; unemployed 3 mo.; born SC (cannot read or write)		
16		Sinclair	Jane (B)	63	3	keeping house	widow		
17			Harry (B)	21		at home			
18			Emily (B)	15		at home			
19		Brown	Samuel (B)	40	6	laborer	unemployed 4 mo.		
20			Harriet (B)	29		keeping house			
21			Rosanna (B)	4 mo.					
22			Dora M. (B)	3					
23		Tuell	George (B)	22		laborer	boarder; unemployed 4 mo.; born VA		
24		Hamilton	Gaither (F) (B)	22		laborer	boarder; unemployed 4 mo.; born VA		
25	19; Potomac St. [Antietam St.]	Malone	Andrew (M)	35	8	prisoner			
26			Elenora (M)	34		keeping house			
27			Josephine (M)	14		at home			
28			Alice (M)	11		at home			
29			Charles (M)	8					
30			Ida (M)	6					
31			Kesia (M)	4					
32		Stanback	William H. (M)	39		laborer	[boarder?]		
33		Jenkins	George W. (M)	24	3	preacher			
34			Florence (M)	22		keeping house	born VA		

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1	**1880 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg District (Town) SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**	**TC Cem.**
35			Lizzie (M)	1			born VA		
36		Lee	John W. (M)	44	6	laborer	unemployed 4 mo.		
37			Eliza J. (M)	37		keeping house			
38			Robert L. (M)	4					
39			Proshea (M)	8 mo.					
40		Leakins	Robert F. (M)	29		barber	boarder		
41			Otho (M)	71		laborer	boarder		
42	20; Antietam St. [west]	Samons	David B. (B)	48	7	teacher			
43			Margaret A. (B)	50		keeping house			
44			Laura S. (B)	24		at home			
45			James F. (B)	20		teacher			
46			Elizabeth (B)	17		at home			
47			Julia A. (B)	14		at home			
48			Joshua S. (B)	11					
49	26; Antietam St.	Jones	Robert (B)	58	5	laborer	born VA		
50			Mary A. (B)	50		keeping house			
51			George W.T. (B)	22		laborer			
52			Benjamin A.T. (B)	19		laborer			
53			Laura J.C. (B)	12		laborer			
54	27; Antietam St.	Williams	Franklin (B)	25	3	laborer			
55			Ellen (B)	30		keeping house	born VA		
56			Franklin Jr. (B)	1					
57	28; Antietam St. [High St.]	Nirce [Nurse]	George W. (B)	35	5	laborer	unemployed 2 mo.; born VA (cannot write)		
58			Malinda (B)	50		(wife) keeping house	[second marriage; formerly Malinda (Thomas) Gray; should be 38] (cannot read or write)		
59			Fannie G. (B)	14		house keeper	attended school		
60			Lucy J. (B)	9			attended school		
61			Jessie G. (B)	18		boat laborer	unemployed 4 mo.; attended school		
62		Gray	William H. (B)	29	7	laborer	unemployed 2 mo. (cannot read or write)		
63			Harriet (B)	35		keeping house	born VA (cannot read or write)		
64			Jeneva (B)	8			attended school		
65			Rebecca (B)	4					
66			Robert (B)	2					
67			Martha (B)	11 mo.					
68		Thomas	Malinda (B) [Mahala?]	85			mother; single		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1	**1880 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg District (Town) SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**	**TC Cem.**
69		Gray	Alphred (B)	11	3	at home	[Although listed as a separate household, Alphred and Alexander Gray were likely the two oldest sons of William and Harriet Gray] (cannot read or write)		
70			Alexander (B)	7					
71		Fry	Alexander (B)	35		laborer	boarder; unemployed 4 mo. (cannot write)		
72		Watson	Hilery (M)	48	5	laborer	unemployed 6 mo.		
73			Tenie (B)	55		keeping house	born VA		
74			Ida M. (B)	11		at home	attended school		
75		Lee	Nancy A. (B)	70			mother; widow		
76		Robinson	William (B)	24	7	laborer	boarder; unemployed 3 mo.; born VA		
77		Doleman	Wilford (M)	28		laborer	unemployed 4 mo.; born VA		
78			Laura E. (B)	32		keeping house			
79			George J. (B)	7					
80			Daniel W. (B)	5					
81			Clarence T. (B)	1					
82			Arie V. (B)	4 mo.					
83	29; Antietam St. [High St.]	Middleton	Wilson (B)	53	14	laborer	unemployed 3 mo.; born VA		
84			Moriah A. (B)	49		keeping house			
85			John F. (B)	24			born VA		
86			Virginia E. (M)	23		house keeping	born VA		
87			Burl T. (M)	21		laborer	unemployed 3 mo.; born VA		
88			Mary (M)	17		at home	born VA; attended school		
89			Lillie (B)	12		at home	attended school		
90			James S. (B)	9			attended school		
91			Aaron (B)	8			attended school		
92			Washington (B)	4					
93			Lottie L. (M)	5			grand daughter		
94		Young	Jane (B)	70			mother; born VA		
95		Mitchael	Isai (B)	25		laborer	boarder; unemployed 3 mo.; born VA		
96		King	Henry (B)	30		laborer	boarder; unemployed 3 mo.; born KY		
97					96				

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1	**1880 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg District SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**	**TC Cem.**
2	31	Rixie	Shep (B)	30	4	none given	born VA		
3		Greene	Mary E. (B)	17		house keeper	(wife) born VA		
4			Louisa (M)	40			(daughter) born VA [these may be reversed]		
5			Emma (M)	13			(daughter) born VA		
6		Harris	Henry (B)	35	3	laborer	born VA; noted as "traveler"		
7		Jackson	Hamilton (B)	25		laborer	born VA; noted as "traveler"		
8		White	James (B)	37		laborer	born VA; noted as "traveler"		
9	32	Robinson	John (M)	36	8	farm laborer	unemployed 4 mo.; born VA		
10			Mary A. (M)	31		keeping house	born VA		
11			John H. (M)	13		at home	born VA		
12			Ann E. (M)	12		at home	born VA		
13			Mary J. (M)	10		at home	born VA (cannot read or write)		
14			William H. (M)	8		at home	born VA		
15			Harry E. C. (B)	4					
16			George W. (M)	2					
17		Spotswood	Osker M. (M)	32	3	farm laborer	born VA		
18			Martha (B)	32		keeping house	born VA		
19			Joseph (M)	8			born VA		
20	33	Gray	Robert (B)	22	4	farm laborer	unemployed 4 mo. (cannot read or write)		
21			Martha A. (B)	18		keeping house	(cannot write)		
22			William H. (B)	2 mo.					
23		Beeler	George H. (M)	14		at home	boarder; attended school		
24		Camel	Nancy (B)	67	1	servant (WH William Roulette)	single		
25	35	Clark	Samuel (B)	45	11	farm laborer	born VA (cannot read or write)		
26			Amanda (B)	50		keeping house	born VA (cannot read or write)		
27			Charles H. (B)	23		farm laborer	born VA (cannot read or write)		
28			George W. (B)	22		farm laborer	born VA (cannot read or write)		
29			William McC. (B)	21		farm laborer	born VA (cannot read or write)		
30			Edward J. (B)	19		farm laborer	born VA (cannot read or write)		
31			Samuel C. (B)	18		farm laborer	born VA (cannot read or write)		
32			Rhoda D. (B)	8					
33			Gen'l B. (B)	5					
34			Sheridan (B)	3					
35			Lucy (B)	1					
36		Summers	Jeremiah (B)	34	5	farm laborer	unemployed 3 mo.		
37			Susan E. (B)	26		keeping house			
38			Caroline (B)	9			attended school		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1	**1880 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg District SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**AGRICULTURE CENSUS**	**TC Cem.**
39			Annie A. (B)	8			attended school		
40			Thomas (B)	2 mo.					
41	40	Hopewell	George (B)	38	1	laborer	boarder in WH James Frieze; unemployed 4 mo.; widower		
42	45	Rose	John (B)	38	6	laborer	born NC; unemployed 4 mo.		
43			Georgianna (B)	29		keeping house			
44			Caroline V. (B)	6					
45			Elizabeth E. (B)	5					
46			Jessie E. (B)	2					
47			Mary A. (B)	8 mo.					
48		Brown	John E. (B)	32	4	laborer	unemployed 4 mo.		
49			Claracy E. (B)	26		keeping house			
50			Mary C. (B)	3					
51			Milla M. (B)	2					
52					50				

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1	**1890 PAGE#**	**Keedysville District SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**RANK**	**COMP.**	**REGIMENT**	**DATE ENROLLED**	**DATE DISCHARGED**	**LENGTH OF SERVICE**
2	1	Malone	Benjamin F.	Sergeant	F	2 USCT Inf.	9 Sept. 1863	16 Jan. 1866	2 yr, 4 mo, 7 days
3		Fisher	George W.	Private	I	2 USCT Inf.	15 Sept. 1863	16 Jan. 1866	2 yr, 4 mo, 1 days
4									

	J
1	**COMMENTS**
2	Eakles Mills P.O.; disability incurred: "Chronic diarrhea with which still troubled"
3	Eakles Mills P.O.
4	

	J
1	**COMMENTS**
2	Sharpsburg P.O.
3	marked "Add" and noted as "US Sol."; District 1
4	died 1865 of pneumonia in SC (ref. pension docs. Per Emilie Amt)
5	enslaved of Samuel I. Piper; manumitted by enlistment (WC DB IN 18, p. 63)
6	

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1	**1890 Soldiers Schedule PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg District SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**RANK**	**COMP.**	**REGIMENT**	**DATE ENROLLED**	**DATE DISCHARGED**	**LENGTH OF SERVICE**
2	3	Midelton	Wilson	Private	F	115 Cy Vol.	12 Apr 1865	10 Feb 1866	1 yr, 9 mo, 28 days
3	6	Brown	John R.						
4	[not listed]	Thomas	Henry				1864		
5	[not listed]	Snowdon	William				Oct 1864		
6									

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1	**1900 PAGE#**	**Keedysville District #19 SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**RH Cem.**		KEY
2	1a	Rose	Aura (B)	14	1	servant (WH Clegett Miller)	can read and write			OHF-owns house, free of mortgage
3	2b	Keller	John W. (B)	57	2	day laborer (RH)	cannot read or write			OHM-owns house, mortgage
4			Drusilla K. (B)	53		none given	cannot read or write			RH-rents house
5	3b	Rose	Daniel W. (B)	10	1	servant (WH Emory A. Pry)	can read and write; father born NC			*none were identified as farm
6		End of Keedysville Town								
7	9a	Rose	John (B)	58	5	day laborer (RH)	unemployed 3 mo.; born in NC; can read			
8			Georgann (B)	50		none given	can read			
9			Martha E. (B)	17		domestic	can read and write			
10			Howard F. (B)	10		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write			
11			Nellie D. (B)	8		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write			
12		Thomas	Alfred (B)	67	4	day laborer (OHF)	father born in England; cannot read or write			
13			Margaret E. (B)	52		none given	cannot read or write			
14			Resin A. (B)	27		day laborer	unemployed 3 mo.; can read and write			
15			Walker T. (B)	22		day laborer	unemployed 2 mo.; can read and write			
16		Keatz	Charles E. (B)	34	5	day laborer (OHM)	cannot read or write			
17			Alice L. (B)	25		none given	can read and write			
18			Lottie E. (B)	5						
19			Annie E. (B)	3						
20			Jennie P. (B)	1						
21		Metz	Ruanna (B)	80	1	county pensioner (OHF)	widow; cannot read or write			
22		Lewis	Tyson (B)	30	6	day laborer (OHM)	can read and write			
23			Ann M. (B)	28		none given	cannot read or write			
24			Sophia (B)	7			cannot read or write			
25	9b		Freddie A. (B)	4						
26			Thomas L. (B)	2						
27			Rena E. (B)	7 mo.						
28		Calaman	Daniel (B)	33	3	day laborer (OHF)	unemployed 1 mo.; cannot read or write			
29			May E. (B)	31		none given	cannot read or write			
30			James W. (B)	9			cannot read or write			
31		Steward	Eli (B)	72	4	day laborer (OHF)	unemployed 3 mo.; cannot read or write			
32			Ellen (B)	60		none given	cannot read or write			
33			Margaret E. (B)	30		none given	can read and write			

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1	**1900 PAGE#**	**Keedysville District #19 SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**RH Cem.**		KEY
34			Cara E. (B)	28		domestic	unemployed 6 mo.; can read and write			
35		Griffin	Abraham (W)	73	8	day laborer (OHF)	unemployed 4 mo.; cannot read or write			
36			Susan E. (W)	40		none given	cannot read or write			
37			Samuel I. (W)	23		farm laborer	unemployed 3 mo.; can read and write			
38			Raleigh A. (W)	19		farm laborer	unemployed 3 mo.; can read and write			
39			Susan E. (W)	15		domestic	can read and write			
40			Frisby M. (W)	13		farm laborer	unemployed 3 mo.; can read and write			
41			James (W)	10		farm laborer	unemployed 3 mo.; can read and write			
42			Harry L. (W)	6		at school (7 mo.)	can read and write			
43		Hopewell	George (B)	49	7	day laborer (OHF)	unemployed 4 mo.; cannot read or write			
44			Laura (B)	36		none given	can read and write			
45			Stanley (B)	12		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write			
46			Fred C. (B)	9		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write			
47			George H. (B)	7		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write			
48			Celand A. (B)	4						
49			Viola M. (B)	2						
50		Calaman	Frank T. (B)	56	1	day laborer (OHF)	unemployed 5 mo.; cannot read or write			
51		Toyer	James H. (B)	55	7	day laborer (OHF)	unemployed 4 mo.; can read and write			
52			Mary (B)	47		none given	can read and write			
53			Casper E. (B)	14		farm laborer	unemployed 3 mo.; can read and write			
54			Clarence S. (B)	12		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write			
55			Carlton C. (B)	9		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write			
56			Franklin A. (B)	7		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write			
57			Cora A. (B)	3						
58		Lewis	Morrison (B)	57	1	day laborer (RH)	unemployed 6 mo.; cannot read or write			
59	10a	Griffith	Martin (B)	36	7	day laborer (OHF)	unemployed 3 mo.; can read and write			
60			Mary (B)	31		none given	cannot read or write			
61			Nina M. (B)	13		at school (7 mo.)	can read and write			
62			Webster M. (B)	11		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write			
63			Roy S. (B)	9						
64			Herbert (B)	6						

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	**1900 PAGE#**	**Keedysville District #19 SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**RH Cem.**		KEY
65			Earnest (B)	1						
66		Clark	Margaret (B)	41	4	washer woman (OHF)	married; employed 6 mo.; can read			
67			George (B)	16		day laborer	unemployed 4 mo.; can read and write			
68			Garfield (B)	15		boatman	can read and write			
69			Lizzie (B)	18		domestic	can read and write			
70		Malone	Benjamin (B)	58	9	soldiers pension (OHM)	can read and write			
71			Ellen V. (B)	50		washer woman	unemployed 4 mo.; can read and write			
72			Sheridan (B)	22		hostler	can read and write			
73			Gussie (B)	20		none given	can read and write			
74			Benjamin L. (B)	17		day laborer	unemployed 6 mo.; can read and write			
75			Chester (B)	16		day laborer	unemployed 6 mo.; can read and write			
76			Ida (B)	13		at school (7 mo.)	can read and write			
77			Edith (B)	11		at school (7 mo.)	can read and write			
78			Hallow (B)	7		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write			
79		Brown	John R. (B)	59	9	day laborer (RH)	unemployed 3 mo.; can read and write			
80			Mary (B)	35		none given	cannot read or write			
81			John W. (B)	14		day laborer	unemployed 4 mo.; cannot read or write			
82			Joseph L. (B)	11		day laborer	unemployed 6 mo.; cannot read or write			
83			Barbara (B)	9			cannot read or write			
84			Viola M. (B)	7			cannot read or write			
85			Maranda E. (B)	5						
86			Martha (B)	2						
87		Calaman	Violet (B)	15			niece; cannot read or write			
88		Keatz	Harmon (B)	48	6	day laborer (OHM)	unemployed 6 mo.; cannot read or write			
89			Lavina (B)	40		none given	cannot read or write			
90			Robert (B)	11			cannot read or write			
91			Roy E. (B)	8			cannot read or write			
92			Naomi (B)	4						
93			William E. (B)	3			nephew			
94		Keatz	William C. (B)	38	3	day laborer (OHF)	widower; unemployed 4 mo.; cannot read or write			
95			Virginia M. (B)	17			cannot read or write			
96			Mary A. (B)	12		domestic	cannot read or write			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	**1900 PAGE#**	**Keedysville District #19 SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**RH Cem.**		KEY
97		Calaman	Thomas L. (B)	38	9	day laborer (OHF)	unemployed 3 mo.; can read and write			
98			Mary E. (B)	36		none given	born VA; can read and write			
99			Roleigh	16		day laborer	unemployed 3 mo.; can read and write			
100			Thomas R. (B)	14		day laborer	unemployed 4 mo.; can read and write			
101			Susan M. (B)	12		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write			
102			Cora E. (B)	9		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write			
103			Harry M. (B)	7		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write			
104			Bulah M. (B)	5						
105			Naoma K. (B)	2						
106	10b	Fisher	George W. (B)	58	9	day laborer (OHF)	unemployed 6 mo.; can read and write			
107			Barbara (B)	40		none given	cannot read or write			
108			William G. (B)	22		farm laborer	unemployed 3 mo.; attended school 3 mo.; can read and write			
109			John M. (B)	20		farm laborer	unemployed 3 mo.; attended school 3 mo.; can read and write			
110			Albert G. (B)	15		farm laborer	unemployed 3 mo.; attended school 3 mo.; can read and write			
111			Maud I. (B)	11			can read and write			
112			Roy S. (B)	8		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write			
113			Cora M. (B)	4						
114			Ethel B. (B)	1						
115		Keatz	Josephus (B)	27	7	day laborer (OHF)	unemployed 4 mo.; can read and write			
116			Minnie M. (B)	25		none given	can read and write			
117			Olive (B)	7			cannot read or write			
118			Clarence S. (B)	5						
119			Ralph J. (B)	4						
120			Samuel C. (B)	2						
121			Eliza E. (B)	11 mo.						
122		Keatz	John H. (B)	50	3	preacher (RH)	can read and write			
123			Mary A. (B)	29		none given	daughter; can read and write			
124			Samuel H. (B)	13		at school (8 mo.)	grand son; can read and write			
125		Clark	Roseann (B)	81	2	county pensioner (RH)	cannot read or write			
126			William (B)	21		boatman	grand son; unemployed 4 mo.; can read and write			

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1	**1900 PAGE#**	**Keedysville District #19 SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**RH Cem.**		KEY
127		Steward	David (B)	44	9	farm laborer (OHF)	unemployed 3 mo.; cannot read or write			
128			Annie (B)	39		washer woman	unemployed 6 mo.; cannot read or write			
129			Norman G. (B)	25		day laborer	unemployed 4 mo.; can read and write			
130			Charles L. (B)	18		farm laborer	unemployed 3 mo.; can read and write			
131			Herbert E. (B)	16		day laborer	unemployed 4 mo.; can read and write			
132			Grace A. (B)	14			cannot read or write			
133			John R. (B)	9		at school (7 mo.)	can read and write			
134			Bulah E. (B)	7		at school (7 mo.)	can read and write			
135			May (B)	2						
136		Malone	John D. (B)	49	1	day laborer (OHF)	single; unemployed 4 mo.; cannot read or write			
137	11a	Sewell	Benjamin (B)	61	7	farm laborer (OHF)	unemployed 3 mo.; cannot read or write			
138			Malinda E. (B)	47		none given	cannot read or write			
139		Rose	Charles T. (B)	19		day laborer	step son; father born NC; unemployed 4 mo.; can read and write			
140			Jerry G. (B)	16		day laborer	step son; father born NC; unemployed 4 mo.; can read and write			
141			Alice A. (B)	13			step daughter; can read and write			
142			Daniel W. (B)	10			step son; can read and write			
143			Cora E. (B)	7		at school (8 mo.)	step daughter; can read and write			
144		Keatz	John E. (B)	5			step son			
145	12	Keatz	Carline (B)	72	1	washer woman (RH)	widow; unemployed 6 mo.; cannot read or write			
146					142					

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1	**1900 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg District #1 SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**TC Cem.**
2	2a	Minor	Oscar (B)	53	4	farm laborer (RH)	born VA; unemployed 3 mo., cannot read or write	
3			Priscilla (B)	57		none given	cannot read or write	
4			Oscar L. (B)	12		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write	
5		Monroe	Lula (B)	17			[adopted daughter?] father from PA, mother from VA; can read and write	
6	3a	Herbert	David (B)	43	7	farm laborer (RH)	cannot read or write	
7			Fannie (B)	34		none given	can read and write	
8			Malinda (B)	16		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write	
9			Cora V. (B)	14		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write	
10			Lloyd W. (B)	11		at school (8 mo.)		
11			George B. (B)	8		at school (8 mo.)		
12			Carrie (B)	6				
13		Summers	Jerry (B)	52	3	farm laborer (RH)	unemployed 2 mo.; cannot read or write	√
14			Susan (B)	50		none given	cannot read or write	√
15			Emery W. (B)	20		farm laborer	unemployed 2 mo.; can read and write	
16	8b	Clark	Philip (B)	41	1	farm laborer (WH Philip Needy)	married; unemployed 2 mo.; can read [this is probably (Millard F.) Fillmore Clark, Dist.19 in 1880]	
17	10a	Monroe	Thomas (B)	43	10	farm laborer (RH)	born PA; unemployed 3 mo.; can read and write	
18			Emma (B)	55		none given	can read and write	
19		King	Mary (B)	15			step daughter; father from KY; can read and write	
20		Monroe	William (B)	11		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write	
21			Joseph E. (B)	9				
22			John E. (B)	8				
23			Annie (B)	5				
24			Clarence (B)	3				
25			Samuel (B)	2				
26			Emily G. (B)	1 mo.				
27		Begin Town of Sharpsburg						

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1	**1900 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg District #1 SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**TC Cem.**
28	14b East/West Main	Lee	John (B)	64	3	farm laborer (OHF)	widower; unemployed 3 mo.; can read and write	
29			Robert (B)	24		teacher	unemployed 5 mo.; can read and write	
30			Howard (B)	19		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write	
31	16a East/West Antietam	Simons	David (B)	68	5	farm laborer (OHF)	parents from DC; unemployed 3 mo.; can read and write	
32			Margaret (B)	69		none given	cannot read or write	
33			Laura J. (B)	48		none given	can read	
34			James (B)	40		teaching	single; unemployed 5 mo.; can read and write	
35			Elizabeth (B)	36		none given	single; can read and write	
36		Beeler	George (B)	34	2	farm laborer (OHF)	can read and write; owns house, but listed as household w/in Simons household [son-in-law]	
37			Julia (B)	34		none given	can read and write; married 10 yrs, had one child [Minnie May] but did not survive	
38		Jackson	Jennie (B)	53	5	none given	widow; born VA; owns (free) house	
39			Edward C. (B)	25		farm laborer	unemployed 3 mo.; parents from VA; can read and write	
40			Robert S. (B)	18		farm laborer	unemployed 3 mo.; parents from VA; can read and write	
41		Sewell	Bertha (B)	11		at school (8 mo.)	boarder; can read and write	
42			Clarence (B)	8			boarder	
43	17a East/West High	Wright	James (B)	40	6	farm laborer (OHF)	[second marriage; son of Lewis Wright, Red Hill] can read and write	
44			Virginia (B)	43		none given	[second marriage; daughter of Wilson Middleton] born WV; can read and write	
45		Piper	Lottie (B)	25		school teacher	[Virginia's daughter]mother WV; unemployed 5 mo.; can read and write	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1	**1900 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg District #1 SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**TC Cem.**
46		Howard	William (B)	15			[James' son] mother VA; can read and write	
47		Clark	Daisy (B)	12		at school (8 mo.)	boarder; can read and write	
48		Roblingson	John (B)	53		farm laborer	born VA; unemployed 2 mo.; can read and write	
49		Gray	Ellick (B) [Alexander?]	26	5	farm laborer (OHF)	unemployed 3 mo.; can read and write	✓
50			Ida (B)	30		none given	can read and write	✓
51			Edward (B)	6				
52			Harriet (B)	4				
53			Max (B)	1				✓
54		Watson	Hilery (B)	68	4	farm laborer (OHF)	cannot read or write	✓
55			Tieny (B)	74		none given	born VA; can read	✓
56		Lee	Nancy (B)	95			mother; can read	
57		Gray	Julia (B)	16		at school (5 mo.)	boarder	
58	18b East/West Chapline	Summers	Emory (B)	43	5	farm laborer (RH)	can read and write	
59			Fannie E. (B)	35		none given	can read	
60			Mary E. (B)	15		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write	
61			Benjamin (B)	9				
62		Sewell	Benjamin (B)	37		farm laborer	brother [in law?]; unemployed 2 mo.; can read and write	
63	19a East/West Chapline	King	Hamilton (B)	59	10	farm laborer (OHF)	cannot read or write	
64			Jennie (B)	37		none given	[second wife] can read and write	
65			Thomas C. (B)	20		laborer	unemployed 3 mo.; can read and write	✓
66			Margaret (B)	18			can read and write	
67			Earnest F. (B)	14		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write	
68			Seibert H. (B)	12		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write	
69			Dora M. (B)	10		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write	
70			Edna V. (B)	8				
71			Helen (B)	5				
72			Frances (B)	1				✓ Monroe
73		Nurse	George (B)	56	4	hostler (RH)	born VA; can read	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1	**1900 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg District #1 SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**TC Cem.**
74			Lindia (B)	72		none given	[Melinda, her 2nd husband]; cannot read or write	✓
75		Gray	Emma (B)	17			grand daughter; mother from VA; can read and write	
76		Cross	Leo (B)	3			grand son	
77		Lakin	Otho (B)	89	2	none given (RH)	cannot read or write	
78			Robert (B)	49		barber	can read and write	
79		Clark	Josephus (B)	33	5	none given (RH)	married; can read and write	
80			Bessie (B)	18			(daughter) can read and write	
81			Minnie E. (B)	12			cannot read or write	
82			Hubert (B)	7				
83			Vera (B)	2				
84	20b East/West Chapline	Cook	William (B)	46	10	carpenter (RH)	mother from VA; cannot read or write	
85			Emma E. (B)	35		none given	can read and write	
86			Eliza J. (B)	18		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write	
87			Annie E. (B)	17		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write	
88			George C. (B)	15		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write	✓
89			Harry L. (B)	13		at school (8 mo.)	can read and write	✓
90			William E. (B)	9				
91			Mandia (B)	8				
92	21a East/West Chapline		Milton W. (B)	5				
93		Sinclair	Jane (B)	80		(OHF)	mother [in law]; cannot read or write; owns the house and is renting to her son-in-law Wm Cook	✓ (no stone)
94		Brown	Samuel (B)	56	6	none given (RH)	cannot read or write	
95			Dora (B)	24		none given	can read and write	
96			Samuel (B)	5 mo.			Dora's son	
97			Rosa N. (B)	21		none given	can read and write	
98			May B. (B)	3			Rosa's daughter	
99			Harriet E. (B)	4 mo.			Rosa's daughter	
100					97			
101	1900	72 in town						

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1	**1900 PAGE#**	**Sharpsburg District #1 SURNAME**	**GIVEN NAME**	**AGE**	**# IN HOUSE**	**OCCUPATION**	**COMMENTS**	**TC Cem.**
102		25 in district						
103	1930	45 in town						
104		26 in district						
105	1940	36 in town						
106		district unavailable						

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This bibliography is decidedly heavy on sources accessed on the Internet, largely due to the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic. It is important to note, however, that the growing body of primary and secondary sources now digitized and available (and in many cases searchable) on reputable websites has expanded access to documentation that previously would have been difficult and time-consuming to retrieve. This new world of access to local newspapers, church records, school records, county court records, and state and federal agency records and reports, as well as Kindle and ebook copies of new and old research by historians of note and those just arriving on the scene, not only widens the scope of information readily available but also deepens the details about individuals and their communities.

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